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Robert N. Bellah, research associate at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, is presently engaged in a survey of the relations between religion and politics in modern Asia, of which the paper included in these pages is a preliminary fragment. He is the author of the book *Tokugawa Religion*, which was published in 1957, and of an article, "The Place of Religion in Human Action," appearing in the April, 1958, issue of the *Review of Religion*.

Associate professor of social ethics at the Hartford (Connecticut) Theological Seminary, Peter L. Berger has just completed a study of values in American funeral ceremonialism (with R. Lieban). His publications include "The Sociological Study of Sectarianism," *Social Research*, Winter, 1954, and "Demythologization: Crisis in Continental Theology," *Review of Religion*, November, 1955. Last year he was assistant professor of sociology in The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Charles D. Bolton, who has taught sociology at Colorado College, is presently an instructor in the Chicago Undergraduate Division of the University of Illinois. He is currently doing research in the social psychology of intimate relationships.

Co-authors Gordon K. Hirabayashi and May Ishaq are both associated with the Social Research Center of the American University at Cairo: he is the Center's assistant director and she is a field assistant. Hirabayashi has been professor of sociology at the American University at Cairo since 1955; earlier he was chairman of the Department of Sociology at the American University of Beirut. Currently he is writing a monograph based on a field study of the ecology, social values, and communication in five contiguous villages in Lower Egypt.

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Miss Ishaq was chief of the interviewing staff and research assistant on the project from which their article was written.

The data for his article were collected while Morris Janowitz was a lecturer at the Institute for Social Research, University of Frankfurt. He is a member of the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan. Recently he was chairman of a committee at Michigan attempting to develop an experimental doctoral program relating the social sciences to social work.

Melvin Seeman is associate professor in the Department of Sociology at the Ohio State University. His earlier, "companion" paper to the one published here appeared in *Social Problems* and was awarded the Deroy Award for 1955. His current research activity is a study of the stratification system in general hospitals, with particular attention to its consequences for medical performance.

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RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF MODERNIZATION IN TURKEY AND JAPAN¹

ROBERT N. BELLAH

ABSTRACT

The process of modernization involves changes in values as well as political and economic changes. One aspect of this change is the shift from a "prescriptive" to a "principal" type of value system, which also seems to involve a differentiation of religion and ideology. In Turkey and Japan this transition was begun by religio-political movements, which challenged the traditional value system but were themselves in turn responsible for new problems.

The process of modernization of the "backward" nations such as Turkey and Japan, which will be considered here, involves changes in the value system as well as economic, political, and social changes. In traditional societies the value system tends to be what Howard Becker calls "prescriptive."² A prescriptive system is characterized by the comprehensiveness and specificity of its value commitments and by its consequent lack of flexibility. Motivation is frozen, so to speak, through commitment to a vast range of relatively specific norms governing almost every situation in life. Most of these specific norms, usually including those governing social institutions, are thor-

oughly integrated with a religious system which invokes ultimate sanctions for every infraction. Thus changes in economic or political institutions, not to speak of family and education, in traditional societies tend to have ultimate religious implications. Small changes will involve supernatural sanctions.

Yet such a society, when faced with grave dislocations consequent to Western contact, must make major changes in its institutional structure if it is to survive. What changes must be made in the organization of the value system so that these structural changes may go forward?

We may say that the value system of such a society must change from a prescriptive type to a "principal" type, to borrow again from Becker. Traditional societies, as we have said, tend to have a normative system, in which a comprehensive, but uncodified, set of relatively specific norms governs concrete behavior. But in a modern society an area of flexibility must be gained in economic, political, and social life in which specific norms may be determined in consider-

¹ This paper is a fragment of a larger study of the relations between religion and politics in modern Asia and the tentative conclusions put forward here may be altered as a result of the larger study. I am indebted to Niyazi Berkes and Talcott Parsons for reading earlier versions of this paper.

² For a recent definition of "prescriptive" and "principal" see Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-sacred Theory and Its Development," in Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff (eds.), *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change* (New York: Dryden Press, 1957).

able part by short-term exigencies in the situation of action, or by functional requisites of the relevant social subsystems. Ultimate or religious values lay down the basic principles of social action; thus such a normative system is called "principal," but the religious system does not attempt to regulate economic, political, and social life in great detail, as in prescriptive societies. Looking at this process another way, we may say that there must be a differentiation between religion and ideology, between ultimate values and proposed ways in which these values may be put into effect. In traditional prescriptive societies there is no such discrimination. Difference of opinion on social policy is taken to imply difference as to religious commitment. The social innovator necessarily becomes a religious heretic. But in modern society there is a differentiation between the levels of religion and social ideology which makes possible greater flexibility at both levels.

How is the normative system in a traditional society to be changed from prescriptive to principal, and how is the differentiation of the religious and ideological levels to be effected, especially in the face of the concerted effort of the old system to avoid any changes at all? I would assert that only a new religious initiative, only a new movement which claims religious ultimacy for itself, can successfully challenge the old value system and its religious base. The new movement, which arises from the necessity to make drastic social changes in the light of new conditions, is essentially ideological and political in nature. But, arising as it does in a society in which the ideological level is not yet recognized as having independent legitimacy, the new movement must take on a religious coloration in order to meet the old system on its own terms. Even when such a movement is successful in effecting major structural changes in the society and in freeing motivation formerly frozen in traditional patterns so that considerable flexibility in economic and political life is attained, the problems posed by its own partly religious origin and its rela-

tion to the traditional religious system may still be serious indeed.

Let us turn to the example of Turkey.³

Ottoman Turkey in the eighteenth century was a traditionalistic society with a prescriptive value system. Virtually all spheres of life were theoretically under the authority of the religious law, the *Shari'ah*. Indeed, the government was supposed to have an area of freedom within the law. But this freedom had become narrowly restricted. Precedents of governmental procedure were tacitly assimilated to the religious law.

Beginning with Selim III in the late eighteenth century, a series of reforming sultans and statesmen attempted to make major changes in Turkish society in an effort to cope with increasingly desperate internal and external conditions. While some changes were made, especially in areas remote from the central strongholds of the religious law, the reforming party was unable to attain any ultimate legitimation in the eyes of the people, and, although Turkish society was shaken to its foundations, periods of reform alternated with periods of blind reaction in which reformers were executed or banished.

The last of these reactionary periods was that of the rule of the despotic Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who was overthrown in 1908 by a coup of young army officers whom we know as the "Young Turks." By this time it had become clear to leading intellectuals that more was needed than another interim of liberal reform. They saw that a basic change in the cultural foundation of Turkish society was demanded if the long-delayed changes in economic, political, and social structure were to be effected. Some felt that a modern purified Islam could provide the new cultural basis, but orthodox Islam was so deeply imbedded in the fabric of traditional society that the Islamic modernists found little response in the religious party. Others looked to Western liberal democracy

³ Throughout the discussion of Turkey I shall rely heavily on lectures and unpublished material of Niyazi Berkes, of the Islamic Institute at McGill University, who is undertaking a pioneering study of Turkish modernization.

as a satisfactory foundation. Those sensitive to the mind of the Turkish masses, however, pointed out that the Turkish people would never accept a value system so obviously "made abroad" and which could so easily be condemned by the conservatives with the stigma of unbelief.

It was Ziya Gökalp, a sociologist much influenced by Durkheim, who ardently championed Turkish nationalism as the only satisfactory cultural foundation for the new Turkey.⁴ Gökalp found the referent for all symbols of ultimate value in society itself. His answer to the religious conservatives was that the true Islam was that of the Turkish folk, not of the effete religious hierarchy which was largely educated in the Arabic and Persian languages rather than the Turkish language. Here at last was an ideology to which the people could respond with emotion and which could challenge religious conservatism on its own grounds.

But the course of world history did as much as Gökalp's eloquence to decide in favor of the nationalist alternative for Turkey. Not only did World War I shear Turkey of her empire, but the subsequent invasions of Anatolia threatened the very life of the nation itself. Mustafa Kemal, who led the ultimately successful effort of national resistance, partly chose and partly was impelled to make the nation the central symbol in his subsequent drive for modernization. As a result, the highest value and central symbol for the most articulate sections of the Turkish people became not Islam but Turkism, or nationalism, or Kemalism, or, simply, "the Revolution." Having a strong national and personal charismatic legitimacy, Mustafa Kemal, later known as "Ataturk," was able to create a far-reaching cultural revolution in which the place of religion in the society was fundamentally altered. We may note some of the landmarks in this revolution. In 1924 the office of caliph was abolished. In the same year all religious schools were closed or converted into secular schools. The most important change

of all took place in 1926: the Muslim Civil Law was abandoned and the Swiss Civil Code adopted almost without change. Finally, in 1928, the phrase in the constitution stating that the religion of Turkey is Islam was deleted, and Turkey was declared a secular state.

That the Turks were deeply conscious of what they were doing is illustrated by the following quotation from Mahmud Essad, the minister of justice under whom the religious law was abandoned:

The purpose of laws is not to maintain the old customs or beliefs which have their source in religion, but rather to assure the economic and social unity of the nation.

When religion has sought to rule human societies, it has been the arbitrary instrument of sovereigns, despots, and strong men. In separating the temporal and the spiritual, modern civilization has saved the world from numerous calamities and has given to religion an imperishable throne in the consciences of believers.⁵

This quotation illustrates well enough the transition from prescriptive to principal society and the differentiation of religion and ideology as two distinct levels. It is clear that the great advances of Turkish society in economic, political, and social life are based on this new cultural foundation. But implicit in Essad's words are some of the yet unsolved problems about that new cultural pattern.

For Essad and other Turkish reformers "the Revolution" was a criterion for everything, even for the place of religion in society, and thus, whether consciously or not, they gave the revolution an ultimate, a religious, significance. The six principles upon which the constitution is based—republicanism, nationalism, populism, étatism, secularism, and revolution—are taken as self-subsisting ultimates. Thus the religious implications of the political ideology remain relatively unchecked. These express themselves in party claims to ultimate legitimacy and in an inability on the part of the party

⁴ A translation by Niyazi Berkes of selected writings of Ziya Gökalp is forthcoming.

⁵ Quoted in Henry E. Allen, *The Turkish Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 34.

in power to accept the validity of an opposition, which are not in accord with the flexibility appropriate in a modern principal society.

On the other hand, Islam in Turkey has not on the whole been able to redefine its own self-image and face the theological issues involved in becoming a religion primarily, in Essad's words, "enthroned in men's consciences." Nor has it been able to provide a deeper religious dimension of both legitimation and judgment of the six principles which are the basis of the new social life. It remains, on the whole, in a conservative frame of mind in which the ideological claims are considerable, thus still posing a threat, possibly a great one, to return the society to a less differentiated level of social organization. Considering the trend of the last forty years, however, we seem to be observing a differentiation in the process of becoming, but it is too soon to say that it has been entirely accomplished.

Japan, while illustrating the same general processes as Turkey, does so with marked differences in important details.⁶ Premodern Japan was a traditionalistic society with a prescriptive normative system closely integrated with a religious system composed of a peculiar Japanese amalgam of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism. In the immediate premodern period, however, a conjuncture of the Confucian stress on loyalty and a revived interest in Shinto began to have explosive consequences. The actual rule at this time was in the hands of a military dictator, or Shogun, hereditary in the Tokugawa family. The emperor was relegated to purely ceremonial functions in the palace at Kyoto. But, as economic and social conditions deteriorated under Tokugawa rule, important elements in the population became alienated from the political status quo. They proved extremely receptive to the religious message of the revival Shintoists and legitimist Confucians, who insisted that the true sovereign was the

emperor and that the Shogun was a usurper. According to their conception, the emperor is divine, descended from the sun-goddess, and his direct rule of the Japanese people could be expected to bring in a virtually messianic age.

This movement was already vigorous when Perry's ships moved into Tokyo Bay in 1853. The inability of the Tokugawa government to keep foreigners from desecrating the sacred soil of Japan added the last fuel to the flames of resentment, and, with the slogan "Revere the Emperor; expel the barbarians," a successful military coup overthrew the Tokugawa and restored the emperor to direct rule.

I would suggest that Japan was at this point, in 1868, virtually at the beginning of serious Western influence, in a position that Turkey reached only in the early 1920's under Mustafa Kemal. But she reached it in quite a different way. Unlike Turkey, one of the very foundations of the old traditional order in Japan, the divine emperor, provided the main leverage for the radical reorganization of that order. The young samurai who put through the Meiji Restoration used the central value of loyalty to the emperor to legitimize the immense changes they were making in all spheres of social life and to justify the abandoning of many apparently sacred prescriptions of the traditional order. No other sacredness could challenge the sacredness inherent in the emperor's person.

Here we see an ideological movement, essentially political in nature, whose aim was the strengthening and thus the modernizing of Japan, taking a much more openly religious coloration than was the case in Turkey. There was in the early Meiji period an attempt to make Shinto into the national religion and a determined effort to root out all rival religions. Christianity was sharply discouraged, but it was on Buddhism, the chief native religious tradition with little relation to the imperial claims to divinity, that the ax fell. The Buddhist church was disestablished, and all syncretism with Shinto prohibited. In the words of D. C. Holtom:

⁶ For a more extensive treatment of the Japanese case, especially the premodern background see my *Tokugawa Religion* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957).

Members of the royal family were debarred from continuing in Buddhist orders; Buddhist ceremonials in the imperial palace were prohibited; Buddhist temples all over the land were attacked and destroyed. A blind fury of misplaced patriotic zeal committed precious Buddhist writings, fine sculptures, bronzes, wood-carvings, and paintings to the flames, broke them in pieces, cast them away, or sold them for a pittance to whosoever would buy. Buddhist priests were prohibited from participating in Shinto ceremonies. They were subjected to beatings and threatened with military force. Monks and nuns in large numbers were obliged to take up secular callings.⁷

Grave foreign protests on the subject of Christianity plus serious unrest among the masses devoted to Buddhism forced the abandoning of the policy of religious persecution. Liberal elements within the country agitated for the complete separation of church and state, and the Meiji leaders were brought to understand that religious freedom was a principle of the modern society they were trying to establish. Consequently, the government included in the constitution of 1889 a clause guaranteeing freedom of religion. At the same time it continued its support of the state Shinto cult, whose main aim was the veneration of the emperor. It solved this seeming contradiction by declaring that state Shinto was not a religion but merely an expression of patriotism. Nevertheless, the existence of the national cult imposed a real limitation on the independence and effectiveness of the private religious bodies. Though in the 1920's there was a strong tendency to differentiate religion and ideology, in times of stress such as the late 1930's and early 1940's religion was completely subordinated to and fused with a monolithic ideology, an ideology which had demonic consequences both for Japan and for the rest of the world. The new, 1946, constitution, by disestablishing Shinto and deriving sovereignty from the people rather than from the sacred and inviolable emperor, theoretically completed the process of secularization.

But, in fact, serious religious problems remain. All religious groups with the excep-

tion of the Christians were compromised by their connection with the nationalistic orgy. In the absence of any really vigorous religious life, except for the popular faith-healing cults and the small Christian community, the religious impulses of the Japanese people find expression for the more radical in the symbol of socialism, for the conservatives in a longing for a new and more innocent version of state Shinto. Here, as in Turkey, the differentiation between religion and ideology remains to be completed.

Other examples of the processes we have been discussing come readily to mind. Communism is an example of a secular political ideology which successfully came to power in the prescriptive, religiously based societies of Russia and China. But communism itself makes an ultimate religious claim, and here, as in the case of Japan, a secular ideology claiming religious ultimacy has embarked on courses of action which hinder, rather than further, the transition to modern principal society. It is perhaps safe to say that alongside the serious political and economic problems which communism faces today is the perhaps even more serious cultural problem, the problem of the differentiation of the religious and ideological levels.

In conclusion, it seems worthwhile to stress that the process of secularization, which is in part what the transition from prescriptive to principal society is, does not mean that religion disappears. The function of religion in a principal society is different from that in a prescriptive society, but it is not necessarily less important. Moreover, in the very process of transition religion may reappear in many new guises. Perhaps what makes the situation so unclear is its very fluidity. Even in highly differentiated societies, such as our own, traditional religion, so deeply associated with the prescriptive past, is still in the process of finding its place in modern principal society.

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⁷ D. C. Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 127.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND MOBILITY IN WEST GERMANY¹

MORRIS JANOWITZ

ABSTRACT

By means of a nation-wide sample survey, the social stratification and patterns of social mobility of West Germany were investigated as well as the consequences of social mobility on selected aspects of social and political behavior. These data underline the continuity of the present social structure with that of the prewar period but also record the extensive upward and downward personal social mobility of individual Germans. West Germany has a social structure similar to that of other Western industrialized countries, but, as compared with the United States, its unique circumstances has produced distinctive features. The consequences of social mobility in West Germany seem to be at least temporarily contributing to greater social consensus.

The drastic social changes in Germany resulting from war, military defeat, occupation, mass refugee movements, and, finally, economic recovery raise underlying questions. What modifications in social stratification and social mobility have taken place since 1939? How do changes in social structure relate to and help explain the apparent stability that characterizes postwar West German society?

Theoretical and empirical analysis of social stratification was long at the center of pre-Nazi sociological work in Germany. Marxian and socialist theory required a continuing concern with changes in the class structure, since here was to be found the crucial index of emerging political change. As early as the 1920's sociological critics of the traditional Marxian position on social stratification had produced a number of empirical studies on the changes in German social structure under increased industrialization which were unanticipated by orthodox socialist thinkers. As was to be expected for that period, these studies were based on limited methodology and highly selective samples. Nevertheless, they documented the expansion of opportunities for social mobility and the transformation of the middle class from predominantly entrepre-

neurial occupations toward more bureaucratic ones.²

In the gradual rebuilding of sociological research after 1945, systematic research on social stratification and social mobility did not emerge as a central concern in Germany. The only comprehensive effort was undertaken by Professor G. Mackenroth and Dr. Karl M. Bolte, Kiel University, for the province of Schleswig-Holstein, where the influx of East German refugees and "expellees" was heavily concentrated.³

² See Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1927), for a review of the literature of that period.

³ G. Mackenroth and Karl M. Bolte, "Bericht über das Forschungsvorhaben 'Wandlungen der deutschen Sozialstruktur (am Beispiel des Landes Schleswig-Holstein),' " *Transactions of the Second World Congress, International Sociological Society* (1954), II, 91-102; cf. Karl M. Bolte, "Ein Beitrag zur Problematik der sozialen Mobilität," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, VIII (1956), 26-45, and "Some Aspects of Social Mobility in Western Germany," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, International Sociological Society* (1957), III, 183-90.

In an effort to free themselves from an overemphasis on philosophical and speculative traditions, postwar German sociologists appear to have selected immediate and pressing social problems—family disorganization, youth problems, industrial relations, and community organization—on which they could collect empirical data. More general and more historically oriented topics like social stratification and social mobility were given lower priorities. In fact, the one study on social mobility, by Mackenroth and Bolte, was in good part generated by an immediate concern that the refugees were becoming a discriminated minority.

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge his gratitude to the directors of DIVO, Frankfurt, A.M., for placing at his disposal their field staff. Without this facility it would have been impossible to collect the empirical data on which this paper is based. Klaus Liepelt has been actively associated in the collection of these data.

Therefore, in the spring of 1955, a comprehensive effort was made to investigate social stratification and social mobility for the whole of West Germany. This paper reports briefly on some of the findings from this empirical study based on a representative sample of 3,385 interviews.

Three main types of data on social stratification in postwar West Germany are included. First, data will be presented supporting the general hypothesis that, despite the historical events since 1939, the over-all shifts in the occupational structure in West Germany by 1955 have hardly been dramatic. Second, however, there is a difference between relative over-all stability in occupational structure and the amount of personal mobility within a society. Because of the types of data collected, it is possible to report with some precision on the considerable amount of both upward and downward social mobility in West Germany. While our data reveal fundamental similarities in the occupational structure of Germany and the United States, because of a similar technological base and economic organization, these data also highlight the differences that exist in social stratification and mobility. Third, the correlates of social mobility—such as education, religion, and refugee status—as well as the social consequences of social mobility were also investigated in terms of these broad social strata.

Since the sample of 3,385 adult men and women interviewed was selected by the procedures of area probability sampling, the optimum methodological conditions were available. The design of the interview schedule made it possible to obtain for 95.1 per cent of the sample the occupation of the "head of the household"—the respondent himself, the respondent's husband, or the major income-earner, as the case required. *Intragenerational mobility* was measured by changes in occupations between 1939 and 1955. (If the man was too young in 1939 to be in the labor force, his father's occupation was obtained, and for women the occupation of their husbands or fathers.)⁴

Intergenerational mobility was measured by comparing the occupation of the head of the household in 1955 with that of the respondent's father (or head of the household) when he or she was growing up. Thus the data of this research are not limited to the mobility of sons but, rather, present findings for the whole adult population.

TRENDS IN OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION

The emerging pattern of occupational stratification in West Germany in 1955, that is, after economic recovery, parallels strikingly the prewar 1939 social structure. The changes that have been wrought are those directly linked to the typical modifications in occupational stratification that come with increased industrialization in a country already highly industrialized. This is not to overlook the fact that a small percentage (4.9 per cent) of our sample were categorized "unclassifiable" as to occupation in 1955—the war-disabled, war widows, and other such war casualties whose lives were so disrupted and whose rehabilitation so limited that our definitions of occupation based on household affiliation were not applicable.⁵ Nevertheless, the West German population is now fitted into an economic system in which the degree of industrialization, the balance of industry to agricul-

⁴ Women were defined as head of the household when they were the major income earners, that is, for those cases where the husband was dead or missing, or when they were unmarried and constituted a separate household. For the young student, the temporarily unemployed worker, and those on war or social security pensions (social renter) the functionally equivalent family structure data on the occupation of the head of the household are also necessary. Special questions were included for persons whose husbands were dead.

⁵ It has been estimated that the total number of persons receiving some form of social pension in West Germany was about 5,700,000, or approximately 10 per cent of the adult population. This figure is comparable to the findings of our sample, since half of these receiving some form of social pension (approximately 5 per cent) could be classified into the occupational structure. These are persons receiving old age insurance, whose last occupation was obtained, and those who have regular occupations in addition to their pensions.

ture, and the extent of governmental co-ordination do not break sharply with the past.

In recent decades the further industrialization of an already industrialized society has generally implied a continued decline in

TABLE 1
TRENDS IN OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION IN WEST GERMANY
(BASED ON SAMPLE SURVEY DATA)

	YEAR	
	1955	1939
Non-manual:		
Self-employed:		
Entrepreneurs	10.7	10.9
Professionals	2.9	2.6
Total	13.6	13.5
Salaried:		
Officials, managerial, technical	9.4	9.9
Clerical, sales	9.4	9.4
Total	18.8	19.3
Total non-manual	32.4	32.8
Manual:		
Skilled	13.3	13.7
Semiskilled	30.8	29.9
Service	4.1	3.1
Total manual	48.2	46.7
Farmers:		
Owners	10.6	14.9
Laborers	3.8	3.9
Total farmers	14.4	18.8
Unclassifiable*	4.9	1.8
No. of cases	(3,385)	(3,385)

* Includes those war and social pensioners to whom no occupational position could be meaningfully assigned.

the size of the agricultural stratum and, simultaneously, an increase in the proportion of the non-manual workers (white-collar occupations), while the manual or industrial workers remain relatively stable. However, as the "tertiary" aspects of economic processes become more and more elaborated, the greatest proportional increase in the urban occupations are in the professional, clerical, and service occupations.⁶ West Germany is no exception.

The gradual *intragenerational* shifts in

⁶ Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1951).

occupational structure from 1939 to 1955 can be seen in Table 1, where trends in the concentration of farmers, non-manual, and manual workers are presented.⁷

By a comparison these data with those comparable for the United States, the special features of West German social structure begin to emerge (see Table 2). First,

TABLE 2
CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION, WEST GERMANY AND UNITED STATES, 1954-55

	West Germany 1955	United States 1954*
Non-manual:		
Self-employed:		
Entrepreneurs	10.7	6.0
Professionals	2.9	1.4
Total	13.6	7.4
Salaried:		
Officials, managerial, technical	9.4	11.3
Clerical, sales	9.4	19.5
Total	18.8	30.8
Total non-manual	32.4	38.2
Manual:		
Skilled	13.3	13.6
Semiskilled	30.8	27.0
Service	4.1	11.1
Total manual	48.2	51.7
Farmers:		
Owners	10.6	5.9
Laborers	3.8	4.1
Total farmers	14.4	10.0
Unclassifiable†	4.9	....
Total	100.0	100.0

* Adapted from *Current Population Reports*, Series P-50, No. 59 (April, 1955), Table III, p. 4.

† Includes those war and social pensioners to whom no occupational position could be meaningfully assigned.

⁷ Since the 1939 social stratification data are collected from persons alive in 1955, it could be argued that the results are not strictly comparable, since they would be influenced by differential death rates. However, this does not seem to be a relevant factor for trend analysis, since the sample survey data on the decline in the concentration of agricultural occupations from 1939 is almost identical with the comparable official census results (Statistisches Bundesamt, *Wirtschaftskunde der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* [Stuttgart and Köln, 1955], p. 60).

the consequences of the relatively larger industrial base in the United States can be seen from the somewhat lesser United States concentration in the agricultural occupations. In the United States 10 per cent of the occupational structure is involved in agriculture; the percentage in West Germany is 14.4.⁸

Another manifestation of industrialization in the United States is the higher proportion of non-manual workers. Even more relevant is the difference in the composition of the non-manual group. The degree of industrialization of the United States is reflected in the greater growth of the "new middle-class" occupations. Thus the concentration of self-employed entrepreneurs—one important, older, middle-class group—in West Germany is greater than in the United States. And, conversely, the clerical and sales group—the salaried employees of public and private bureaucracies—in West Germany is half the percentage of that in the United States. Finally, differences in the manual group arise mainly from the larger concentration of service workers in the United States. The number of skilled workers in both countries is roughly the same, while the semiskilled-unskilled category in West Germany is somewhat larger than in the United States. However, the service workers—a manifestation of tertiary industrialization—are much more developed in the United States.

Thus a projection of the trends in West German occupational stratification points to a convergence with the present pattern in the United States. One can speculate that, in some sectors, the differences will grow smaller, for example, in the agricultural populations. But this cannot be said for all categories. The proportion of self-employed entrepreneurs is a function of social and economic policy, while the relative size of

the professional group is a function of educational policy and social custom.

PATTERNS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Analysis of occupational trends does not encompass the problem of social mobility. Shifts in occupational structure only partially describe the patterns of personal mobility, the upward and downward movement of individuals and families. Fortunately, the sample survey which seeks to trace the occupational careers makes possible an analysis of personal social mobility.

One's chances for social mobility are conditioned by (1) the gradual changes in occupational stratification; (2) social characteristics such as age, education, religion; and (3) psychological attitudes and motives as well as constitutional vitality. It can be assumed that changes in the occupational structure in West Germany have been creating new opportunities for social ascent. But during the process of industrial expansion some persons suffer downward mobility as specific skill and age groups are displaced. In West Germany the need to integrate a great mass of refugees and "expellees"—more than one out of four persons—meant that there were additional strong pressures toward downward social mobility. Thus, despite the relative over-all stability in occupational structure, it is necessary to discover just how much personal social mobility—both upward and downward—has taken place.

For our purposes it was not meaningful to measure social mobility by means of a detailed list of occupations. Instead, we needed a more comprehensive and analytic view of social structure. We were concerned with measuring social mobility between broadly defined social strata or, if you will, social classes. Thus social strata were categorized on a two-step basis. First, it was assumed that social structure is basically differentiated by occupation and by relations to the means of production. Therefore, a person's occupation and his relations to the means of production could be used to dis-

⁸ For an analysis of the occupational structure of the United States see Kurt Mayer, "Recent Changes in the Class Structure in the United States," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology* (1957), III, 66-80.

tinguish between manual and non-manual occupations, that is, between the lower and middle classes. Second, within the lower and especially within the middle classes, differentiation into lower and upper strata involved additional criteria, such as income,

it is possible to categorize our sample of West German households into four hierarchical social strata: upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower (Table 3). The very small percentage of persons (less than 1 per cent) who might be classified within the upper stratum are included in the upper-middle stratum.

On the basis of these categories, the matrix of *intergenerational* mobility is derived by comparison of the present social stratum (*sozialschicht*) of the head of each household, or unattached adult, with that of the father's (Table 4). We can then see the proportion of descendants who remained in the social stratum of their father and the proportion who shifted into different strata. Thus we are comparing the social destination of men and women of similar origins. If the farmowners are equated to the lower-middle stratum and the farm workers to the lower-lower stratum, the *gross* amount of personal mobility can be noted in the summary in Table 5, where social mobility is defined as a movement from one stratum into at least the next.

From these data it can be noted that,

TABLE 3

SOCIAL STRATA IN WEST GERMANY, 1955

	PER CENT	
	Present Generation	Father's Generation
Upper-Middle Strata: Professionals, managers and proprietors of larger establishments, and upper civil servants....	4.6	3.0
Lower-Middle Strata: Minor officials, clerical and sales persons, small businessmen, and independent artisans.....	28.0	24.6
Upper-Lower Strata: Skilled workers and employed artisans.....	13.3	12.4
Lower-Lower Strata: Semiskilled and unskilled workers.....	34.9	31.6
Farmers.....	10.6	22.0
Farm workers.....	3.7	4.6
Unclassifiable*.....	4.9	1.8
No. of cases.....	(3,385)	(3,385)

* Includes those war and social security pensioners to whom no occupational position could be meaningfully assigned.

TABLE 4

INTERGENERATIONAL SOCIAL MOBILITY, WEST GERMANY, 1955

(Comparison of Heads of Household: Father's Generation and Present Generation)

SOCIAL STRATA— FATHER'S GENERATION	SOCIAL STRATA—PRESENT GENERATION, 1955							TOTAL (PER CENT)	TOTAL No. OF CASES
	Upper- Middle	Lower- Middle	Upper- Lower	Lower- Lower	Farm- owner	Farm Worker	Unclassi- fiable		
Upper-middle....	50.6	27.1	9.4	4.7	2.4	....	5.8	100	(85)
Lower-middle....	8.3	55.6	12.0	17.6	2.0	0.9	3.6	100	(845)
Upper-lower....	3.6	32.9	31.5	21.5	3.1	1.7	5.7	100	(420)
Lower-lower....	0.7	14.5	12.4	61.5	2.6	3.6	4.7	100	(1,065)
Farmowner.....	2.1	17.3	7.9	25.1	39.3	3.9	4.4	100	(747)
Farm worker....	0.6	8.3	10.2	43.4	4.4	25.5	7.6	100	(158)
Unclassifiable....	3.0	20.9	14.9	37.3	1.5	7.5	14.9	100	(65)
No. of cases.....	(155)	(941)	(458)	(1181)	(361)	(125)	(164)		(3,385)

social prestige, and power. The distinction between the self-employed and the salaried person, crucial as it is for occupational analysis, is not a clear index to relative position within the middle social strata. Instead, income, bureaucratic rank, and social prestige were used to distinguish the upper-middle occupations from those in the lower-middle strata. On the basis of such analysis

despite the apparent over-all stability of German social structure, there has been a considerable amount of both upward and downward personal mobility (intragenerationally 73.7 per cent remained stable, while intergenerationally the stable group was only 55.4 per cent). What is most striking is that the amount of personal social ascent was balanced off by social descent for both

time periods. Where these data are analyzed below in terms of refugee status, it will become clear that internal migration and disruptions of the war contribute to these patterns of downward mobility.

The question can be raised whether these data, which include the agricultural strata, compound the consequences of both industrialization and urbanization. Is it possible to fit the farmowners and farm laborers into the same hierarchy of social strata as the urban population? We have data to indicate

downward into the strata of manual workers. Evidence for this may be seen in Table 4; one-third of the farmowners had sons who became manual workers, most of them unskilled. By contrast, Table 4 also shows the extensive amount of upward individual mobility among the offspring of the urban population. These data on intergenerational social inheritance underline that the process of social ascent is not a one-generation shift from the working strata into the middle strata. Rather, social ascent involves, in

TABLE 5
SOCIAL MOBILITY IN WEST GERMANY, 1955

	INTRAGENERATIONAL (1939-55)		INTERGENERATIONAL	
	No. of Cases	Per Cent	No. of Cases	Per Cent
No mobility.....	2,495	73.7	1,876	55.4
Upward mobility.....	322	9.5	622	18.0
Downward mobility.....	381	11.3	668	20.2
Unclassifiable.....	187	5.5	219	6.4
Total.....	3,385	100.0	3,385	100.0

TABLE 6
SOCIAL MOBILITY IN WEST GERMANY, 1955
(WITHOUT FARMING STRATA)

	INTRAGENERATIONAL (1939-55)		INTERGENERATIONAL	
	No. of Cases	Per Cent	No. of Cases	Per Cent
No mobility.....	1,997	76.3	1,302	58.9
Upward mobility.....	280	10.6	530	24.0
Downward mobility.....	344	13.1	379	17.1
Total.....	2,621	100.0	2,211	100.0

that the self-conceptions of the farm worker are working-class and that those of the farmowner tend with considerable consistency to be lower-middle class. Nevertheless, it is important to observe the pattern of gross personal mobility after the farming occupations have been eliminated (Table 6). Without the farming strata, for the intergenerational period, upward social mobility exceeds downward; here the increased opportunities traditionally ascribed to industrialism are manifested at least for the urban population.

For farmowners urbanization and entrance into the urban occupational structure seems often to involve an initial social move

good measure, a two-stage process, with movement into the middle class depending on whether one's father was in the upper-lower or the lower-lower stratum. About one-third of the descendants of fathers who were in the upper-lower stratum reached the lower-middle stratum (i.e., the bottom of the middle class); while for the descendants of households from the lower-lower stratum the percentage reaching the lower-middle stratum was much lower, only about 15 per cent. Likewise, entrance into the upper-middle stratum depended heavily on having a father who already was in the lower-middle strata. Thus these data indicate the danger inherent in analyzing personal social

mobility on the basis of an oversimplified, two-strata system of manual and non-manual.

How do these patterns of intergenerational social mobility in West Germany compare with those in the United States? Such cross-national comparisons are most hazardous, since the results are conditioned by the number of social strata employed by differing definitions and especially by the classi-

the United States on the basis of the data contained by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) study, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," completed almost a decade ago.¹¹ For this purpose it was necessary to combine the categories of "farmowner" and "farm worker" in the German data to create a stratification scheme equivalent with the American study (Table 7). The five strata employed in the

TABLE 7
WEST GERMANY-UNITED STATES COMPARISON OF
INTERGENERATIONAL SOCIAL MOBILITY

SOCIAL STRATA— FATHER'S GENERATION	SOCIAL STRATA—PRESENT GENERATION						TOTAL (PER CENT)	NO. OF CASES
	Upper- Middle	Lower- Middle	Upper- Lower	Lower- Lower	Farmers	Unclassi- fiable		
Upper-middle								
United States. . . .	49.6	29.8	5.7	12.4	2.5	...	100	(315)
West Germany. . . .	50.6	27.1	9.4	4.7	2.4	5.8	100	(85)
Lower-middle								
United States. . . .	37.0	40.8	6.5	12.0	3.7	...	100	(106)
West Germany. . . .	8.3	55.6	12.0	17.6	2.9	3.6	100	(845)
Upper-lower								
United States. . . .	26.0	26.9	22.9	21.6	2.6	...	100	(231)
West Germany. . . .	3.6	32.9	31.5	21.5	4.8	5.7	100	(420)
Lower-lower								
United States. . . .	19.5	19.1	18.7	37.4	5.3	...	100	(246)
West Germany. . . .	0.7	14.5	12.5	61.5	6.2	4.6	100	(1,065)
Farmers								
United States. . . .	19.3	10.8	11.8	21.6	36.5	...	100	(434)
West Germany. . . .	1.9	15.7	8.3	28.4	40.8	4.9	100	(905)
Total								
United States. . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(1,332)
West Germany. . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(3,320)

fication of the farming occupations. Lipset and Rogoff argue that all Western industrialized countries tend to have similar rates of intergenerational social mobility because of the similar occupational structure that industrialism imposes.⁹ Their ingenious analysis involves comparing the rates of social mobility between the three strata, farm occupations, manual and non-manual. Our data confirm their stress on the importance of focusing attention on the opportunities for social mobility in western European countries, an emphasis which has tended to be neglected. By employing a five-strata scheme, we are able to carry further the cross-national comparison of the United States and Germany.¹⁰

Comparisons of patterns of intergenerational social mobility can best be made with

NORC study were: professionals, proprietors and managers (upper-middle strata);

⁹ Seymour Lipset and Natalie Rogoff, "Class and Opportunity in Europe and the United States," *Commentary*, December, 1954.

¹⁰ It is unfortunate that no comparisons can be made with the recent comprehensive British study of social mobility, because that investigation classifies skilled manual workers and lower-level, white-collar employees in the same occupational strata. Therefore, shifts occurring across the manual-non-manual categories are not reported as social mobility (David Glass [ed.], *Social Mobility in Britain* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954]).

¹¹ *Opinion News*, September, 1947, as adapted by Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957), pp. 259-61. Although the number of cases in the American study are relatively small, the sampling procedures render the data useful for the type of analysis for which they are used in this research.

clerks, salespersons, etc. (lower-middle); skilled workers and foreman (upper-lower); unskilled and semiskilled (lower-lower); and farming occupations. The percentage distribution of father's social position shows a marked difference in that for the United States data; the concentration in the upper-middle strata is very much greater than that for West Germany. In fact, it is so much greater that the comparability of underlying definitions becomes questionable. However, we can make comparisons of the West German and the United States data (e.g., as in Table 7), when the data are arranged to show comparative amounts of social inheritance. On three different measures the amount of intergenerational personal mobility in the German stratification system emerges as somewhat less than that in the United States.¹²

First, comparison on the basis of the amount of structural change shows greater structural change in the United States than in Germany, with 22 per cent change in stratification opportunities in the United States as compared with 12 per cent in Germany.¹³

Second, when the Goldhamer-Rogoff in-

¹² These data on West Germany reveal less intergenerational mobility than those reported by Lipset and Rogoff. Their analysis is based on a sample of unreported size from the files of the German Institut für Demoskopie and is calculated on the basis of mobility between the categories of non-manual, manual, and farm. The different results from the two bodies of data are probably due in part to sampling procedure, since it is presumed that the Institut data are based on a quota sample, in contrast to the probability sampling procedure used to collect these data. In addition, the use of three instead of five categories in the social stratification scheme influenced the results obtained.

Whatever effect might be traced to the fact that the United States data were collected earlier than West German data would only serve to reinforce the encountered differences in mobility between the two samples. All the previously reported data on the differences in social stratification indicate that the German social system is evolving in the direction of the United States, and, in effect, these comparisons increase the comparative amount of mobility for Germany by allowing almost a decade in which these changes could have taken place.

dex of social distance mobility, which measures the amount of personal mobility *without regard to direction*, is applied to the data, the mean index for the United States is greater than for West Germany.¹⁴ For the United States it is .92 and statistically exceeds that for West Germany, which is .63.

Third, the details of the matrix of social inheritance, in Table 7, comparing the United States and West Germany show the social strata which make contributions to the greater upward social mobility in the United States. The percentage of descendants from lower-lower, upper-lower, and lower-middle households who remained in the same stratum, respectively, is greater in West Germany than in the United States. Similarly, apart from the farmers, the upward mobility of the offspring from these strata is in excess in the United States over West Germany for all categories except the Germany offspring of the upper-lower stratum who enter the lower-middle group. Perhaps the greatest difference in mobility is the much greater opportunity for ascent into the upper-middle strata in the United States than in West Germany. In the categories of downward mobility, again omitting the farmers, the German experience does not uniformly reflect greater social descent than the United States (in three categories West Germany exceeds the United States; two are roughly balanced; and one is greater for the United States).

In part, the differences in the amount of personal mobility encountered must reflect some differences in how specific occupations were classified in the two studies, that is, in social definitions that cannot be considered standardized. In part, German social structure has great pressure to incorporate the refugees, which temporarily increases downward mobility. More fundamentally, Germany is somewhat less industrialized, and,

¹³ Even when the data are combined into a three-strata system—non-manual, manual, and farming—the change in the United States is in excess of that for West Germany: 19 per cent to 12 per cent.

¹⁴ Rogoff, *op. cit.*, chap. ii, pp. 29–33.

therefore, the proliferation of selected types of structural opportunities for social ascent are somewhat behind those of the United States. In addition, the occupational structure is influenced by social policies in each country. The economic and trade-union definition of the skilled worker in Germany is perhaps somewhat narrower than in the United States. Access to higher education, and the entrance into the professionalized occupations of the upper-middle stratum, is more limited in West Germany. However, considering all these structural reasons for less mobility in West Germany than in the United States, the empirical data indicate that the mobility differences between these two countries can easily be overemphasized.

CORRELATES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

The link between social stratification, social mobility, and the integration or consensus of a social system is indeed a complex matter. It might be argued that the data presented on the essential continuity in West German social structure indicate sources of stability. Dislocation that results from social descent, and even social ascent, would be minimized, since personal mobility has taken place within a relatively stable social structure. In this respect contemporary German social structure is very different from that of the Weimar period.

In general, the sheer rate of social mobility, contrary to the expectations of economic determinist theory, tells little about the consequences of social mobility for a social system. Consequences of social mobility are conditioned by the continuity and discontinuity of the fundamental institutions as well as *by the patterns of social mobility* into elite groups. Consequences depend also on the fundamental value systems of a society and on the expectations of the population. A highly equalitarian society whose members desire personal achievement requires high rates of social mobility for societal integration. Such a society might even be able to tolerate a considerable but temporary social descent if expectations for future advancement remained unchallenged. On

the other hand, a hierarchical social system with traditional values would be disrupted by the same amount of social ascent and social descent. It is in terms of such differences in values and expectations that the consequences of mobility in the United States and Germany need to be compared.

But, again, West Germany and the United States have been developing greater similarity in fundamental value systems. West Germany, like other highly industrialized Western societies, is increasingly a society in which social stratification is based on achievement rather than on ascription. In an achievement-oriented society more and more universalistic criteria for social differentiation are necessary; social consensus requires widespread acceptance of the belief that each individual should have an "equal" opportunity for ascent. This is no utopian goal but rather a realistic and pragmatic acceptance of the importance of skill as compared with social inheritance. Traditional ascriptive and socially inherited background must be tempered by a system in which the criteria for social mobility are achievable through individual effort and, particularly, through education. Moreover, in an achievement-oriented social system, equalitarianism is not the fundamental demand; for in an equalitarian social system nobody would have the opportunity for social ascent. Rather, the demand is for a set of stable rules by which persons can learn to be mobile.

Thus the relationship between social background variables and patterns of social mobility had to be investigated. It was important to know the extent to which these variables conditioned social mobility. Of the possible correlates of social mobility, religion, age, education, and refugee status were selected as relevant for understanding the consequences of mobility on social consensus in West Germany.

Religion.—Strikingly, in the transformation of West German social structure into an achievement-oriented society, Protestant-Catholic affiliation is of slight importance in a person's contemporary chances

for social mobility. In the classic writings of Max Weber the thesis has been offered that the Catholic ethic stood opposed to the capitalist ethic and therefore inhibited Catholic social ascent by means of capitalistic venture. Research in Germany around the turn of the century documented the relatively lower social status of Catholics and their more limited chances for social ascent.¹⁵

Households of Catholic affiliation tend to occupy a slightly lower position in the social structure than Protestant households (Table

historically weakened social consensus. Aside from the transformation of the content and organization of religion, the fact that the German social system has become an achievement society for both Protestants and Catholics is a development of bureaucratization which implies that mobility is not merely capitalist entrepreneurship but also the result of the routinization of careers.

Education.—In an achievement-oriented social system, education becomes a crucial device for social mobility as ascriptive criteria of status weaken. Educational oppor-

TABLE 8
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, SOCIAL MOBILITY, AND
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, WEST GERMANY, 1955

SOCIAL STRATA— PRESENT GENERATION	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION (PER CENT)	
	Protestant	Catholic
Upper-middle.....	5.3	3.2
Lower-middle.....	29.8	25.8
Upper-lower.....	13.7	13.5
Lower-lower.....	32.1	37.3
Farmowner.....	10.1	11.9
Farm worker.....	4.0	3.6
Unclassifiable.....	5.0	4.6
No. of cases.....	(1,748)	(1,516)

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY	PER CENT				TOTAL NO. OF CASES
	Protestant	Catholic	Other	None	
No mobility.....	55.7	56.4	41.7	39.8	(1,876)
Upward mobility.....	18.7	17.5	14.6	31.5	(622)
Downward mobility.....	19.2	19.6	29.2	23.3	(668)
Unclassifiable.....	6.4	6.5	14.5	5.4	(219)
No. of cases.....	(1,748)	(1,516)	(48)	(73)	(3,385)

8). The difference is greatest at the very top of the social pyramid—the upper-middle stratum—where the Protestants are, in terms of percentage, almost twice that of the Catholics. However, intergenerational patterns of upward and downward social mobility among Catholics approach very closely those of Protestants. The same is true of intragenerational mobility, 1939–55. Clearly, this lack of a difference between Protestant and Catholic reflects the disappearance of a form of stratification in Germany which

tunity and educational achievement are, of course, closely associated with a person's position in the social structure. But, these data emphasize, upward movement from one social stratum to the next is facilitated by educational attainment (Table 9).

Moreover, in Table 9 the interaction of education and intergenerational mobility is shown for the male respondents in the sample, since it is for men that education serves most critically as a precondition for mobility. Of the men with grammar-school education, only 15.5 per cent experienced upward intergenerational social mobility, while, of those with university education, half (52.8 per cent) had upward social mobility. And,

¹⁵ Martin Offenbacher, "Konfession und soziale Schichtung," in *Volksw. Abhandlungen der Badischen Hochschulen* (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1900), pp. 409–510.

conversely, university education, and only university education, operated as insurance against downward social mobility.

These data give meaning to the great importance attached to a university education by wide sectors of the German population. Since opportunity for education is so sharply class-bound, these data imply that the requirements for mobility based on achievement—in which education is a crucial element—are yet to be met in West Germany.

up through the fifty-year age group. Interestingly enough, the trend is interrupted for the forty to forty-nine-year age segment, which had its education and its opportunities for upward social mobility interrupted by the dislocations of the war. By contrast, for downward social mobility, the proportions remain relatively constant after the third decade of life, that is, after a man has had an opportunity to try out his life-chances. An exception is the higher proportion of persons with downward social mo-

TABLE 9
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, SOCIAL MOBILITY,
AND EDUCATION, WEST GERMANY, 1955

SOCIAL STRATA— PRESENT GENERATION	EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT (PER CENT)				No DATA	TOTAL
	Grammar School	"Middle School"	<i>Abitur</i> *	Uni- versity		
Upper-middle.	1.5	16.0	23.9	65.9	...	
Lower-middle.	23.4	53.8	56.7	22.7		
Upper-lower.	14.0	11.0	10.4	6.9		
Lower-lower.	39.8	9.8	4.5	4.5		
Farmowner.	12.0	4.0	3.0	....	
Farm worker.	4.3	1.1	....	....
Unclassifiable.	5.0	4.3	1.5	....	
No. of cases.	(2,845)	(426)	(67)	(44)	(3)	(3,385)

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY	Grammar School	MALES ONLY (PER CENT)		
		Middle School	<i>Abitur</i> *	University
No mobility.	61.4	58.7	45.2	38.9
Upward mobility. . . .	15.5	22.1	33.3	52.8
Downward mobility. . .	19.9	16.3	21.5	8.3
Unclassifiable.	3.2	2.9	....	....
No. of cases.	(1,211)	(172)	(142)	(36)

* College-preparatory high school.

Age.—Social mobility in an achievement-oriented social system is linked to the age cycle. During the first decades of life a person is not likely to achieve his full potential for upward mobility. He merely reflects the status of the household into which he was born. By the fourth decade of life a person's potential for upward mobility is fully manifested. And again when he is sixty, downgrading of social position begins to operate, especially into the unclassifiable category. These relations can be seen in Table 10, in which intergenerational social mobility by age groups is presented for the males only. Upward social mobility increases with age

in the thirty- to thirty-nine-year age segment, which is due to the impact of the younger refugees. Finally, the changed pattern after sixty, the decrease in percentage of upward social mobility, reflects the decline in changes for social ascent among older persons and the shift from employment to the unclassifiable social pensioner category.

Refugee status.—Refugee status, as was expected, emerged as an important determinate of the chances for both intragenerational and intergenerational social mobility. Over the short run, refugee status is an ascriptive characteristic which, if it operates

as a barrier to social mobility, weakens social consensus. In Table 11 the social strata of the heads of the household in the refugee and the non-refugee population as of 1955 is shown. It can be seen that the distribution of social position of the refugee households is somewhat inferior to that of the resident population. As has been claimed, the refugee population has an equivalent concentration in the upper-middle strata to that of the

resident population. The social stratification of the refugees is modified most in the case of the farmowners, for whom refugee status frequently meant the loss of their ownership position (12.2 per cent in the resident population as compared with 4.3 per cent in the refugee population). This modification appears to be an acceleration of the process of urbanization which tends to occur with refugee status and which brings with it a de-

TABLE 10
SOCIAL MOBILITY AND AGE GROUPINGS IN WEST GERMANY, 1955, MALES ONLY

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY	AGE OF RESPONDENT (PER CENT)					
	Under 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
No mobility.....	83.4	62.8	51.8	63.6	55.0	58.8
Upward mobility.....	8.3	15.4	20.5	16.2	22.5	17.6
Downward mobility.....	8.3	19.2	25.0	18.6	19.9	16.8
Unclassifiable.....	....	2.5	2.7	1.6	2.6	6.8
No. of cases.....	(60)	(285)	(224)	(371)	(267)	(250)

TABLE 11
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, SOCIAL MOBILITY, AND
REFUGEE STATUS IN WEST GERMANY, 1955

SOCIAL STRATA— PRESENT GENERATION	PER CENT	
	Non- Refugee (Per Cent)	All Types of Refugees (Per Cent)
Upper-middle.....	4.4	5.4
Lower-middle.....	29.2	22.4
Upper-lower.....	13.3	14.7
Lower-lower.....	33.9	39.2
Farmowner.....	12.2	4.3
Farm worker.....	3.0	6.4
Unclassifiable.....	4.0	7.5
No. of cases.....	(2,658)	(719)

INTRAGENERATIONAL MOBILITY	PER CENT				
	Non- Refugee	Expellees	Refugees	Foreigners*	Total
No mobility.....	77.9	61.9	57.0	...	73.7
Upward mobility.....	9.8	6.9	10.0	...	9.5
Downward mobility.....	7.4	23.9	21.7	...	11.3
Unclassifiable.....	4.9	7.3	11.3	...	5.5
No. of cases.....	(2,658)	(487)	(232)	(8)	(3,385)

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY	PER CENT				
	Non- Refugee	Expellees	Refugees	Foreigners*	Total
No mobility.....	57.9	46.6	43.6	...	55.4
Upward mobility.....	19.1	14.8	18.1	...	18.0
Downward mobility.....	17.0	32.2	25.4	...	20.2
Unclassifiable.....	6.0	6.4	12.9	...	6.4
No. of cases.....	(2,658)	(487)	(232)	(8)	(3,385)

* Too few cases for statistical breakdown.

cline in position in the social structure as many of these farming persons moved into unskilled and semiskilled occupations in industry. The lower-middle strata—especially the self-employed—among the refugee population has suffered, as witnessed by the 22.4 per cent in this stratum in the refugee group as compared with 29.2 per cent among the non-refugees.

The non-resident population in West Germany is of two varieties: the "expellees," who were forced to return to German territory immediately after 1945, and the "refugees," who came subsequently, mainly from East Germany. Again in Table 11, the more advantageous mobility position of the resident population, as compared with either

tional mobility. Thus the refugees were able to partake of upward mobility where their skills were appropriate but suffered greater downward mobility where this was not the case. And, as mentioned above, it was the farmers who contributed heavily to the pattern of downward mobility, as they shifted from the rural to the urban occupation system.

When the resident population is compared with the total displaced persons, the mobility patterns of the Protestants and the Catholics are similar (Table 12). However, when the displaced-persons population is broken down into expellees and refugees, it can be seen that, for the refugee group only, the Catholics experienced a higher proportion

TABLE 12
SOCIAL MOBILITY, RELIGION, AND REFUGEE STATUS
WEST GERMANY, 1955

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY	Non-Refugee		PER CENT Expellees		Refugees	
	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic
No mobility.....	57.5	59.5	48.4	44.9	49.7	30.8
Upward.....	20.2	17.6	12.7	17.3	16.8	15.4
Downward.....	16.8	16.6	32.9	30.3	18.5	44.2
Unclassifiable.....	5.5	6.3	5.6	7.5	15.0	9.6
No. of cases.....	(1,318)	(1,236)	(252)	(225)	(167)	(52)

the expellees or the refugees, is shown. It is important that there is an absence of any marked difference as far as realized opportunity for upward social mobility. Both on the basis of intragenerational and intergenerational mobility the resident population and the refugees had approximately equal amounts of upward mobility, while the expellees experience a somewhat lower percentage of upward mobility. Intergenerationally, for the resident population the figure was 19.1 per cent, compared with 14.8 per cent and 18.1 per cent for the two types of refugees, respectively. However, both types of refugee populations had much more downward mobility than the resident population. Intergenerationally, for the resident group the figure was 17.0 per cent, while for the refugees it was 32.2 per cent and for the expellees 25.4 per cent. The same pattern repeats itself for intragenera-

of downward mobility than the Protestants, although, of course, the refugees coming mainly from East Germany were predominately Protestant (18.6 per cent of the Protestant refugees were downwardly mobile, while 44.2 per cent of the Catholics in this status were downwardly mobile). To some degree this again is the specific result of the consequences of downward mobility of Catholic small farmowners who, as refugees, were mobilized into the urban manual labor force or became farm laborers. We had expected the reverse, namely, that the Protestant refugees would have had as much or more downward mobility, as that of the Catholic refugees. Therefore, the absence of religious differences in West German social mobility would have in part been due to the specific contribution of downwardly mobile Protestant refugees, thereby counterbalancing their traditional social status advantage

over the Catholics. These data indicate that the absence of a religion difference in mobility patterns, as reported above, is not the result of the assimilation of refugees—Protestant or Catholic—but represents a more fundamental change in West German social structure (see Table 8).

CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

The relative importance of religion, age, education, and refugee status in regulating personal mobility has, by inference, consequences for social consensus in West Germany. These consequences are not necessarily uniform. The decline in the importance of religious differences in regulating chances of personal mobility could be inferred as contributing to consensus. On the other hand, the consequences of age grading on social mobility, especially on the downgrading of older persons, seems likely to create disruptive strains. The handicaps of refugee status, although real and significant, have not created a significant minority with permanent disability for social mobility. Refugees were able to achieve a considerable amount of upward mobility, along with the greater social descent that they experienced. Thus, of the social characteristics investigated, educational background and access to higher education emerge as crucial variables in adjusting the consequences of social mobility to social consensus. To the extent that access to education remains unequally distributed, to this degree a strain is placed on consensus in an achievement-oriented society.

But these observations are speculative inferences. It was possible to test more directly a number of hypotheses about social stratification, social mobility, and social consensus in West Germany. Our general orientation was that the contemporary patterns of social mobility in West Germany, although they imply important elements of social strain, have contributed fundamentally to social consensus and stability. Schelsky and other sociologists have commented on the transformation of the form

and content of the prewar "class struggle" in West Germany.¹⁶ To what extent has an undifferentiated middle-class orientation developed in West Germany? To investigate the leveling of social stratification is hardly to assume that the present differences are not at the center of social change. If sectors of the working class have achieved short-term goals of income and social security, it may mean that rivalries between skilled and unskilled workers have increased or that occupational struggles within the middle classes have become more important.

Assuming this general orientation, a decline in older forms of social stratification conflict, we require empirical data to describe the limits and extent of this modification in greater detail and to trace some of its implications. Three topics were selected as important for investigation: income distribution of the social strata, subjective feelings of social class identification, and political party affiliation.

Income distribution.—First, when the total net family income after income taxes for each of the four urban strata is examined, the new patterns of consumption can be seen (Table 13). Within the total range of family income, in essence, there has emerged a broad middle-income group which overlaps social strata distinctions. The similarity in the pattern of income distribution of the lower-middle strata and the upper-lower is most prominent. The percentage of households earning very low incomes (less than DM. 300 after taxes per month) is 18.7 in the lower-middle stratum and is close to 21 in the upper-lower stratum. In the middle-income range, between DM. 400 and 699 per month, the percentage is roughly equal in both strata (about 36). Here the relatively high wages of the skilled workers become apparent. Moreover, even at the high end of the range (DM. 700 and over), there is an elite of the "proletariat," the master craftsman plus working-class family with two wage-earners (8.9 per cent in the upper

¹⁶ Helmut Schelsky, "Elements of Social Stability," in *German Social Science Digest* (Hamburg: Classen Verlag, 1955), pp. 113-23.

working group and 16.3 per cent in the lower-middle group).

The emergence of a middle-income group which encompasses the lower-middle and upper-lower strata, while it means the weakening of a traditional "class" boundary, hardly implies that, for the whole social structure in West Germany, economic distribution is equalitarian. The lower-lower strata income is markedly below that of this middle-income grouping. Thus, 42 per cent of the lower-lower strata had family incomes of less than DM. 300 after taxes per month and over two-thirds of them had incomes under DM. 500. Conversely, the upper-middle stratum presents a pattern of

consciousness. People place different amounts of emphasis and concern on their subjective class identifications, and the rhetoric for expressing social class identifications varies from group to group. What we employed was a simple and rather direct approach to charting these basic commitments which neglected the more complex overtones.

The sampled population was asked: "In which of these social classes would you place yourself?" ("In welche von diesen Gesellschaftsklassen würden Sie sich einstufen?"). Each person was presented with a card which bore the labels: *Oberschicht*, *Mittelschicht*, *Arbeiterschicht*, and *Unterschicht*. The results, as in the case of the income distribu-

TABLE 13
TOTAL FAMILY INCOME IN WEST GERMANY, 1955
(AFTER INCOME TAXES)

	Upper- Middle	Lower- Middle	Upper- Lower	Lower- Lower
DM. 900 and over..	29.0	7.2	2.7	1.8
DM. 700-899.....	13.5	9.1	6.1	2.9
DM. 500-699.....	18.7	21.8	15.2	8.4
DM. 400-499.....	4.5	15.3	20.8	16.4
DM. 300-399.....	12.2	19.9	29.1	26.4
DM. 150-299.....	10.3	13.5	12.8	28.8
DM. 149 or less....	5.2	5.2	8.2	13.2
No data.....	6.6	8.0	5.1	2.1
No. of cases.....	(155)	(941)	(458)	(1,181)

marked differentiation, with 29 per cent earning over DM. 900 per month, or 42.5 per cent earning over DM. 700. This is not to overlook the fact that in the upper-middle stratum there is a group whose social position is based on occupation and status position without equivalent income (15.5 per cent earned less than DM. 300 and 27.7 per cent earned less than DM. 400). Thus, while there has been an emergence of a middle-income group which encompasses a small majority of the households of West Germany, the upper-middle and lower-working strata remain differentiated from this group in terms of income.

Class identification.—Patterns of class identifications parallel to a considerable extent the emergence of a middle-income grouping. Subjective feelings of class identification reveal social ideology and social con-

tion, showed a tendency to converge toward the middle in subjective class identification (Table 15). Only 1.9 per cent classified themselves in the upper class, and merely 5.3 per cent responded that they were in the lower class. Nearly all the rest divided themselves into middle class (41.2 per cent) and working class (48.5 per cent).

Interpretation of these data is enhanced by two comparisons. First, as can be seen from Table 14, a national sample of persons in the United States produced a very similar pattern of responses. The United States, with its presumed emphasis on middle-class orientations, reveals on this question no less working-class identification than West Germany. This assumes particular significance, since, as we have noted, the actual opportunities for social mobility in West Germany are less than those in the United States. In

a world of mass media and mass culture perhaps common identifications and common aspirations anticipate rather than follow actual changes in the social structure.

Second, in Table 15, social class identifications are classified by the objective social stratum of the household head. Thus it is possible to examine the degree to which these two aspects of social stratification converge. The tendency for members of the lower class to consider themselves in the middle class should be noted. Even 15.0 per cent of the lower-lower stratum said that they were middle class; while 37.1 per cent, or more than one-third of the upper-lower strata class, claimed middle-class identifications. Conversely, in the lower-middle class only 20 per cent—one out of five—placed themselves in the working strata. The consequence of social stratification and social mobility, regardless of the social reality, seems to have produced a wide middle-stratum self-identification, at least as an aftermath of a decade of employment prosperity.

Political party preference.—Finally, what are the political party preferences of the different social strata and how has social

posing them to National Socialism and in developing political extremism. (Such theories fail to account for the penetration of National Socialism into sectors of the working class, although the threat and actuality of unemployment operate with similar effect.) Clearly, in the postwar period, domestic German political orientations seem closely linked to the emerging patterns of social stratification.

Two hypotheses seemed relevant to help link social structure to the particular kind

TABLE 14
SOCIAL CLASS SELF-IDENTIFICATION, WEST GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES

	PER CENT	
	West Germany*	United States†
Upper class.....	1.9	3.0
Middle class.....	43.2	43.0
Working class.....	48.5	51.0
Lower class.....	5.3	1.0
No data.....	1.1	2.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0
No. of cases.....	(3,385)	(1,097)

* "In welche von diesen Gesellschaftsklassen würden Sie sich einstufen?"

† Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 76-77.

TABLE 15
SOCIAL CLASS SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND OBJECTIVE SOCIAL STRATA
WEST GERMANY, 1955

SELF-IDENTIFICATION	OBJECTIVE SOCIAL STRATA (PER CENT)							TOTAL
	Upper-Middle	Lower-Middle	Upper-Lower	Lower-Lower	Farm-owner	Farm-Laborer	Unclassifiable	
Upper class.....	18.7	1.9	0.6	0.2	2.8	0	1.2	1.9
Middle class.....	70.3	75.3	37.1	15.0	59.3	12.1	42.7	43.2
Working class.....	7.7	20.0	57.7	76.6	30.4	75.8	42.7	48.5
Lower class.....	1.9	1.6	3.3	7.3	5.8	11.3	13.4	5.3
No opinion; no data...	1.4	1.2	1.3	0.9	1.7	0.8	0	1.1
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
No. of cases.....	(155)	(941)	(458)	(1,181)	(361)	(125)	(164)	(3,385)

mobility influenced political behavior? Political behavior, in both Marxist and non-Marxist theory, represents a crucial area in which to probe the consequences of social stratification and social mobility. A great deal of weight has been given to the consequences of downward social mobility among persons in the lower-middle class in predis-

ing them to National Socialism and in developing political extremism. These hypotheses are not explanations of political behavior in West Germany; they deal specifically with the impact of social stratification. First, it should be the case that neither of the two major parties (Christian Democratic Union

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[CDU/CSU] and Social Democratic party [SDP]) would draw its strength from a narrow strata of the social structure; or, in order to increase their marginal strength, both parties must offer themselves as coalitions which cut across differing strata of the social structure. Thus the major parties must avoid extremist appeals in order to accommodate differing social segments within their ranks and in order to attract new recruits. To a considerable extent it was expected

had a concentration of upwardly and downwardly mobile persons among its adherents; and, to help explain the relative stability of German political behavior, our hypothesis was that no one of the major parties would have a predominant concentration of the downwardly mobile persons (and that each party would have a minority of its adherents in this group). However, the small parties of the extreme right would have the highest concentrations.

TABLE 16
POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE AND SOCIAL STRATA
WEST GERMANY, 1955

Social Strata	Socialist	Christian Democrats	Free Democrats	Right* Groups	Communist†	Other†	None or No Opinion
Upper-middle....	1.6	6.1	13.7	5.8	...	...	3.6
Lower-middle....	18.4	33.2	46.0	26.6	...	...	26.2
Upper-lower....	18.4	11.8	10.6	10.1	...	...	12.8
Lower-lower....	50.8	26.9	13.7	31.7	...	...	35.6
Farmer.....	7.5	18.3	12.8	18.7	...	...	15.0
Unclassifiable...	3.3	3.7	3.2	7.1	...	...	6.8
No. of cases.....	(767)	(953)	(238)	(147)	(11)	(62)	(1,207)

Intergenerational Mobility	Socialist	Christian Democrat	Free Democrat	Right* Groups
No mobility.....	53.8	57.5	55.3	48.6
Upward mobility.....	18.6	18.4	24.1	15.5
Downward mobility.....	22.8	18.8	11.7	27.4
Unclassifiable.....	4.8	5.3	8.9	8.5
No. of cases.....	(767)	(953)	(238)	(147)

* German party (DP), National German party (DRP), and Union of Refugees and Disenfranchised (BHE).

† Too few cases for statistical breakdown.

that this would also be true for the third party, the Free Democratic party (FDP). Second, if a political party is likely to be driven to an extremist position by the disruptive pressure of adherents who have suffered downward mobility, it is important for a competitive democratic political system that no one of the parties have an overwhelmingly high concentration of these downwardly mobile persons. Rather, they should be found to some extent in all parties. Under these conditions, no party would be able to neglect the legitimate self-interests of the downwardly mobile, and no party would make a special point of extremist appeals to these persons. Thus we wanted to investigate the extent to which each party

Political party preference was ascertained by the question "Would you tell me which political party you prefer?" ("Würden sie mir sagen, welche politische Partie Ihnen am besten gefällt?").¹⁷ The responses to the question classified by social strata of the household head are presented in Table 16. First, these data show the clear-cut link between social composition and political party preference. Comparing the SDP to

¹⁷ For those who responded, "Keine oder, keine meinung" ("None, no opinion") the following question was asked: "Angenommen, morgen wäre eine Wahl, welche Partei würden Sie wählen?" ("Assuming that there were an election tomorrow, for which party would you vote?"). The follow-up question increased the number of persons with a party preference but in no way altered the results.

the CDU/CSU to the FDP, the percentage of working-strata adherents declines while the percentage of middle strata increases, progressively. The working-class component of the SDP is 69.2 per cent; of the CDU/CSU, 38.7 per cent; of the FDP, 24.3 per cent. Conversely, the middle strata, excluding the farmers, rises from 20 per cent for the SDP to 39.3 per cent for the CDU/CSU to 59.7 per cent for the FDP.

Second, however, the composition of the party adherents shows the extent to which each party is a coalition of social strata and thereby confirms our hypothesis. The CDU/CSU represents the widest social coalition; the division between middle and working is roughly equal (39.3 per cent of middle strata background and 38.7 per cent of working strata). In addition, among those who chose the CDU/CSU party, the farmers constituted an important group (18.3 per cent). By contrast, the SDP draws its support more heavily from one group, the working strata; 69.2 per cent of its adherents were from the working class, and, in fact, 50.8 per cent from the bottom of the working class. Nevertheless, these data show that almost one out of every five persons oriented toward the Social Democratic party came from the middle class (20 per cent), while another 7.5 per cent were farmers. These are the marginal strength groups for the SDP whom an extremist position might alienate. Conversely, the FDP represents almost the same level of reliance of the middle class as the Socialist on the working class; 59.7 per cent of those who selected the FDP were from the middle strata, with 24.3 per cent from the lower strata. Thus, while the SDP and the FDP are constituted more clearly by their respective social strata, they cannot be thought of as narrowly based and without important elements of social coalitions in their ranks.

Moreover, from these data the link between social mobility and party preference can be seen (Table 16). The SDP and the CDU/CSU present a rather similar picture. Both have the same percentage of adherents

in the upward mobility category (around 18); while the SDP has somewhat more than the CDU/CSU in the downward mobility category (22.8 per cent as compared with 18.8). But, as between these two groups, it cannot be said that one attracts the downwardly mobile to a disproportionate degree. The FDP, however, presents a markedly different picture. The concentration of downwardly mobile in its ranks is rather small, 11.7 per cent, while almost one-quarter (24.1 per cent) are upwardly mobile. As anticipated in our hypothesis, the right small parties as of 1955 (DP, DRP, and BHE) had the highest concentration of the downward mobility category (27.4 per cent), confirming the link between downward mobility and political extremism. But, obviously, downward social mobility does not invariably result in political extremism, since the bulk of the downwardly mobiles in West Germany are not to be found in the extremist right parties but are distributed in the rest of the political spectrum.

Thus what inferences can be drawn from the analysis of the group characteristics influencing social mobility chances and the consequences of social mobility on social consensus? The weight of the evidence rests on the side of the conclusion that the consequences of social stratification and social mobility are now operating to decrease traditional class-consciousness and to increase social consensus concerning internal matters. The decline of differences in social mobility between Catholics and Protestants is striking as well as the relative success of the refugees in upward mobility. As Germany becomes more and more an achievement-oriented society, access of education emerges as a crucial factor in social mobility and thereby on social consensus. The patterns of income distribution reveal considerable overlap between the top of the working class and the bottom of the middle class. Social class identifications in West Germany also are no more "proletarian" than in the United States. Sharp social dif-

ferentiation operates as between the upper-middle and the lower-lower strata. What data we have on political affiliation seem to indicate that the essential three-party system of West Germany has a social composition basis which enhances compromise within a competitive political system.

These are in part general trends of most advanced industrial societies, modified by particular German circumstances. Yet the social class system as it operates on social consensus is clearly different from the

Weimar period. There is reason to believe that the social system could respond to internal economic strains with political orientations differently from that period. However, our data do not deal with social stratification in relationship to such fundamental problems as nationalism, ethnocentrism, and foreign policy orientation. These data are required to round out the analysis of the consequence of social mobility on contemporary West Germany.

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THE INTELLECTUAL AND THE LANGUAGE OF MINORITIES

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ABSTRACT

Forty interviews, with social scientists and humanists in a university setting, were conducted to determine how the respondents deal with their identity as intellectuals. The dominant feature of these protocols was the frequency and variety of minority-like responses. Five specific mechanisms, which are characteristic of the language of traditional minority groups, are developed and illustrated. In a preliminary empirical test adjustment to intellectual status (i.e., the use or rejection of these five categories of self-description) is shown to be related to creativity (i.e., to the performance of the intellectual role as such).

I

The signs of deep concern about the contemporary position of the intellectual in America are not hard to find. To be sure, as Merle Curti has stressed in his presidential address to the American Historical Society, anti-intellectualism—in one form or another—has a long history in American life.¹ But in recent years the situation of the intellectual has not resembled the mere continuation of a somewhat consistent and historically routine negativism. The current sense of urgency regarding the definition of the intellectual's role has found expression in a wide variety of places: from *Time* magazine's alarm about the "wide and unhealthy gap" between the American intellectuals and the people to a series of symposiums which have appeared in the *Journal of Social Issues*, in the book edited by Daniel Bell entitled *The New American Right*, and in the thoughtful British journal, *Encounter*.²

Yet, in spite of this volume of words, and the talent of those involved, it is still possible to agree with Milton Gordon's remark that "the man of ideas and the arts has rarely been studied seriously as a so-

¹ "Intellectuals and Other People," *American Historical Review*, LX (1955), 259-82.

² Cf. S. S. Sargent and T. Brameld (eds.), "Anti-intellectualism in the United States," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1955); D. Bell (ed.), *The New American Right* (New York: Criterion Books, 1955); and *Encounter*, Vols. IV and V (1955).

cial type by professional students of society."³ Whether, as some have argued, this retreat from self-analysis reflects a basic disorder in the scientific study of man is debatable enough; but the fact is clear that the research techniques which have been applied to nearly everybody else—from the hobo to the business elite—have rarely been applied to ourselves.⁴

This paper is a report on one such study of ourselves, its aim being to determine how intellectuals in the current social climate deal with their identity as intellectuals and, beyond that, to suggest what difference it may make if this identity is handled in different ways.

The empirical base for this report was obtained through relatively unstructured interviews (on the average about one hour in length) with all the assistant professors teaching in the humanities and social sci-

³ "Social Class and American Intellectuals," *A.A.U.P. Bulletin*, XL (1955), 517.

⁴ The roster of those who have recently written, more or less directly, on the problem of the intellectual would comprise a list of the contemporary great and near-great in a variety of humanistic and social science fields (not to mention the physical sciences): e.g., Schlesinger and Hofstadter in history; Parsons and Riesman in sociology; Tolman and Fromm in psychology. Two well-known older works that embody the spirit of self-study are those by Znaniecki (*The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*) and Logan Wilson (*The Academic Man*). There have, of course, been many commentaries on the intellectual, especially in the more or less Marxist journals; but I am referring here to the more formally analytic mode of investigation.

ence departments of a midwestern university.⁵ These interviews were not content-analyzed in any statistical sense but were simply examined (as the illustrations in the next section will show) for patterns of response.

The total number of persons interviewed was forty. They came, in the number indicated, from the following departments: Economics (7), English (6), German (2), History (4), Law (1), Mathematics (3), Philosophy (4), Political Science (2), Psychology (4), Romance Languages (3), and Sociology-Anthropology (4). The sample included no one from the physical or biological sciences, from the engineering and applied fields, or from the creative arts; and, when an appropriate level in the staff hierarchy had been selected, there was no further sampling problem. Co-operation was good: of a total of forty-five persons listed in the university directory at the assistant-professor level, only one refused to be interviewed (and four were unavailable because of assignments out of the city).

The procedure in the interviews was consistent though not standardized. There was no attempt to get answers to preformed questions. We engaged, rather, in a conversation regarding a letter which outlined a plan for exploring the situation of the intellectual today. The letter was not mailed; it was read by the respondent at the start of the interview and served in this way as a common stimulus object. The body of the letter, which carried my signature, follows:

There is considerable evidence (though debatable evidence, to be sure) that the role of the intellectual has become increasingly problematic in American life. Such evidence includes: (1) the widespread expression of anti-intellectual attitudes; (2) the increasing pressure for conformity in intellectual work; and (3) the typical isolation of the intellectual in community life. These current trends are presumably matters of considerable moment to university people who are uniquely concerned with the social conditions under which intellectual activity is carried forward.

It seems to me that some effort to assess the problem among ourselves is in order; and that such an effort might proceed initially by calling together small, informal groups of faculty members to clarify issues and get an exchange of viewpoints. This letter comes as an invitation to you to participate in one of these discussions on the current situation of the intellectual. The discussion would include four or five other persons from the humanities and social sciences, and would take roughly one hour of your time. Since several discussions are planned, I would consider it part of my responsibility to provide you with some type of analytical summary of the sessions held—in effect, a research report.

Let me emphasize that the purpose of these discussions is not to canvass possible lines of action, but to achieve a clarification of issues on matters which are clearly controversial.

Would you indicate whether you wish to be included in the list of discussants by returning this letter to me with the appropriate notation?⁶

After the respondent had read the letter, he was encouraged to comment freely on

⁵ It seemed wiser, with a limited sample, to hold staff level constant rather than sample all levels of permanent staff. The assistant-professor group was chosen for two reasons: (1) it was large enough to provide suitable frequencies, yet small enough to be manageable without taxing time and finances, and (2) it is, in the institution studied, basically a tenure group like the higher ranks but presumably less involved in official committee work and graduate work and therefore more likely to give the time required for interviewing.

⁶ The italicized portion of this letter was underlined in the original; but in one-half of the cases a more action-oriented statement was substituted for the underlined portion given here. The two types of letters were randomly alternated in the interviewing program. In the second version, the underlined sentence read: "*Let me emphasize that the purpose of these discussions is not only to achieve a clarification of issues on matters which are clearly controversial; but also to canvass suitable lines of action.*" In all cases, at the end of the interview, the respondent was asked to comment on what his reaction to the letter would have been if the alternative not presented to him had been used. The variation in letter style is mentioned here for the sake of completeness; it is not directly relevant to the treatment of the interviews reported here. The proposed discussions never took place, owing to both the press of time and a certain lack of enthusiasm—a lack which the remainder of this paper may make more understandable.

any aspect of it; then each of the three points listed in the first paragraph of the letter was discussed; and, finally, I raised the question, "Do you classify yourself as an intellectual?"

The latter question raises for us, no less than for the respondents, the matter of definition. As a first approximation, I defined the intellectuals as a group for whom the analysis of ideas in their own right (i.e., for no pragmatic end) is a central occupation. The group I chose to interview was taken as a sample of intellectuals, in spite of the fact that some would surely not qualify on more stringent criteria (e.g., their degree of dedication to the life of the mind or the quality of their intellectual work). The sample is defensible, however, on the ground that by social definition—whether he or his colleagues prefer it or not—the university professor teaching in the humanities or social sciences is probably the prime case of intellectual endeavor (i.e., of non-pragmatic and ideological pursuits). Thus, we are concerned with the self-portrait of those who, by social definition at least, are intellectuals.⁷

II

In a certain sense the chief finding of this study consisted of a "surprise": the unanticipated discovery of the extent to which these intellectuals use the language and mechanisms of minority status to describe themselves and their situation. It may be suggested that this should have been no surprise—that arguments quite consistent with this have been advanced in many places. And to some degree that is true.

In a recent well-publicized paper in *Harper's*, for example, a French writer had this to say:

It seems to me that the attitude of the American intellectual in comparison with his European counterpart is based on frustration and an inferiority complex. I am continually meeting people who tell me that the intellectual in Eu-

rope enjoys a position which, if not happier, is at least more dignified than that of the intellectual in America. . . . Whose fault is this? They go on to tell me that the fault rests with the American people, who have no appreciation for things of the intellect. I wonder whether it is not also in great measure the fault of the American intellectuals themselves.⁸

In a similar vein Riesman and Glazer have commented that "the opinion leaders among the educated classes—the intellectuals and those who take their cues from them—have been silenced more by their

⁷ This assertion, obviously, is an assumption, since the public definition of an intellectual is not a matter of empirical record, so far as I know. One could hold, further, that, if they are not so designated, they should be—that, in the ideal university, the group I have described would be identifiable as intellectuals in the sense of my stated definition. That definition has its difficulties, to be sure. For example, one might ask why an intellectual cannot believe that (or behave as if) ideas are of more than simply aesthetic interest, that ideas have consequences, and that the analysis of them serves a "pragmatic" end. A host of names come to mind of persons who would appear to have indorsed this view and whom we would presumably not wish to dismiss as intellectuals—e.g., Marx, Lenin, Jefferson, among others. The best provisional answer to this, I should think, would be that being an intellectual is not the designation for a person but for a role and that many who play the intellectual role, and play it well, are also deeply involved with the course of societal and individual development. One does not need to say, therefore, that Marx was not an intellectual because he was also a revolutionary.

In any event, though this definition does not thoroughly solve matters, it does suggest a line of approach and clarifies, perhaps, the senses in which our sample may or may not be considered as members of the class. To my mind it is much less important to determine whether they are, so to speak, "in" or "out" of the category than it is to recognize that they are candidates in several senses: (1) in public definitions of them; (2) in their personal self-definitions; and (3) in the definition of a university ideal. The issue is nicely captured in Randall Jarrell's fictional *Pictures from an Institution*, where he says of an academic man: "He had never been what intellectuals consider an intellectual, but other people had thought him one, and he had had to suffer the consequences of their mistake" (p. 110).

⁸ R. L. Bruckberger, "An Assignment for Intellectuals," *Harper's*, CCXII (1956), 69.

own feelings of inadequacy and failure than by direct intimidation."⁹ And Marcus Cunliffe, describing the United States intellectual for *Encounter* magazine, concludes: "Altogether, there has been an unfortunate loss of self-respect. Some intellectuals have felt that, wrong about communism, they must be occupationally prone to be wrong about everything."¹⁰

But the point is that comments of this kind do not constitute evidence; and, indeed, it is possible, if one questions the evidence, to treat such comments themselves as reflections of a kind of minority-style indictment of one's own group (like the Jew who agrees that "we" are too clanish, the intellectual says that "we" are too weak in will). Furthermore, the comments we have cited do not provide a systematic view of the specific forms of minority language which intellectuals employ in discussing themselves. Our empirical task here is to indicate that such minority references are surprising, indeed, in their frequency and to make a start toward a categorization of the forms these references take.¹¹

The clearest of these forms may be labeled *the direct acceptance of majority stereotypes*. Like the Negroes who have accepted the whites' definition of color and who choose "light" among themselves, our respondents appear eager to validate the outsider's negative view of them. One need only read these forty protocols to emerge with a collective self-portrait of the soft, snobbish, radical, and eccentric intellectual who is asocial, unreliable, hopelessly academic, and a bit stupid to boot. It is impossible to cite here the evidence for all this; but each of the stereotypes in the previous sentence has a parallel affirmation in the interview material. These affirmations are, to be sure, frequently hedged with re-

strictions and limitations—we are dealing, after all, with a group of highly trained qualifiers. But the significant thing is that the respondents take this opportunity to affirm the stereotype; and this affirmation is typically set in a context which makes it clear that the stereotype, rather than the qualification, has a competing chance to govern behavior. Let me give some examples:

If there is anti-intellectualism in our community, I feel frankly we are to blame. If we can't throw off our infernal need for preaching and dictating, they have a right to damn us, and we have no answer but our human fallibility [C-1].¹²

¹¹ A word is in order about the meaning of "minority" and the occasion for "surprise." On the latter I am aware of the fact that many occupational groups (and certainly "notorious" ones—e.g., policemen, farmers, or traveling salesmen) develop somewhat negative images of themselves. But two special conditions make this case, it seems to me, somewhat different. First, we are dealing with a high status group (note, for example, their generally high placement in the North-Hatt prestige scale); and, second, we are dealing with a group whose very function, in good part, is the objective analysis of society and its products. On these grounds, I would argue that it is not enough to dismiss the problem by saying that all occupations reflect negative self-images or that the problem approach in the stimulus letter occasioned the results obtained. The question is: What occupations have stereotypes about them, in what degree, and how are these stereotypes handled by the incumbents, with what consequences? This is the broader problem to which this paper is addressed.

With regard to "minority": I use it here to designate a group against which categorical discrimination is practiced. A minority, in this view, is determined not by size but by the behavior of being subjected to categorical discrimination. It should be clear, however, that I am not attempting to prove that intellectuals *are* a minority in this sense but that they use the typical language and forms of the classical minority groups in their self-descriptions.

¹² The source of each quotation from the interviews is identified by an assigned case number so that the reader may note the spread of the illustrations. Departmental identifications are avoided, though these would be of some interest, to preserve anonymity. There is, I presume, every reason to believe that the frequency and subtlety of minority

⁹ D. Riesman and N. Glazer, "Intellectuals and the Discontented Classes," *Partisan Review*, XXII (1955), 50.

¹⁰ "The Intellectuals: II. The United States," *Encounter*, XX (1955), 31.

It's pretty difficult for the intellectual to mix with people. They feel ill at ease. Many intellectuals are not very approachable; perhaps his training is not complete enough. The intellectual may be more to blame for that than anyone else [C-2].

My general attitude is that some of the intellectuals are so concerned with academic freedom that it kind of tires me. And, I think, this sometimes adds up to wanting more freedom than anybody else—the kind of freedom to be irresponsible. [And later, when asked whether the letter should include the action alternative, this subject said:] It shouldn't be in there, because basically I think that except in the most long-run sense there is not a thing you can do. Maybe we can breed a new line of professors [C-3].

We could go on here, if space permitted, about "the snobbishness we are all guilty of" and about the "queer birds" who "make a profession of being different" and "don't have sense enough to pour sand out of a boot" (these quotations coming from four different protocols). This direct acceptance by intellectuals of the negative stereotype regarding intellectuals follows the pattern of the minority "self-hate" which Lewin has described in the case of the anti-Semitic Jew¹³ and which has been clearly expressed in Negro color attitudes.¹⁴

A second, and somewhat less extreme, variety of minority attitude may be labeled *the concern with in-group purification*. This label points to language and behavior which are guided by the idea that the minority's troubles are rooted in the misguided ways of a small fraction among them. The parallel with traditional minorities reads: for the Jews, it is the "bad"

Jew—the one who is, indeed, aggressive and loud—who breeds anti-Semitism; and, for the intellectuals, it is the radical, asocial types who are responsible for the group's difficulty. Thus, on the radical issue, one respondent, speaking of his effort to establish a research contact downtown, said:

I realized we had one or two strikes against us because we were from the university. We had to have people vouch for us. We don't enjoy the best reputation down there; we're blamed for the actions of a few who make radical speeches and seem to overgeneralize [C-4].

Another respondent, speaking of an "extreme liberal" in his college, remarked:

I've got nothing against it, but the average man might translate this [liberalism] over to our college. In this sense, he does a slight disservice to the college [C-5].

Similarly, on scores other than radicalism there are expressions of the view that the position of the intellectuals turns on the "impure" behavior of the intellectual himself. One respondent, discussing anti-intellectualism in general, remarked that we could lick the problem:

If we had people getting out and who really did mix, as speakers and members. . . . I've worried about this: would I be willing to be in an organization if I were only a member? We get to be president and vice-president all the time. It doesn't do any good to be in and be officers; in order to get over the thought of us as intellectual snobs, we have to be satisfied to be just members [C-6].

This quotation highlights one interesting result of this concern with the "impure"—and a result which, again, has a clear minority flavor. The intellectual becomes involved in the need to prove that the impurity really is not there (or, at the very least, that the intellectual in question is not one of the "impure" few). We are familiar with the Jewish person who is inordinately careful to demonstrate in his own behavior that Jews as a group are not what the stereotype says; and Anatole

responses will vary among universities and departments—by region, eminence, and the like. But it also seems reasonable to believe that the bulk of American universities are not substantially different from the one involved here.

¹³ K. Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), pp. 186–200.

¹⁴ M. Seeman, "Skin Color Values in Three All-Negro School Classes," *American Sociological Review*, XI (1946), 315–21.

Broyard has nicely described the various forms that Negro "inauthenticity" of the same type may take (e.g., what he calls "role inversion" is a careful and extreme negation of precisely those qualities embodied in the Negro stereotype—"cool" music and passive behavior, for example, being a negation of the primitive, hot, care-free quality in the Negro stereotype).¹⁵

The interviews reveal a similar concern with disproving the stereotype. Thus, one respondent, discussing possible action alternatives, commented:

We could, of course, go out and make talks to various groups—show them that intellectuals really aren't bad guys [C-7].

Another, speaking about the isolation of the intellectual, said:

Well, in neighborhood isolation, there's a lot of it due to their initial reaction—when they find out you're a professor they slightly withdraw, but, if you continue to make connections, then they find out you're a human being [C-5].

Still another person commented:

If we mixed more, and became known as people as well as college teachers, maybe it would be better. Frequently, the antipathy to college teachers melts when they meet you personally; though we do have a tendency to carry our classroom personality into other areas [C-8].

A third major category of minority-like response may be titled *the approval of conformity*. In a certain sense, of course, the pattern just described is a specialized form of conformity; for its main aim is to emphasize the conventional as against the divergent aspects of the intellectual's behavior. But the pressure for conformity goes beyond this. It involves the same kind of passive, conservative, and attention-avoiding behavior that Lewin has described as prototypical for minority leaders, his "leaders from the periphery."¹⁶ And, in the long run, this pressure for conformity leads

¹⁵ "Portrait of the Inauthentic Negro," *Commentary*, X (1950), 56-64.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

to assimilationism—to the very denial of any significant observable differences on which minority status may rest. As far as the more traditional minorities are concerned, the classic Adorno volume on prejudice and personality has put one part of the conformist case as follows:

Since acceptance of what is like oneself and rejection of what is different is one feature of the prejudiced outlook [i.e., of the authoritarian personality], it may be that members of minority groups can in limited situations and for some period of time protect themselves and gain certain advantages by conforming in outward appearance as best they can with the prevailing ways of the dominant group.¹⁷

As with these minorities, we find that there is considerable commitment to conformity among intellectuals and that this is expressed variously as a need to adjust, to avoid controversy, or to assimilate and deny differences entirely. Thus, one respondent, discussing the conformity question raised in the letter, said:

On that, I can't say I've experienced it. I'm in a pretty safe field. . . . [He then described a book of readings he had collected and said that there was a short passage from a well-known writer which had been taken out before publication.] There's no use stirring up trouble. I don't think it was a lack of courage on my part. We thought—that is, the editor and I—that it was too touchy. It's a very beautiful thing, but we took it out [C-9].

Another individual, discussing the community life of the intellectual, noted that they often do not take an active part and added:

Part of that is good, in that they are lending the prestige of the university when they do take part, and shouldn't be doing that. I don't want to be written up in the paper as Professor X of university holding a certain opinion. I've deliberately refrained from expressing political opinion [C-5].

Still others appear to argue for conformity by denying that there is a difference to which the notion of "intellectual" points:

¹⁷ T. W. Adorno *et al.*, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), p. 974.

I don't feel any different from my electrician-neighbor [C-10].

I get a kind of inferiority complex if they call me "professor"; I know that my work with the intellect is on the same level in the eyes of the man in the street as, say, a chain-store manager [C-11].

Or else there is insistence that it is important for the intellectual to assimilate or disguise himself more successfully. Thus, one respondent, speaking of occasions when he makes public addresses, said:

When I go out and meet these people, I try to fit myself into their realm, into the climate of the various groups [C-12].

Another gave, as part of his recipe for the intellectual's behavior, the directive:

He should adjust his personality so he can mix in better with the person who isn't an intellectual [C-2].

And one I have quoted before, speaking of the intellectual's isolation in community life, said:

You must make concessions. I would find it pretty hard to have contacts, for example, in places like Wilder's *Our Town* or Anderson's small Ohio town, but I couldn't accuse the people in the town of being anti-intellectual; it's probably my fault. If you make a certain amount of concession, you will find a way [C-11].

There are other comments which are less clear in their conformist implications—for example, more than faintly guilty remarks to the effect that "my neighbors see me home in the early afternoon and wonder just what it is I do in my job" (C-13). On the whole, there is considerable evidence in these protocols that the typical minority response of conformity is found in a variety of forms among intellectuals.¹⁸

The fourth category of response represents the extreme of minority assimilation from the standpoint of the individual, namely, *the denial of group membership*. Like the name-changing Jew and the Negro who "passes," many intellectuals

find means to hide or escape their unwelcome identity. An interviewee nicely described this pattern as follows:

One consequence of anti-intellectualism is for some intellectuals to deny that they are intellectuals. This is a behavioral denial; it's part of the psychological revolution, the adjustment trend. . . . The pressure to be well-adjusted is high, and so he becomes non-intellectual and begins to deny in some respects that he is an intellectual [C-15].

The evidence in the interviews indicates that the retreat from membership is a substantial one and takes many forms. Indeed, one of the real surprises, during the course of these interviews, was the rarity of real acceptance of intellectual status. This non-acceptance is revealed in several ways. First, there is the frequency with which this freely offered remark appears: "Intellectuals, I hate the word!" Second, there are the direct denials to the question, "Do you consider yourself an intellectual?" A complete listing of the protocol responses on this point would reveal a quite consistent, though subtly varied, pattern of maneuvering, all aimed at being counted out—the kind of "Who, me?" response one gets from the obviously guilty.¹⁹

¹⁸ Two of the respondents themselves commented on this "trimming of sails" in the university setting. One, for example, after noting an increase in anti-intellectual pressures, said:

"If you work at the university, you want the outside to be as non-controversial as possible; to say, 'Look at me, I'm just like anybody else.' This is part of the general line of not hurting the university by getting in the news in negative ways" (C-14).

Another person, in similar vein, remarked:

"The intellectual is assuming more of the role of the non-intellectual and seeks to be a part of the gang—denies that he's different" (C-15).

¹⁹ Even where there is acceptance of the "intellectual" label, there is sometimes a suspicious beligerence about it. One respondent, who vigorously denied the validity of the view embodied in the stimulus letter and felt that anti-intellectualism was a fictitious problem, said: "You need to live your life as if you were proud of it—talk it up" (C-16).

Thus, one respondent said:

That's a word that always does bother me. I don't think of myself so. It's a self-conscious word that sets us apart from the rest of the population. The only thing that sets us apart, in fact, is that we have gone to school longer than some, and there are doctors who have gone longer and we don't consider them intellectuals [C-10].

Another said:

I don't apply it to myself. I never use it myself. It's sort of snobbish [C-17].

And still another:

I would [use the designation "intellectual"] in the professional sense only. . . . Professionally, I suppose we can't avoid it. Only in the very narrow professional sense, in the sense that we are trying to improve the intellect of students, I suppose it applies. I don't see how a university professor can escape the narrow meaning of the term [C-1].

And, finally, one respondent clearly recognized the social definition of himself yet reflected no eagerness in his personal definition:

I suppose I would [consider myself an intellectual]. . . . I don't know if I am twenty-four hours a day, but still I suppose my work would be classified or considered an intellectual. . . . I teach the best I can, and certainly I'm classified as an intellectual by the community, my neighbors, and my colleagues [C-9].

A third kind of denial of membership is shown in the efforts that are made to avoid having one's affiliation publicly known. Thus, one respondent said:

When I'm away from the university, I usually have plenty of dirt under my nails, or I'm getting a harvest. Some of us fool ourselves into believing that the stain of our profession doesn't follow us. I can work with a carpenter for several weeks, and he has no notion I'm a university professor. I take a foolish pride, I suppose, in this [C-1].

Another remarked:

By training we get so we show contempt for those who overgeneralize, as in the Rotary, and we don't want to be in arguments all the time

so we stay away. And how often do we go out of the way to announce that we're college professors. I don't conceal it; but I don't volunteer it. It would change your relation to the group [C-4].

Thus, in one way or another, many of our respondents indicate that they do not cherish either their name or their identity as intellectuals; and they adopt a language of evasion and anonymity which is minority-like, indeed. Though one may argue that this rejection of the name is not, after all, so terribly important, it seems to me more reasonable, in this case, to see the "naming trouble" as an essential part of the status involved.²⁰

The fifth, and last, category of minority-like response can be designated *the fear of group solidarity*. This label indicates behavior whose essential function is similar to the conformist response; namely, behavior calculated to keep the majority's attention off the minority as such. In our intellectuals this typically takes the form of strong resistance to any clearly identifiable group action on the group's problems; the answer lies, rather, in individual goodness. One respondent, in fact, while stating the case against group action, made the minority tie himself:

The notion of action involves the whole place of the intellectual in society. In addition, direct action puts us in the position of special pleading. It's like a Jew going out and talking about anti-Semitism [C-7].

²⁰ On a similar point Everett Hughes has written in an essay titled "What's in a Name": "Words are weapons. As used by some people the word 'Hebrew,' for example, is a poisoned dart. When a word is so expressively used, we are face to face with no simple matter of social politics, but with part of the social process itself. This is, in part, what Durkheim had in mind in his long discussion of collective symbols and concepts. Words, he pointed out, are not merely something that happens along with the social process, but are its very essence. Naming is certainly part of the social process in inter-ethnic and racial relations" (*Where Peoples Meet* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952], p. 139).

Another said:

Individual action seems more feasible. One has to measure one's forces and deploy them properly. . . . If you try to organize a society for X, Y, or Z, and you have the right people on the letterhead, maybe you're O.K.; but otherwise you're considered radical. Many things can be carried out without anybody knowing there is an organization [C-18].

Still another remarked:

I'm frankly very much afraid of any action that has the label of the organized action of the intellectuals—not afraid of what they might do, but of public reaction. It ought to be unorganized [C-19].

Many of those interviewed seem committed to "having an effect the individual way" and are against "forming an organization that's militant." They wish, in a certain sense, to be (as one respondent [C-20] described himself) "the kind of social actionist who never appears to be one." I am interested here not in asserting that the strategy of organizational effort is a sounder strategy but in noting that the arguments against it frequently reflect a desire—common in other minorities—not to become too visible or too aggressive in one's own interest.

III

Neither the quotations nor the categories given above exhaust the minority language in these protocols. Moreover, I have intentionally failed to analyze or report in any fulness the more "positive" remarks on the intellectual's role in society or on the anti-intellectualism within university life itself (as one person put it [C-21]: "the destruction of the intellectual community within the university"). It was, in fact, only after the interviews were almost completed, and the variability in self-definition became ever more striking, that it was clear we might treat intellectual status directly, as one which presents a standard problem in minority adjustment.

I have argued elsewhere that marginalities of this kind provide the opportunity

for the development of perspective and creativity—an opportunity whose realization depends upon the adjustment which is made to marginal status.²¹ In this earlier study, using the Jews as a case in point, I found that favorable adjustment to marginality was, indeed, associated with what was called "intellectual perspective"; and it now seemed possible to apply the same general logic to this sample of intellectuals.

Certainly many have asserted that there is an inherent alienative potential—an inescapable degree of marginality—in the intellectual role; and the assertion usually follows that the individual's style of adjustment to this marginality affects his performance as an intellectual. The usual view, of course, is that those who are "frozen" by this marginality and who retreat into conformity are less creative as intellectuals. Cunliffe, almost incidentally, makes this tie between mode of adjustment and creativity in advancing his distinction between two types of American intellectuals, whom he calls the "*avant-garde*" and the "clerisy":

So, if there have been many alienated Western intellectuals since 1800, whom I will label the *avant-garde*, there have also been others, [the "clerisy"] of similar intellectual weight, though as a rule of less creative brilliance, who have remained more or less attached to their society.²²

The discovery, in the interviews, of so many and so varied responses to this marginal aspect of the intellectual's position suggested the possibility of testing, in a small-scale empirical way, such common assertions about the consequences (or correlates) of the intellectual's adjustment to marginality. The hypothesis to be tested parallels that given in the earlier paper on the Jews as a minority; namely, that those intellectuals who have successfully adjusted to the marginal character of their

²¹ M. Seeman, "Intellectual Perspective and Adjustment to Minority Status," *Social Problems*, III (1956), 142–53.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

role—those who, let us say, reveal a minimum of our five minority-style attitudes toward themselves as intellectuals—will be, in turn, the more creative workers in their respective crafts.

For a provisional glimpse of such a test, and to illustrate at the same time one possible utility of the descriptive categories

attempt to present what would amount to a complete, but premature, account of the adjustment ratings and creativity judgments.²³ But it is of illustrative interest to note what happened on the three remaining "minority response" categories where a more reasonable split between high versus low adjustment was obtained. "High" ad-

TABLE 1
MEAN CREATIVITY SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR INDIVIDUALS SCORED HIGH VERSUS LOW ON THREE CATEGORIES OF MINORITY RESPONSE TO INTELLECTUAL STATUS

ADJUSTMENT GROUP	CATEGORY 1—ACCEPTANCE OF STEREOTYPES			CATEGORY 3—APPROVAL OF CONFORMITY			CATEGORY 4—DENIAL OF MEMBERSHIP		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
High...	12	3.27	0.65	16	2.74	0.84	13	2.48	1.02
Low....	13	2.54	1.19	15	2.53	1.35	15	2.34	1.06

developed in the previous section, I attempted to score the forty protocols for evidence of commitment to, or rejection of, each of the five categories. At the same time, I asked a group of persons in the various departments (in all cases, men of higher academic rank than the individual in question) to judge the professional creativity of those interviewed. Creativity here refers to the ability to make the "given" problematic: the ability to challenge the routines and to provide alternatives to the standardized "right answers" in the respective fields.

Unfortunately, though expectedly, the free-response character of the interviews led to some serious limitations as far as the present more quantitative interest is concerned. For example, on two of the five minority categories (No. 2, "concern with in-group purification," and No. 5, "fear of in-group solidarity") more than one-third of the protocols received a score of 3, which indicated a lack of substantial evidence in the interview; and, in addition, among the remaining two-thirds of the cases, there was a very poor numerical split between "high" versus "low" adjustors on these two categories.

In view of these limitations, I shall not

justment refers to a tendency to reject the use of the indicated minority-like modes of response in self-description; "low" adjustment refers to a tendency to embody the indicated minority-type response. Table 1

²³ I am indebted to Mrs. Frances Mischel, a graduate student in sociology and anthropology, for the two hundred "minority" ratings (five ratings on each of forty protocols). These ratings were "blind" as far as identification of individuals or specialty fields was concerned. They were done as independently as possible, as far as the five categories are concerned, to minimize "halo." A total of 120 creativity judgments by colleagues were secured; and the evidence suggests that there is substantial agreement among them. Both the adjustment and the creativity ratings were made on five-point scales. For minority adjustment, the scale read as follows: 1—very much evidence of this; 2—some evidence of this; 3—no evidence one way or the other; 4—some evidence of rejection of this mode of response; 5—clear evidence of rejection of this mode. The creativity scale ran simply from 1 ("low in creativity") to 5 ("high in creativity") and was accompanied by a full-page explanation of both the meaning of creativity in this context and the method to be used in making the ratings. It should be clear that the term "adjustment" does not refer to the standard psychological meaning of the term; it designates only whether the respondent reflects or does not reflect the five categories of response described here. Thus, "high adjustment" refers to those who scored either 4 or 5 on the given category; "low" refers to a score of 1 or 2 on the category.

reveals what was obtained when individuals who scored 3 (no evidence) on each category were eliminated and when the high and low adjusters were compared on their average creativity. The data in Table 1 are read as follows: For the twelve persons who scored either 4 or 5 on category 1 (i.e., whose responses were antithetical to the acceptance of majority stereotypes about the intellectual), the mean creativity score was 3.27, with a standard deviation of 0.65. For the thirteen persons who scored low in adjustment on this same category (i.e., who revealed a clear tendency to accept negative stereotypes), the mean creativity score was 2.54, with a standard deviation of 1.19.

The differences in creativity between adjustment groups are consistently in the direction of higher ratings for those who do not use the minority-style response to intellectual status. Though the *N*'s are small, and the differences are not uniformly great, the trend is clear, and the difference between adjustment groups for Category 1 is statistically significant.²⁴

I do not take this as an unequivocal demonstration of the hypothesis in question. For one thing, there are other variables of considerable relevance (e.g., the age of the respondent) that cannot be controlled adequately in a sample of this size; and, in addition, questions remain open

²⁴ A test of the homogeneity of the two variances for the adjustment groups yielded an *F* ratio which approximated the 0.05 level of significance and raised doubt about the wisdom of pooling the variances for the two groups in computing the *t* test between the creativity means. The obtained *t* ratio for the test of Category 1 was 1.841, a figure which is significant at the 0.05 level using a one-tailed test. Neither of the two remaining categories yielded a significant *t*. The method used to test for homogeneity of variance and for the significance of the difference between means is given in A. Edwards, *Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1954), pp. 271-74.

about the reliability of the adjustment ratings.²⁵ But for purposes of illustration the trend revealed in Table 1 is of considerable interest, for it suggests that the minority orientations I have attempted to specify here may be treated (provisionally, at least) not simply as categories of description but as relevant factors in the performance of the intellectual role as such.

It is customary, of course, to conclude by noting the need for further research—in this case, research on the forms and consequences of anti-intellectualism. But there is one crucial thing.—To find, as we have, that many intellectuals adopt, without serious efforts to build a reasoned self-portrait, an essentially negative, minority view of themselves and to find, in addition, some plausible ground for believing that this failure in self-conception is not independent of role performance—gives a special cast to the usual call for research. Thus it would seem essential to recognize that this research must include, if we may call it that, an “inward” as well as an “outward” orientation—that is, we must presumably conduct two related research operations: a study of the attitudes that others take toward intellectuals as well as a more intensive study of the intellectuals’ attitudes toward themselves. A serious effort along those lines might yield considerably more than the usual research project; it can become an opportunity for self-discovery.

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²⁵ The question of reliability of rating may not be a serious problem. The same judge who did the ratings in this case was also used in the previously mentioned study of Jewish adjustment; and in that case the ratings of two independent judges, completing a task quite similar to the rating task involved here, were quite reliable (see the paper cited in n. 21 above). I have not deemed it essential for purposes of this illustration to compute another reliability figure for the judge in question.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN JORDAN: A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH IN A NON-CENSUS AREA¹

GORDON K. HIRABAYASHI AND MAY ISHAQ

ABSTRACT

Heretofore the bulk of the sociological studies in non-census areas have been confined to participant observation, case studies, and to other essentially qualitative methodological techniques. In this study a quantitative approach is attempted by adapting the area-probability sampling method to a city lacking recent census data, street names, or numbers. The findings indicate a noticeable change in the status of women of Amman, with participation in education, occupations, and social activities emerging as the leading contributory factors.

Researchers in newly developing areas—areas urgently involved in social changes—are immediately confronted with an appalling lack of reliable sociological information and an absence of the usual equipment and materials with which to secure this information. In order to establish some measure of the impact and the implications of these rapid changes, data usually must be secured “in the raw.” For example, the practiced reliance upon census data for establishing sampling procedures, as well as securing much of the basic information, frequently cannot be followed. While governments in the area are beginning to recognize the importance of thorough statistical studies, “explicitness is not yet a common trait in the Middle East, nor is it always considered a virtue.”² This paper attempts to describe, in view of these circumstances, the methodology employed in the study of one index of social change in Amman, Jordan: the changing status of women.

Not much earlier than half a century ago, Jordan was a district of the province of Damascus, a small part of the Ottoman Empire, with a population of about 5,000 and including only three small towns.³ Following World War I (1923), Jordan became a British Mandate under the old League of

Nations trusteeship system, and since 1946 it has been an independent monarchy. Today, Jordan has a population of approximately 1,372,000,⁴ and its capital, Amman, of approximately 200,000.⁵ During these political and populational changes, social changes have also been taking place, most noticeably since World War II. One of the most obvious has been the changing status and role of women.

THE METHOD

Definition of the universe.—The study here reported was conducted among the women of Amman and included only those who had been residents of Jordan before 1947, that is, before the Palestinian migration into Jordan following the creation of Israel. Two groups of women were delineated for comparative purposes. One group consisted of those born on or before 1915, which coincides roughly with the end of the Ottoman domination. The second group, allowing for an interval of five years, consists of those born on or after 1920, which approximates the beginning of the British Mandate. In other words, these two populations included, on the one hand, women forty years of age and over and, on the other, those

¹ This study was conducted in 1955 with the support of the Social Research Center, American University at Cairo.

² George Grassmuck, “Arab Government and Administration: Problems of the Western Scholar,” *Report on Current Research, Spring 1956* (Washington: Middle East Institute, 1956), p. 10.

³ Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East* (Washington: American Council of Education, 1949), p. 299.

⁴ *The Middle East* (New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1954), p. 350. (Official estimate, including Palestinian refugees.)

⁵ *Ibid.*

fifteen through thirty-five. Admittedly, these two age groups were selected more or less arbitrarily. The main objective was to develop two distinct groups for purposes of observing differences which could be interpreted as evidences of change. It is acknowledged that an alternative criterion could have been developed with equal justification.

Selection of the sample.—Since recent and reliable census data for research purposes were not available for Amman as a whole or for its districts and blocks, a sample design based only upon an over-all estimate was developed. In this study the sample was arbitrarily limited to one hundred cases; these were equally divided among the two groups of women.

The city of Amman is built mainly on seven hills. Observably, the more spacious apartments and villas were at the top of all the hills, and the crowded, lower-rent apartments at the foot. Thus three of these hills were selected at random, and from them the sample for the study was secured. According to the Jordanian Bureau of Census regarding the population residing within these hills in 1952, there were an estimated 19,000 on one of the selected hills, 6,000 on the second, and 3,000 on the third. Lacking more precise figures, we used these estimates as the basis for determining sample proportions for the three hills. The sample of 100 was thus divided according to the estimated population among the three hills, as follows: 68, 21, and 11.

Method of selecting households and respondents.—In Amman there is no listing of street names or numbers. Thus the method of selecting households involved the following procedure: In attempting to determine the number of households, the population of each hill was divided by 5, a somewhat generous average for the size of a household.⁶

⁶ Lincoln Armstrong and Gordon Hirabayashi, "Social Differentiation in Selected Lebanese Villages," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (August, 1956), 427. While these Lebanese villages averaged 4.4 persons per household, a sample of villages in Lower Egypt (Menoufia Province) showed an average household size of 5.16.

In the case of the largest hill, the number of households turned out to be 3,800 (19,000 ÷ 5). Dividing the sample number (68 for the first hill) into the number of estimated households (3,800), an index of 56 was established. Thus the interviewer interviewed 1 household out of 56 during the systematic coverage of the streets and lanes of this hill until 68 cases were interviewed. If the selected household was not part of the defined universe, i.e., Jordanian residents prior to 1947, the household to the left was selected. If this household was also disqualified, the household to the right of the original selection was interviewed, followed by the second to the left and the second to the right and so on. Other hills were covered in similar manner.

Within the selected household a woman of forty and over or a woman of fifteen through thirty-five was interviewed in a pattern which alternated according to the age group from household to household.⁷ Interviews averaged 20 minutes, although the total time (including locating the respondents) was close to 1 hour.

The schedule.—A schedule was first constructed in English followed by a translation into Arabic. In order to simplify it for the older and less-educated respondents, colloquial Arabic was utilized. The schedule was first pre-tested in Cairo among women of various ages. Following that, additional pre-tests took place in Irbid, a town north of Amman, in order to make appropriate revisions regarding local differences between colloquial Egyptian- and Jordanian-Arabic. The final field version included forty-five items, of which seven were open-end questions. The schedule-type interview produced

⁷ One of the tests of representativeness of the sample is the comparison of the distribution of respondents according to religion. It is estimated by the Jordanian government that the population is composed of slightly over 90 per cent Moslems and slightly under 10 per cent Christians. It is further estimated that the proportion of Christians increases noticeably in urban centers, such as Amman and Jerusalem. The sample of this study included 15 per cent Christians, which fits well with the estimated picture.

only 2 per cent refusals. The schedule investigated the areas of education, occupation, marriage age and mate selection, extent of veiling, and social participation.

THE FINDINGS

Comparison by age groupings.—Comparison of behavior patterns between females aged fifteen through thirty-five and those forty and over revealed distinct differences. The younger group had a higher level of educational attainment, but the difference between the two age groups was most marked in the category of those having no schooling at all—only one-sixth of the younger group had no formal education, while two-thirds of the older group fell into this category. The percentage of the em-

a more liberal pattern among the younger married respondents. Nearly half of the younger group had their husbands chosen by their parents *but with their consent*, while only 13 per cent of the older group were so consulted. On the other hand, over three-fourths of the older group married husbands of their parents' choice only (that is, without any consultation); less than half the younger group were dealt with in the same manner.

Veiling was inclusive and prevalent in Jordan until as late as fifteen years ago, and very few Moslem women dared to appear in public unveiled. The current pattern, not tabularly presented but revealed in this study, suggests an emerging trend. While nearly nine-tenths of the older group still wore veils, less than one-third of the younger

TABLE 1*
METHODS OF CHOOSING HUSBANDS BY AGE GROUPS

Age Groups	Parent's Choice Only	Parent's Choice with Respondent's Consent	Respondent's Choice with Parent's Consent	Respondent's Choice Only	Total No. (100 Per Cent)
	(Per Cent)	(Per Cent)	(Per Cent)	(Per Cent)	
15-35.....	43	48	9	0.00	23
40 and over..	78	13	4	4	46

* The base for this table consists of married respondents only.

ployed persons among the younger group was higher than that of the older group, as well as the trend of accepting employment outside the home on the part of the younger group.

TABLE 2
ATTITUDES TOWARD COEDUCATION AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION BY AGE GROUPS*

AGE GROUPS	FAVORABLE ATTITUDES (PER CENT)	
	Coeducation	University
15-35.....	88	66
40 and over.....	66	16
100% =	77	41

* Both age groups have a population of 50 each.

There was noted a difference of approximately one year for the age at which marriage occurred, with the younger group marrying at a mean age of 16.1 and the older group marrying at 15.2. In the matter of choosing one's husband, Table 1 indicates

group did. The younger group showed increasing independence, even in the matter of choice of style of dress.

Social participation (joining clubs, attending public lectures, etc.) was much more frequent among the younger than among the older group. It is also interesting to note that most of the few older women who joined clubs had only honorary memberships. Women's organizations in Amman were generally run by schoolteachers and others of the younger group, but with the presidency usually going to a member of the older group.

Comparison by educational background.—In comparing the attitudes of the younger generation with the older, this study found a clear tendency toward advanced educational attainment by the younger group (see Table 2). This agrees with the findings of a study in five Lebanese villages on the extent of educational participation between father

and son and mother and daughter which clearly indicated increasing educational participation.⁸ The question of university education and coeducation brought out most distinctly the changes from a conservative and traditional attitude toward a more liberal one. And when these same questions were analyzed on the basis of educational background, it was noted that the higher the level of education, the greater the tendency to favor greater educational participation (amount as well as variety) by women. Similarly, when questions regarding occupa-

gests a departure from the traditional concept, to have as many children "as Allah would grant." This tendency toward a smaller family cannot escape having a bearing on the social structure of the Jordanian family.

Comparison by other factors.—There has been a traditional negligence in the occupational training of women of the Middle East. Undoubtedly, this is related to the belief that occupation is incompatible with the traditions of seclusion and dependence of women. However, as in other parts of the

TABLE 3
ATTITUDES TOWARD COEDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, AND
VEILING BY EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

GROUPS	FAVORABLE ATTITUDES (PER CENT)			TOTAL No. (100 PER CENT)
	Coeduca- tion	Employ- ment	Veiling	
Illiterate.....	7	24	59	41
Primary.....	44	74	41	27
Secondary.....	74	85	15	27
University.....	100	100	0	5

TABLE 4
IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

Groups	0-2 (Per Cent)	3-4 (Per Cent)	5 or More (Per Cent)	Total No. (100 PER CENT)
Illiterate.....	0	20	80	41
Primary.....	26	41	33	27
Secondary.....	33	67	0	27
University.....	40	60	0	5

tional participation, political activities, and extent of non-veiling were analyzed according to amount of education, there was found a clear pattern of increasing participation with increasing education (see Table 3).

The attitude toward the ideal number of children indicated a preference on the part of the more educated for a smaller family. This follows a similar trend found in the United States.⁹ Eighty per cent of the illiterates desired five or more children, while none of those who had had at least secondary educational background desired more than four children (see Table 4). This sug-

gests a departure from the traditional concept, to have as many children "as Allah would grant." This tendency toward a smaller family cannot escape having a bearing on the social structure of the Jordanian family.

TABLE 5

ATTITUDES TOWARD VOTING AND MATE
SELECTION BY VEILING AND
NON-VEILING GROUPS

GROUP	FAVORABLE ATTITUDES		TOTAL No. (100 PER CENT)
	Voting (Per Cent)	Mate Selection (Per Cent)	
Veiling.....	18	38	61
Non-veiling..	80	87	39

⁸ Lincoln Armstrong and Gordon K. Hirabayashi, "Educational Participation in Selected Lebanese Villages," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology* (London: International Sociological Association, 1956), p. 129.

⁹ Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and the Family* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), pp. 140-42; R. Freedman, D. Goldberg, and H. Sharp, "Ideals' about Family Size in the Detroit Metropolitan Area, 1954," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXXIII (April, 1955), 187-97.

were employed, while only 12 per cent of the older group were working. The older group justified their lack of participation in work as being neither suitable nor traditional for women. When social attitudes were analyzed in terms of veiling, the non-veiling group revealed greater social consciousness and independence (see Table 5).

CONCLUSIONS

The younger group had a higher percentage of literacy and of occupational and educational participation in general. They married at a later age, desired fewer children, insisted upon a greater say in the choice of husband, shunned veiling, and participated

much more actively in social activities. In other words, the young sought greater participation in education, occupation, and social activities, and greater participation in these activities, in turn, was found to be associated with the break from traditional ways.

Methodologically, this study suggests that one need not be limited to the case-study and participant-observation techniques even in areas lacking available census data.

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SECTARIANISM AND RELIGIOUS SOCIATION

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ABSTRACT

The sociology of religion has generally followed the classical church/sect typology developed by Weber and Troeltsch. Recent work suggests a continuum rather than a dichotomy of the two types. The analysis of the dynamics of parish life often reveals sectarian characteristics. In a study of Protestant parishes in southwestern Germany the author analyzed the sectarian character of the lay leadership. The pietist *Gemeinschaften* of this region, despite their sectarian character, play a crucial role in church affairs. It is suggested that sectarianism be understood as a type of religious sociation not necessarily leading to the sect as a social structure distinct from the church.

The analysis of the sociological differences between sect and church has been one of the most fruitful developments in the sociology of religion. Much of this, of course, has been made possible by the theoretical foundation provided by the work of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch. However, there has been an unfortunate consequence of this overreliance on older European theory. It would appear that the dichotomy has so fascinated sociologists that they take for granted that sect and church, usually viewed as mutually exclusive, are basic forms of religious social structures. It may, indeed, be conceded that, during the process that Weber called "the routinization of charisma," the sect may develop into a church. Nevertheless, remaining within the framework of the classical concepts, one may obtain the impression that the church is a static, almost monolithic social structure, whose only further change is conceived of as final secularization.

In dealing with this problem, sociologists in this country have generally followed the approach of H. Richard Niebuhr and Liston Pope—that is, an adaptation of the European theory to the special circumstances of American Protestantism.¹ While this approach has been very helpful as a basis for empirical research, especially in the area of the relationship of religious affiliation and socioeconomic status, it is still saddled with

the overly dichotomous perspective of its European antecedents.

Two recent attempts to modify this approach are those of Russell R. Dynes and Benton Johnson.² Dynes used Pope's enumeration of sectarian characteristics to construct a scale which could then be conveniently correlated with other characteristics of a sample population. On the basis of this he was able to show that sectarian traits were significantly related with low socioeconomic status, *regardless of denominational affiliation*. His work strongly suggests the idea of some sort of continuum between the two types, if it does not question the types as such.

The most interesting aspect of Johnson's work, based primarily on his research on Holiness sects, is the discovery of the strong similarity in basic ethical orientations between groups commonly called "sectarian" and the more "respectable" sectors of American Protestantism. Johnson feels that this fact makes the description of the latter as churches very questionable. On the basis of what he calls a common concept of "justification," he would assign most of American Protestantism to the sectarian category. We cannot follow Johnson in this conclusion, but there is in this case, too, a strong sug-

¹ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929); Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1942).

² Russell R. Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-economic Status," *American Sociological Review*, XX (October, 1955), 555-60; Benton Johnson, "A Critical Appraisal of the Church-Sect Typology," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (February, 1957), 88-92.

gestion of continuity between the two types. Again we are faced with the question: Can the original dichotomy still be maintained?

We may seek further clues from the other side of the fence, so to speak, namely, from the sociological study of church life, which has shown clearly that the social structure of the church is far from static. Indeed, there are phenomena within the dynamics of parish life which had best be described as sectarian. This fact is well demonstrated in the study of elite groups within church communities, that is, in the study of lay leadership.

It is no accident that the best work in this field has been done by Catholics, in this country above all by Joseph H. Fichter.³ The problem of the relationship of the elite to the wider church population is particularly acute in situations where the church regards as members large masses of people whose actual religious activity may be close to nil (e.g., the Catholic church) or where churches are legally established, as in much of European Protestantism. In such situations the elite may become sharply differentiated from the general church population. Of great theoretical interest is that the relationship of this elite to the general population is primarily one of separation, of withdrawal, showing many of the marks of sectarianism.

The author had the opportunity to investigate one such situation in the course of a research project in Germany in 1955-56. The outcome, with regard to this theoretical problem, was actually in the nature of what Robert Merton has called "serendipidity," as the main purpose of the project did not involve the question of sectarianism at all but, rather, the problem of the relationship of different socioeconomic groups to the Protestant church. The project (the main results of which are as yet unpublished) was undertaken in Reutlingen, an industrial town in Württemberg, in southwestern Ger-

many. The main part of the research consisted of a questionnaire study of a stratified sample of the population regarded as Protestant by law. Toward the end of the research the members of an inner circle of church leaders—twenty-nine laymen designated by the local clergy—were approached in a series of long clinical interviews. The comparison of their traits and attitudes with those of the wider population investigated in the sample study proved to be of unexpected theoretical interest with regard to the problem of this article.

Reutlingen, formerly a free city of the Reich, has a venerable Protestant tradition. It was one of the two free cities that signed the original Augsburg Confession in 1530. The town lies in the heartland of Swabian pietism, a few miles from Tübingen, in the area once described as the "Lutheran Spain." Yet Swabian Lutheranism has always been of a particular kind. It never developed the "high-church" characteristics of its sister churches in northern Germany and Scandinavia or even in neighboring Bavaria. Instead, its moving forces tended to be tightly knit, pietist communities (called *Gemeinschaften* by their members, without the benefit of acquaintance with Ferdinand Tönnies), most of whom remained within the general framework of Lutheranism, though Württemberg was also the scene of a number of sectarian schisms. An interesting result of our research was the finding of the persistence of this religious complex throughout the recent period of upheaval in German Protestantism.⁴

It would be erroneous to suppose that the elite of Reutlingen Protestantism finds itself in a society hostile to the church. The sample study showed that, although the church activity of wide groups of the population, especially in the lower classes, is very limited or even non-existent, the Protestant church possesses a high reservoir of loyalty and prestige. Identification with the church was found to be high even among people who almost never attend church services.

³ Joseph H. Fichter, *Dynamics of a City Church* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951) and *Social Relations in the Urban Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

⁴ Cf. Heinrich Hermelink (ed.), *Kirche im Kampf* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1950).

Nevertheless, the elite was found to bear the character of a closed circle.

The members of this circle are known to each other, come together in a number of associations such as pietist Bible classes, and share similar feelings of aversion to the modern world which has engulfed their town economically. Of the twenty-nine people interviewed, only four deviated slightly from this picture. These were younger people who had come to active church participation as a result of personal experiences in the war years and who regarded themselves as marginal to the inner circle.

The inner circle is well described by the traditional pietist term *ecclesiola in ecclesia*.⁵ Here was a retreat into a religious position of traditionalism and conservatism, with its roots in the pietist movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The storms which have shaken German Protestantism in recent decades, and which, in other places, created a very different kind of socially conscious church elite, seem to have bypassed the Reutlingen group. The group has, indeed, a living religious tradition. But it has few links with the religious problems and social aspirations of the wider population.

Much of the religious life of the group takes place apart from the official services of the parish church. The members of the elite are, of course, faithful churchgoers and prominent in official functions of the parishes. But the real religious cohesiveness of the group is found in their "extracurricular" get-togethers, especially in the pietist *Gemeinschaften*. The purpose of the more formal meetings of these communities is devotion and Bible study. They are sharply opposed to "wordly ways" and animated by a highly un-Lutheran legalism in matters of morality. The tightly knit group of insiders is linked not only by these common religious attitudes but also by a common social background. The Reutlingen elite is an elderly, middle-class, ethnocentric association. The use of the Swabian dialect serves as a convenient mark of identification. Young peo-

ple, members of the working class or refugees from other parts of Germany, have little chance of becoming accepted within this group (in the unlikely event that such should be their desire). The religious conservatism of the elite finds its counterpart in a generally conservative attitude on social and political issues.

The elite of Reutlingen Protestantism appears as a kind of "island formation" in society, as Carl Mayer once described the sect.⁶ This does not at all mean that this group is moribund. On the contrary, there is considerable vitality in its piety. But its links with the wider society, with the "world," are tenuous, despite its membership in a legally established church structure. This elite constitutes a social subworld; it lives by its own rules, self-contained in its separation from the larger society.

In the classical theory one of the primary characteristics of the church, as against the sect, is its universal appeal. A church addresses its message to and seeks to exercise religious authority over the broad masses of a society. The German Protestant church, in Württemberg as elsewhere, still does that, of course, but within this church there is to be found a group which has withdrawn from this appeal into a closed sectarianism of its own. And this group is found at the very center of the church's lay leadership!

The theoretical implications are provocative. It would appear that here is a consequence of a long-standing adaptation of church and society. While the church maintains its character as an institution of accommodation, a group at its very center withdraws from the universal appeal. Facing the masses of nominal church members is a sectarian elite within the church. It is difficult in these circumstances to conceive of church and sect as mutually exclusive structures. Sectarianism appears more as a process than as a structure, a process that may also occur within the social structure of a church.

It was suggested some years ago that the

⁵ Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 173.

⁶ Carl Mayer, *Sekte und Kirche—ein religionssoziologischer Versuch* (Heidelberg: Weiss, 1933).

sociological approach to sectarianism would do well to take into consideration the specific religious contents of the groups being investigated.⁷ In doing so, the sociology of religion could profit by going beyond a customary sociological parochialism and taking advantage of approaches developed by other branches of the scientific study of religion. The method of "motif research" developed by a group of Swedish scholars may be especially helpful in attempting to relate changing religious contents in a particular movement with changes in its social structure.⁸ We feel that such an approach would go far in solving the problem at hand.

Sectarianism might then well appear as the form of religious sociation par excellence. The kind of social structure which classical theory called a "sect" may be seen as that form which arises under the direct impact of strong religious contents. In this perspective it is much easier to see why sectarian phenomena may be found within the social structure of a church itself. The church represents a social form in which the original religious contents of a movement have been modified and diluted

through a process of interaction with the larger society, perhaps in some cases through an inner religious process of development. The "sectarian traits" analyzed in classical theory (such as charismatic leadership, opposition to secular value systems, moral exclusiveness, stress on lay participation as against clerical bureaucracy) can be analyzed in a much more meaningful manner when related to specific religious "motifs" in a historical development.⁹ The analysis of the sect as a type of religious social *structure* could then be subsumed under a more general study of sectarianism as a specifically religious *process of sociation*. Such an approach need not in any way be understood as a repudiation of classical theory as a whole. Such constructs as "the routinization of charisma" would, indeed, continue to be crucial in our analytical scheme. But we would come a little further in answering what, after all, is one of the fundamental questions of the sociology of religion: How does religious sociation differ from other forms of sociation? Or, to put the same question in Weberian terms: What kind of sociation results from an action orientation whose meaning is based on religious values?

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⁷ Peter L. Berger, "The Sociological Study of Sectarianism," *Social Research*, XXI (Winter, 1954), 467-85.

⁸ Cf. especially Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953), and Gustav Aulen, *The Faith of the Christian Church* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948).

⁹ The author attempted to do this in "The Baha'i Movement: A Sociological Interpretation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New School for Social Research, 1954).

BEHAVIOR, EXPERIENCE, AND RELATIONSHIPS: A SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONIST POINT OF VIEW

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ABSTRACT

The failure of symbolic interactionists to produce a systematic general theory is examined. Starting with concepts from Mead, Durkheim, and Riezler, the outlines of such a theory are indicated. The importance of symbols in human experience and the emergence of relationships as objects of experience through the medium of symbolic transformation form the core of the symbolic interactionist point of view and have certain methodological consequences for sociological research.

During the last decade there has been a continual lament about the lack of general theory in sociology; yet, paradoxically, it is doubtful whether any other decade in the twentieth century has seen such concerted efforts to develop systematic theory. This paradox is understandable in terms of the history of American sociology. Between wars the symbolic interactionist point of view, centered at the University of Chicago, was dominant. When identifying their theoretical roots, even sociologists who eschewed any "school of thought" seemed to turn most often to symbolic interactionist figures such as Durkheim, Simmel, Cooley, Mead, and Thomas.

However, since World War II almost all general theory has come from the other two major perspectives—the structure-functionalist and the neopositivist. The extensive theoretical writings of Parsons and his co-workers and of Merton, Sorokin, Becker, and Znaniecki have been the principal sources of new general theory;¹ while Lundberg's many articles have created an "everything's coming my way" atmosphere for neopositiv-

ism.² But the symbolic interactionists, who are, in terms of training and background, probably still a majority, have produced no comparable systematic theory. This paper has two purposes: to examine the causes of the failure of symbolic interactionists to systematize their scattered theoretical roots and to essay a synthesis, offering specific directions for a revitalization of this framework.

There are certain, oft noted sources of the current theoretical vacuum that bear no further discussion. However, two causes warrant special comment. First, the social conditions which nurtured sociology in the heyday of the symbolic interactionist school are, in the long run, undermining the central concerns of symbolic interactionism. The special conditions created in urban natural laboratories by the historical patterns of immigration and by the technological revolution led sociologists to organize their thinking and research within ecological-demographic and cultural frameworks. The ecological concern with natural areas inhabited by ethnic groups led to viewing (a) social influences in terms of socialization and (b) the relations between socialized people in terms of ecological processes. It now appears doubtful whether laws of human ecology or demography are possible, since both spatial distribution and population of human groups

¹ E.g., Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory, Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), and *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951); Talcott Parsons, R. F. Bales, and E. A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953); R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949); P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947); Howard Becker, *Through Values to Social Interpretation* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950); Florian Znaniecki, *Cultural Sciences* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952).

² E.g., George A. Lundberg, "The Natural Science Trend in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (1955), 191–202, and "Some Convergences in Sociological Theory," *ibid.*, LXII (1956), 21–27.

are functions, as well as contingencies, of the social process. Thus this approach, albeit a source of valuable sensitizing hypotheses, turns out to be a dead end for sociological theory proper. Then too, the emphasis upon technology resulted in a concentration upon the *products* of the social process rather than upon the process itself. With the relegation of symbolic interactionist theory to the study of socialization, i.e., social psychology, the study of the social process itself is left in a vacuum. Social interaction is treated as being the product of variables conceived to be unit characteristics of socialized organisms rather than as a process in which social consequences are the outcome of the relationships and transactions between persons.

The second—and more subtle and pervasive—cause of the vacuum is the almost unquestioned assumption that sociology is a “behavioral” science. This notion has entered sociology from several sources: first, through certain presuppositions accompanying the importation of the techniques of physical science; second, through the impact of the behaviorist school of psychology; and, third, through the employment of the behavioral terminology by Mead and Dewey, though the implications of their writings took quite different directions from the usual implications of “behavior.” Recently, eagerness to “sell the product” to the foundations, to government agencies, and to certain professions (e.g., the medical and legal) has encouraged sociologists to present their conceptual apparatus in an imagery congenial to the popular conceptions of a “behavioral” science. In this imagery, behavior is something an organism does. It further commits the sociologist to an organism-environment scheme and to a studious neglect of experience as such. Experience becomes a type of behavior; and behavior, in turn, must be explained by something inside the organism—drives, needs, neuromuscular sets, or gymnastics of the Freudian unconscious—something which is merely “set off” by environmental stimuli. Sociology becomes either a sort of statistical mass psychology wedded to ecology and demography or a

study of the patterns of the environmental stimuli which trigger off the waiting behavioral responses of the organism. There is no place in this for a genuinely sociological theory of the social process. The assumption that sociology is the study of the behavior of organisms inevitably involves the theorist in reductionism.

The concept “behavior” is used in the literature in two distinct ways. The first—which I shall call “empirical behavior”—is used by those who model their thinking after natural science and refers to the physical movements of the organism, including glandular and other “internal reactions,” in a space-and-time framework. Theoretically, these physical movements include covert behaviors such as feeling and thinking, though in the logic of the theory these must be defined in biophysical terms. When used in this way, “behavior” has none of the connotations customarily thought of as social meanings. For example, the behaviors involved in taking an I.Q. test must be thought of as the neuromuscular movements involved in “putting certain black marks in some places on a piece of paper,”³ not as “answering questions addressed to the subject by the tester.”

In the second use of “behavior” the biophysical movement is not, as such, significant. What matters is the “meaning” of the behavior, which lies in its relationships to arbitrary symbol processes in the experience of the social actors involved. For example, drinking wine in a communion ceremony has a completely different meaning from drinking wine in a sidewalk café. What I shall call “social behavior,” then, is the meaning or relationships of a unit of empirical behavior as it is experienced as an object in a social-symbolic context.

It is a rarity when any sociological research actually studies empirical behavior; in practice, sociologists almost invariably study social behavior. But, in theorizing, the two meanings of “behavior” are often confounded, with two consequences. First,

³ Lundberg, “The Natural Science Trend in Sociology,” p. 193.

the theorist becomes involved in the reduction of social phenomena to psychological or biological phenomena. Second, the assumption that empirical behavior is the subject matter of sociology results in the neglect of factors in the experience process that are crucial to an understanding of the social process. Because of the extraordinary complexity of its subject matter, sociology more than any other science needs a coherent and realistic frame of reference to guide research. I think that the guide lines to such a frame of reference are to be found in an examination of the character of (1) human experience and (2) social relationships. These conceptions inevitably lead to a consideration of the role of symbols in the social process. The work of George Herbert Mead offers the best entrance to these problems.⁴

HUMAN EXPERIENCE

Mead's description of human experience as an activity rather than as states of consciousness or stimuli impinging upon a passive organism has been widely accepted by sociologists. Unfortunately, many sociologists seem to have drawn from Mead's work two quite erroneous interpretations: (1) that, since experience involves and is initiated by behavior, the character and functions of experience in the human process can be ignored in favor of an exclusive attention to behavior, especially goal-directed behavior, and (2) that the use of symbols (predominantly linguistic) is simply one of a number of types of human behavior, important for facilitating communication and operating as a handy mental tool in the form of a system of functionally equivalent signs for the intrinsically constituted objects of reality, but not a type of behavior occupying a special place in human psychology.⁵

As a matter of fact, the significance of

Mead's theory is the very opposite of these interpretations. Mead's point is that the unique and overwhelmingly important character of the human process is that *all* social behaviors and stimuli take on the dimension of relationally experienced social objects through the agency of what I shall call "symbolic transformation," developed in participation in the social process. The symbolic process creates the dimension of relational experience in two ways. First, a symbol does not simply stand for some intrinsic character of a stimulus or behavior but rather stands for the potentialities of the stimulus or behavior for the ongoing process in which the organism is engaged. The symbol is an incipient act, relative to these potentialities, which is thrown between the stimulus and the perspective of the consummation of the act, thereby creating the dimension of self-conscious experience within which mental maneuverability and the conscious definition of relationships may occur. A social object is any event to which has been added the dimension of relatability—and therefore potential manipulability—through the function of symbols. Mead refers to the word as standing for a "telescoped act," and, indeed, in the speech-learning stage a child's words are just that. But, as objectification increases, it is perhaps more accurate to use the term "interaction potentialities." That is, a word stands for the potentialities for being interacted with of the object to which it serves as a bridge in the social act. (Actually, it is more accurate to think in terms of the language process than in terms of single words; we rarely deal with objects by single words but rather continuously envelop them in the flow of language and other symbols.) Symbols not only create the psychological dimension—or space—by coming between action and stimulus events but are themselves the vehicle and objects of relational experiences; they function in psychological space as the co-ordinators of action, of objects, and of the multiple perspectives involved in the social act. Mead's second point about the symbolic transformation is that a social object comes into being not

⁴ The following summary draws mainly on G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

⁵ A good example is Lundberg's "acceptance" of symbolic behavior in the neopositivist scheme ("The Natural Science Trend in Sociology," pp. 194-95).

merely in relation to the ongoing act of an individual but also in relation to the perspectives of others involved in the social act, eventually in relation to the interpersonal perspective of the "generalized other."

It is also important to recall Mead's conception that the self as a social and differentiated, or reflexive, process—a cornerstone of symbolic interactionist theory—comes into being in the same social-symbolic developmental process in which social objects and the dimension of relational experience emerge. Thus Mead's thesis is that a new kind of process emerges from the involvement of the organism in the social act: a process in which the unique character of human behavior is found not in its empirical dimension but in the fact that behavior takes place within a context of symbolically experienced actual and potential relationships and that this behavior itself is a relationally perceived object of experience to the actor. It is these conditions that make social behavior meaningful behavior; meaning is the experiencing of relationships and of objects as interaction potentialities in symbolically co-ordinated social-symbolic space.

A distinguishing concept is needed for this emergent aspect of the human process. The term "experience" suffers from barnacles and from too great generality; it is unwarranted to deny some sort of experience to the prespeech child or to the lower animals. The term "self-consciousness" used by Mead seems to me inadequate; the dimension we are concerned with includes unconscious as well as conscious processes. While we may reject psychoanalytic conceptions of the unconscious, nonetheless symbolically mediated processes of which the individual is not conscious do occur and have consequences for overt behavior; and there is no convincing evidence to keep us from supposing that these unconscious processes are an extension of the symbolic processes developed in conscious interaction. The term I shall use subsequently for the emergent aspect of the human process is "existential." Although it may do some vio-

lence to the philosophical meaning, I shall use "existential" as implying (1) the experienced as distinct from a hypothesized ontological character of reality; (2) a conception of experience in which the active or constructional rather than the reactive, aspect of the actor's participation is deemed crucial; (3) a conception of experience as a fabric of moving relational matrices rather than as a kaleidoscope of events; (4) the inclusion of all symbolically mediated processes, whether conscious or unconscious; and (5) a conception in which the dimension given to experience by the use of symbols makes possible the psychological space necessary for the instrumental and relational maneuverability characteristic of human mentality. "Existential," then, refers to one aspect of experience—that emerging from the symbolic transformation in human development (which by no means denies other aspects, such as the empirical and the energetic).

The function of symbols in creating this relational orientation is not just one kind of social behavior but a dimension of all social behaviors. Human processes take place in a medium of symbolized relationships rather than in a world of discrete stimulus events. The existential dimension of both behavior and environmental objects (including purely symbolic objects) is the special concern of sociology and social psychology. Of course, this point of view requires the sociologist to accept the study of the "subjective processes" and this poses tremendous methodological difficulties. But sociology is not the study of the spatial and temporal relations of organisms but of the social relations and interactions of units such as identities, roles, and groups, which are existential units and which exist only through the actors' definitional processes.

Understanding the importance of the existential dimension requires us to go beyond the instrumental functions ascribed to it by the pragmatists. Even recognition of the emergence of social needs not reducible to organic needs does not make the need→behavior→goal-attainment formula

much more realistic. Social needs, such as those for belongingness and status, are not fixed states to be attained but are fulfilled only in processes of involvement and interaction in which the shifting attitudes of others become objects of experience and in which the individual fashions identities for himself from his existential relations to others. For the social being, behavior is not a means to an end but a form of existence. Even when behavior is best understood as motivated or goal-oriented, the motives and goals cannot be described merely as organic tension pushing or pulling behavior but must be understood in terms of their existential dimension, as objects constantly being built up and modified and related to others objects in the definitional process which envelops behavior. Aesthetic experience—that is, experience which is an end in itself rather than a means to an end—is a much more important aspect of the human process than is generally recognized in sociology. If the existential dimension instead of goal-fulfilment is accepted as the key to human study, it will be recognized that people often achieve a much richer and wider experience through vicarious experience than by limiting themselves to their own efforts in “real” situations. The higher evaluation of goal-oriented “real” behavior than of vicarious experience is simply one of the many biases introduced into social thought by our Puritan background. Much of the misinterpretation and many of the hidden value-judgments that attend unfavorable comparison of the present with the past could be avoided if the functions of vicarious experience were accepted. It should be obvious that the possibility of learning by vicarious experience is crucial in the human achievement. The capacity to escape the knife-edge of the empirical present and live in a world with dimensions of past and future, of hypothetical possibilities, of purely symbolic constructs, of the lives of others through role-taking—these are the gift of the symbolic mode of organizing experience. We can penetrate beyond the superficial in the social process only by recognizing that the

unit of sociological analysis must be an existential, not a behavioral, unit.

SOCIAL WORLDS

These considerations growing out of Mead's theory bear importantly upon two points: (1) an oft noted but theoretically ignored concept of Durkheim's and (2) a crucial conception of Kurt Riezler's. Durkheim characterizes the collective representations as operating externally and coercively upon the members of society.⁶ Whatever one's opinion of Durkheim's metaphysics, he must admit that Durkheim's analysis of the collective representations is phenomenologically valid: a collective representation—that is, the meaningful aspect of a social phenomenon—is experienced as being intrinsically characteristic of the object, not as being projected upon the object by the experienter. Yet, as Mead's analysis shows, the function of a significant symbol (essentially the same thing as one aspect of a collective representation: the way in which members of a group symbolically represent to themselves an existential object)⁷ is to indicate the interaction potential of an object *relative to a social perspective*. The sacredness of a religious relic, for instance, is objectively projected upon it from a particular religious perspective; yet the believer experiences the sacredness as intrinsic to the relic.

Riezler's criticism of the individual-environment scheme sheds light on the foregoing problem. Riezler points out that the dominant sociopsychological frame of refer-

⁶ Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, trans. Sarah A. Solovay and John H. Mueller; ed. G. E. H. Catlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938). It is not necessary to go into Durkheim's distinction—or lack of distinction—between the collective representations of social actors and the “social facts” of the sociological observer. It seems clear that Durkheim meant that the collective representations are experienced as being external and coercive by the social actors.

⁷ Durkheim's concept of “collective representation” also, of course, had a substantive aspect by virtue of the objective resistance offered to its violation.

ence—the individual-environment scheme—is fallacious in its assumption that the individual simply faces his environment as something other than himself. Rather, he says, *both* the individual and the objects which constitute his environment are experienced as being part of and relative to a “world,” that is, to an assumed order of things embracing both subject and environment and conceived to be the objectively real matrix within which events occur and have meaning.⁸ As Riezler indicates, the nature of this “world” varies from group to group. In Western society, for instance, the basic “world” includes such ordering principles as natural causation, substance and form as the analytical units of an object, a mathematical time continuum, a moral distinction of good and evil, a distinction of objects with and without will, motives as the explanation of behavior, etc. In certain primitive societies the fabric of the “world” includes such things as magical principles of causation, social rhythm conceptions of time, ahistorical conceptions of duration, a division of objects by gender, a traditional mode of explaining behavior, and non-Western classification systems for such things as color, emotions, and spatial dimensions.⁹ It seems apparent that the symbolic interactionist must be committed to a position of sociological relativism.¹⁰

Reizler's concept of “world” offers a key to the problem of the externality and co-erciveness of the collective representations. From this standpoint the meaning of objects is experienced through the medium of the

experiencer's “world.” Thus, for the fully socialized person, the objective meaning of an object does not lie merely in its relationships to his personal ongoing act or even to the perspectives of others but rather in its relationships to the reality-order of his “world” and the objects it articulates. If we take “collective representation” to mean “objective meaning,” it is clear that a collective representation will be experienced as external and compelling in its meaning, since its meaning is refracted through its relationships to a “world” accepted as absolute and embracing of the experiencer. The interaction potentialities of an object thus become objectified and abstract (or, in part, non-situational) by being related to an absolutized, generalized reality-order. That

¹⁰ This does not mean that no universals or social laws are possible for sociology but rather that the meaning of any experience is relative to a “world” which provides its context. That we must recognize that there are many different “worlds” does not mean, at least at an abstract level, that there may not be universal sociological characteristics and forms of social relationships. Scientific facts are never simply faithful replicas of common-sense experience but are always abstractions drawn from the perspective of a frame of reference. But sociological universals must be explained in terms of the internal dynamics of the social process, not in terms of characteristics common to individual human organisms. Cooley's concept of human nature is, of course, the classical example. Study should reveal other sociopsychological universals arising out of the symbolic transformation. The possibility of generalizations about social relations and interaction processes would seem to rest with a further development of the approach of formal sociology of Simmel and Wiese. That the “forms” of social interaction become social facts by virtue of the analytical stance taken toward them by the sociologist must be recognized. Thus formal analysis depends upon mental analysis. But it is now apparent that raw empiricism does not exist in any science; where there is no mental activity, there is no science. The problem is one of systematizing, standardizing, and making uniformly communicable the mental operations involved in the scientific form of analysis. Physics made little progress until it began to formulate its ideas in terms of relational analytical units, some of which defy strictly empirical definition to the present day. If sociology is to be the study of social relationships, it must face up to the problem of systematizing and validating formal analysis instead of continuing to run away from it.

⁸ Kurt Riezler, *Man, Mutable and Immutable* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1950), Part I, chap. i; Part III, chap. ii.

⁹ Perhaps the best summary of primitive “worlds” is given by Hallowell, who uses a comparable concept—“reality-order of a culture” (A. Irving Hallowell, “Psychological Leads for Ethnological Field Workers,” in *The Study of Personality*, ed. Howard Brand [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1954]). Important also are Whorf's work on language and culture (Benjamin Whorf, *Four Articles on Metalinguistics* [Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, 1950]) and some of the leads in Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's much abused work on primitive mentality.

objects also have subjective and situational meanings relative to the particular ongoing act is not to be denied. But the subject is generally aware or can readily understand that these meanings are projected onto the object.

Space does not permit analysis of how the individual comes to experience himself and his environment as relative to a "world." Mead's "generalized other" is no doubt a developmental step on the way to the "world." However, evidence suggests that, at least in Western culture, the objectivity and abstractness indicative of "world"-oriented experience do not crystallize until about the age of eleven or twelve.¹¹

It is crucial to recognize that one's "world" is not some filter that the mind can hold up at will to strain external reality through, as implied by such terms as "cosmology" and "frame of reference." Rather, the mind is the processually integrated fabric of "world," objects, and self. "World" is not an instrument of the mind but its basic structure, the scaffolding of the mental process. One's objects are not ultimate discrete facts but symbols confirming this all-pervasive fabric of meanings—the social-symbolic "world." This, in the last analysis, is what I mean by the symbolic or existential dimension: self, thought, experience, action, objects—all become transformed into relational meanings, each relating and reflecting and reverberating each of the others in the texture of a whole. It is within this framework that we must seek the social re-

lationships which the sociologist purports to study. The self-process goes on within the fabric of the "world," constantly assuming identities by relating itself to the "world" and to the environmental situations articulated by the "world." Because a person's identity is always a relativity to his "world," which is his absolute, Durkheim's analysis of social causation is phenomenologically correct: the person's identity and, through it, his behaviors are experienced as being coerced by the collective representations, which are experienced as external to the self-process.¹² The social process is also *phenomenologically* external to any given individual because of the congruence of the "worlds" of the actors in a particular group. Insofar as their definitions of social objects coincide, the members of a social process mutually reinforce the phenomenologically absolute character of their "worlds"; and they exist in the reification of their collective representations. It is doubtful whether even the most emancipated or marginal person escapes from this reification in his habitual life.

DEFINITION OF "SYMBOL"

We may now essay a definition of the basic concept "symbol," not an easy task, since, as we approach the limits of the social framework, it becomes almost impossible to define the ultimate concepts by other concepts without circularity. The idea that a symbol is simply a sound standing for the essence of a class of self-constituted objects is naïve, for, genetically, the existential character of objects depends upon the presence of symbols in the behavior of the actor. But also we must recognize that, as socialization advances, symbols themselves come to take on new functions within the context of the individual's existential world. Nor can "symbol" be limited to language and postlanguage symbols. For example,

¹¹ While child development has not been studied (to my knowledge) from this point of view, indications of important changes in the form of conceptualization in late childhood may be found in Kurt Goldstein's discussions of the abstract attitude, *Human Nature in the Light of Psychopathology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), and *Language and Language Disturbances* (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1948) and in the studies in concrete and abstract symbolism in children by Jean Piaget, *Judgment and Reasoning in the Child* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928), and H. Werner and E. Kaplan, *The Acquisition of Word Meaning: A Developmental Study* ("Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development" [Evanston, Ill., 1952]).

¹² While the present discussion emphasizes phenomenological experience, the subsequent discussion tries to make clear that collective representations function as defining and communicating tools by means of which situational acts and objects are built up in the texture of interpersonal interaction.

Piaget's studies indicate the use by the pre-speech child of individual symbols that are functionally related to the development of the social symbols which function in the symbolic transformation.¹³ These individual symbols are much more restricted in function than the child's early language symbols, though more complicated than the "natural signs" of the lower animals. Furthermore, since any part of the existential process may, for certain purposes, serve as a symbol, "symbol" cannot be defined as a class of objects but must be defined as a type of function in the human process.

Most attempts to define "symbol" err in two ways. The first is treating symbols as static units, each one denoting a particular class of objects. Actually, a symbol is an aspect of a process and must be defined in terms of its functions in the sociopsychological process. The second is the failure to recognize that any given symbol may serve a plurality of functions, often simultaneously. To illustrate my meaning and with no intent to elaborate, I would suggest the following preliminary codification of symbolic functions:

1. *Indicator function*: a symbol used to point to an object or meaning
2. *Functional equivalence*: a symbol operating as a sign standing in place of an object or meaning
3. *Interactional function*: denotation of the interaction potentialities of an object relative to the perspective of the particular situational act
4. *Conceptual function*: denotation of an object as a matrix of relationships to other objects and to the ordering principles of a "world" (classificatory functions are included here)
5. *Co-ordinate function*: function of serving as the relational co-ordinator of sociopsychological space (i.e., as a relational unit per se)
6. *Presentational function*: the guiding of attention by the distinguishing among objects and relationships (i.e., the creation of disjunction in the flow of experience)

¹³ Jean Piaget, *Play, Dreams, and Imitation in Childhood*, trans. C. Gattegno and F. M. Hodgson (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1951).

7. *Cathective function*: the function of channeling or organizing affective or psychic energy or behavior into relational forms, as exemplified by the sentiments and the self-mechanisms
8. *Objective function*: symbol which comes to function as an object of affective identification through truncating of other functions
9. *The sense function*: the suffusion of connotational effects of a symbol in inner speech or thought¹⁴
10. *Configurational function*: configurative coloring of object patterns—exemplified in terms such as "sense of justice," "sense of dignity," and "sense of balance"

It seems useful to refer to two aspects of the process of experience—the referential function and the objectification function. The former is the orientational functioning of symbols as such; the latter, the terminal process in the symbolic transformation of events into social objects. Thus the minimal definition of symbol is "any object or behavioral unit which serves in the referential function in the process of experience." What Mead calls a "significant symbol" is an object or behavioral unit which serves in the referential function in the existential process. This codification makes clear that the referential function is actually a plurality of very complex functions.

Systematization of symbolic interactionist theory seems to demand a sociopsychological semiotics, that is, a codification of the types and functions of symbols in the human meaning and social processes. There exists scarcely a beginning in sociology of a standardized terminology for making the discriminations required in discussing the symbolic aspect of social relationships. While much valuable work on semiotics has been done by such philosophers as Cassirer, Langer, Mead, and Morris, a science cannot depend upon philosophy to provide its standardized terminology. Sociology must develop its own theory of the relations of society, symbols, and meaning.

¹⁴ L. S. Vygotsky, "Thought and Speech," *Psychiatry*, II (1939), 47–50.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Most textbook definitions of sociology proclaim it to be the science of human relationships, but with little theoretical clarification of "relationship." What generally emerges is a jumble of ecological, structural, functional, interactional, and mathematical relationships. There is need for a generic clarification of "social relationship."

Earlier discussion attempted to show that all socialized human experience is relational; that is, any existential object is a matrix of symbolically designated relational potentialities and actualizations. Since all types of objects—physical, psychological, societal, and cultural—emerge in the social-symbolic process, all may be called "social objects." I will use the term "existential relations" to refer to the relations among social objects experienced as collective representations by the social actors themselves. (e.g., married, subordinate, useful, evil, etc.).

A situational existential relation or object takes on meanings through its relations to a series of contexts that may be compared to concentric spheres. The outermost is a relatively permanent, society-shared structure habitually and automatically treated as an absolute by the actor—what I have called a "world"; the innermost is the fluid immediate situation. In between are various subworlds, running from those that order the relations of considerable numbers of people—the academic world, the business world, the underworld—to a fabric of shared assumptions structuring the interactions of a single couple. These shared textures or assumed orders will be referred to as "existential social relationships" and may be broken down into five categories:

1. *"Worlds"*: here used in Riezier's sense of a basic order embracing both subject and environment and generally shared by members of a whole society
2. *Spheres of action*: the codes, roles, and norms pertaining to major areas of the social process in which most members of any society engage, such as the economic, religious, private-intimate, recreational, and educational spheres
3. *Subworlds*: e.g., the underworld, executive world, world of the theater, in which the ordering fabric refers only to a limited area of social participation engaged in by a relatively small proportion of a society
4. *Associational relationships*: the body of assumptions, norms, and identities providing the specific context of interaction for members of integrated groups (Lewin's "group atmospheres" may be thought of as a subcategory)
5. *Symbolic atmospheres*: orders of symbols, assumed attitudes, tastes, and goals experienced in collective behavior processes as being the consensus or mood of the collectivity (these orders represent the individual's construction of what he conceives to be the convergent atmosphere of the crowd, mass, fashion collectivity, etc.)

The situational interaction processes which occur within the context of existential social relationships will be referred to as "existential social interactions" and include (1) situated transactions between subjects in the symbolic medium; (2) interactions between subjects and personified objects in the symbolic medium; and (3) internal conversations within the differentiated self, as described by Mead. (An interaction is thought of as a situated, processual inter- or intrapersonal unit in which acts and/or objects are built up, modified, or exchanged from more than one social perspective.)

While an interaction takes place within the context of existential social relationships, it is also important to note that social relationships are, in turn, built up and modified by social interaction, a process I shall call "sociation." All existential social relationships are constantly undergoing modification, however imperceptible, through sociation. Sociation occurs not only through interpersonal interactions but very often through intrapersonal interaction—in imagination, daydreaming, reverie, vicarious experience, etc. As a whole, personality is given its stability by the buttressing of consensual validation. For the most part intrapersonal processes carry on within the framework of consensually validated con-

texts, but the fluidity and experimental freedom of the intrapersonal process permit a significant amount of sociation. The fantasy worlds of certain psychotics offer an extreme example, while much socially accepted creativity must also be understood in terms of intrapersonal sociation.

Social interactions are not simply direct symbolic communications but also include the interco-ordinations between persons that arise from taking the role of the other, from interpreting (consciously or unconsciously) gestural and empathic cues (e.g., bodily signs of tension, excitement, unrest, boredom), from interpretations of projected characteristics, and from interpretations of non-communicational acts. These interactions I shall call "empathic-symbolic"—they are non-communicational forms but enter into the social process in terms of the way they are handled in the symbolic mode of organizing experience.

In summary, there are three aspects of an existential social interaction: (1) the *transactional*, the building-up of shared situational meanings by communicational exchange; (2) the *empathic-symbolic*; and (3) the *sociational*, the building-up and modifying of existential social relationships.

There are two methodological implications in the shift from the individual-environment scheme to a framework of the relational fabric of social interactions and contextual existential social relationships: (1) accepting the inevitability of the historical-cultural factor in any concrete social situation; and (2) realizing that a system of constructs corresponding to these contexts is a necessary methodological, as well as theoretical, tool, needed for the reconstructive interpretation required for obtaining primary social data.

While I have stressed the functions of symbols and the contextual framework for personal experience and social action, we must bear in mind the centrality for symbolic interactionism of the point made by Blumer—that social acts are *built up* in interactional transactions.¹⁵ The contextual framework and symbolic repertoire are but

guide lines and defining tools by which people build up acts, objects, new symbols, and relationships through social interaction. The symbolic interactionist theory holds that—except for ritual—complex, specific social acts are neither reactions nor simply adaptations of systems but are existential constructions in situated, interpersonal processes. Social interactions must be studied in the directions both of sociation and of the building-up of acts and objects specific to the situation. While the fluidity and particularity of situational processes seem to defy definitive generalizations, the sociologist must, at least, devise adequate sensitizing concepts to deal with this area, which lies at the very core of the social process.¹⁶

SOCIOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

The three classes of existential relationships discussed so far may be referred to as "social relationships," since they constitute the social experience of the actors in the social process. Sociologists are concerned with four other types of relationships, which, since they are constructed by analyzing social relationships from the sociological frame of reference, may be called "sociological relationships." The first of these I shall call "societal relationships." This term refers to the degree of objective congruence of the social actors' definitions of their existential social relationships and interaction elements. While people always act in terms of their definition of the situation, different degrees of congruence of the definitions by the actors engaged in an interaction will have differential objective consequences.

A second class of sociological relationships is the "conditional relationships." By this term I refer to those relations which are objectively present in a social situation ir-

¹⁵ Herbert Blumer, "Psychological Import of the Human Group," in M. O. Wilson and Muzafer Sherif (eds.), *Group Relations at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), and many articles.

¹⁶ See Herbert Blumer, "What's Wrong with Social Theory?" *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 3-10.

respective of their conceptualization by the social actors. Among the conditional relationships studied by sociologists are frequency of social contact, number in group, heterogeneity, anonymity, the division of labor, and various forms of mobility. These relationships may be said to condition the social process in the sense that, though they emerge within the existential process, they are not created by the existential definitions of the actors and they may have consequences contrary to those definitions. Definitions of the situation are predictions of how objects can be interacted with. But, while conditional relationships—like ontological reality—seem to permit of a broad flexibility in being interacted with when incorporated in existential situations, there is a quality of resistance, of stubborn demand to be taken into account, about the objective conditions of the social process. This is similarly true of three other conditions of the social process generally studied by sociologists, even though they are logically the subject matters of special “bridge” sciences connecting with sociology: the ecological pattern, demographic composition, and technological apparatus of groups. By “technological apparatus” I refer to the presence of the actual objects used in the technology of the society, not to the collective representations directing use of these objects.

The sociologist also deals with “holistic” systems of relationships. This term refers to combinations of existential social relationships and abstracted patterns of interaction processes which go beyond the existential pattern of any given social actor and draw together into heuristic wholes or integrated systems the existential patterns of many social actors. A field structure,¹⁷ a caste, a corporation would be examples of holistic systems.

Finally, there are “analytical sociological relationships”—those relationships between social units which are explanatory constructs achieved by analytical abstraction and the-

oretical construction. Examples of analytical sociological relationships are functional relationships, models, and ideal-type continuums. Symbolic interactionist theory by no means abjures the value of schemes of analytical relations. The sociologist's interest in societal, conditional, and holistic relationships makes the analysis of latent functions a logical and particularly important procedure. Both the enormous complexity of social phenomena and the fact that social phenomena become sociological “facts” only by the sociologist's process of analytical abstraction make it necessary that general theory be formulated ultimately in terms of propositions about analytical relationships. However, it seems to me that the historical and situational character of the social process will always make it necessary to accord to sensitizing, lower-level instrumental concepts as significant a place in sociological theory as the more abstract analytical constructs hold.

In summary, to the question “What kinds of generic relationships does sociology analyze?” We may say that sociology is the study of seven types of relational materials. The first is the relational mode of organizing the field of objects and the personal experiencing and behaving of socialized persons—a mode which emerges in the symbolic transformation. For purposes of study this problem falls into two areas: (1) the functions of symbols as such in the personality process and (2) the collective representations, the content or meanings of symbols in a social order.¹⁸ The other six types are existential social relationships, existential social interaction processes, societal relationships, conditional relationships, holistic relationships, and analytical sociological relationships. While most analyses of groups and communities combine several of these classes of relationships, sociologists need to state clearly which of

¹⁷ See Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1951), pp. 295–99.

¹⁸ The term “collective representations” is preferable to “cultural symbols,” because the former may be thought of as including symbols operating in collective behavior processes as well as culturally standardized symbols.

the classes of relationships are specifically involved.

It should not be concluded, however, that sociology is to be defined in terms of subject matter. Like any other science, sociology is distinguished by its point of view, which in a sense creates its subject matter. In general, the sociological point of view seeks to explain or find the significance of an event or class of events by examining its relationships to (1) the existential process, which includes (a) the process of organizing experience and behavior through symbolic definitions and relationships and (b) the processes of interaction in the symbolic medium; (2) the cultural process, i.e., the accumulative transmission of standardized meanings through the historical career of a given social group; (3) patterns of social organization, constituted principally by shared existential social relationships and holistic systems; (4) the conditions of the social process, which include (a) conditional and societal relationships, (b) the ecological pattern, demographic composition, and technological apparatus, and (c) the functional prerequisites to the maintenance and survival of the social order. Typically, sociology explains social and psychological events and products in terms of social and sociological relationships; but, since the social process is a dynamic compound of existential personality processes, contexts of crystallized meanings, patterns of conditions, and interactions, any full sociological explanation must take account of the interplay of all these basic aspects of the social process.

IMPLICATIONS

From the symbolic interactionist perspective, the only distinction among the disciplines sociology, social psychology, and culture is a division of labor. "Culture," which cannot be viewed as a separate level of analysis from the social, becomes the analytical term for the process of historical transmission and accumulation that operates in the social-symbolic process. The standard criteria of culture—that it is symbolic,

learned, transmitted, and shared—do not distinguish cultural units from many types of social-symbolic units that are referred to as social (such as "vocabularies of motives" and "roles"). This is by no means to underrate the importance of the cultural process. A central condition for the functioning of the social process is the relative congruence of the existential social relationships of the interactants. This congruence is the product of the process of socialization, which consists of two subprocesses: cultural transmission and socialization.

Similarly, personality, while having internal structural aspects, can be understood only in terms of the symbolic transformation and as functioning only in the context of social relationships and interactions. It is striking that, in spite of an emphasis on process and situation, the symbolic interactionist terminology used in describing personality emphasizes concepts such as "role," "self-conception," and "integrated personality"—concepts which fail to take into account the interactional character of social involvement or the fact that the total personality is never involved in any particular line of action (the "integrated" personality which has the same identity in every situation is the psychotic personality). Such aspects of personality as attitudes, the self-mechanisms, cognitive processes, and unconscious processes have not yet been subjected to systematic symbolic interactionist analysis.¹⁹ There is not as yet sufficient evidence to say which, if any, processes of the human organism are not affected by the symbolic transformation. But the growing evidence from psychopathology and medical pathology indicates that the web of the symbolic process extends to every recess of the organism's functioning. For any given area it seems a better research hypothesis to assume that the symbolic is a dimension than to assume that it is not. It should be

¹⁹ An excellent analysis and summary of such evidence as exists on mental processes from a symbolic interactionist point of view is in A. R. Lindesmith and A. L. Strauss, *Social Psychology* (rev. ed.; New York: Dryden Press, 1956).

noted that our analysis implies that personality development has three major stages, each requiring different forms of conceptual analysis: the prespeech stage; the stage prior to the incorporation of the self-process into a "world"; and the fully socialized stage.

One fundamental problem of social psychology is to determine the differential consequences of the different systems of collective representations of various societies for the universal human process of the symbolic transformation in personality. From this viewpoint, the sociology of knowledge, seeking linkages between symbolic forms and social relationships and interactions, occupies a pivotal position, interlocking sociology and social psychology.

It is now generally admitted that the objects of knowledge of any discipline consist of units created in processes of which the frame of reference of the observer is one interacting factor. That is, a unit of knowledge is always an interaction between external reality and an observer who abstracts analytically particular aspects from the events of experience in terms of his frame of reference. Our previous analysis indicates that this process actually involves two steps. First, events themselves become relational existential objects only with their incorporation (through the symbolic transformation) into the social process (a transformation which, of course, normally occurs habitually and simultaneously with the sensory aspect of perception). The second step is the analytical abstraction by which the existential object is incorporated into one of the abstract philosophical or scientific frames of reference—the function of a point of view. Failure to distinguish these two steps is the source of the sloppy and excessive use of the concept of "operational definition" in recent sociological literature. As used in the physical sciences, operationalism is an explicit recognition of my point: that any object includes the interactive involvement of the experiencer or observer (sometimes indirectly through instruments but, nonetheless, not eliminatable). In the phys-

ical sciences the two-step process is telescoped (at least as far as definition goes): the scientist is concerned only with events as objects of knowledge and hence can employ the same operational process in experiencing and in analyzing his units. But this the sociologist cannot do. The concern of sociology is with the existential dimension of social objects and behaviors *as experienced by the social actors*. The sociologist must gain his primary data by some process of interpretive reconstruction in which the reports, indexes, and *Verstehen* observations of the experiences of the subjects are re-incorporated into the existential social relationships of the subjects. Only then is the second step of analytical abstraction proper. This indirection is not the same as that of physicists who use indexes for such units as atoms and quanta. There the indirection is necessitated by an instrumental problem. In the case of the sociological observer, however, the indirection results from what might be called a "metaphysical" barrier: in spite of all the word play of recent centuries, the physical and the existential remain different orders methodologically. If sociology studies existential experience, no form of empirical operationalism whatsoever can directly define and handle this subject matter. Techniques used in eliciting reports and indexes may employ operationalism, but it is completely erroneous to confound the objects defined and measured by these operations with the existential objects of the subjects.

While the symbolic interactionist frame of reference unavoidably entails complicated methodological procedures, it does not imply a return to introspection and speculation as the methods of sociology. Rather, it implies that in sociology empiricism must be combined with types of interpretive operations not required in the physical and biological sciences. Indirect techniques for gathering indexes and data need to be explored further, with recognition of the indirection but with due respect for the importance of the empirical aspect of social phenomena. The symbolic interactionist does not deny the empirical dimension of

the social process, but he does insist upon the importance of the existential dimension. It seems to me that a system of empirical-existential units—that is, units defined in terms of both dimensions (and the relativity of all existential units means that such hybrid units will also be relative)—must be established, in terms of which predictive generalizations can be checked. To be a science, sociology must, of course, have a method for checking the validity of its prop-

ositions that can gain consensus. But, to be a science of society, sociology must have a method which is sensitive to the characteristics of human phenomena in which the social process inheres. This paper has argued that these characteristics reside in the existential dimension which emerges in the symbolic transformation.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE IN SURVEY ANALYSIS

January 28, 1958

To the Editor:

In his review of *The Student Physician* (January, 1958), James A. Davis devotes most of his attention to a discussion of the methodology employed by the authors and, even more particularly, to their failure to use tests of significance or some other definite criterion in interpreting statistical results of survey research. His point is cogent; he points to several instances in which similar data lead at one time to positive findings, at another to negative findings. All of us in the business of survey research are aware of this tendency, which is sometimes jokingly referred to as the "fully-only technique": there is a difference of "fully 10 per cent" when we want to show that a relationship does exist, but a difference of "only 10 per cent" when we want to show that no relationship exists. (As far as I know, William McPhee, of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, coined this apt phrase.) Certainly, we should get rid of "fully-only" and establish some criterion by which we decide that a tabulation shows one result or another. The usual test of significance or some modification of it is one such criterion.

It is important, however, to maintain a proper perspective toward the significance test and to remember that the task it does in social research may be somewhat less important than is ordinarily thought. A significance test indicates whether the statistical relationship might have arisen by chance. It does no more than this. If the test shows that the relationship might have arisen by chance, well, then, it might have. But it might not have, too. If the test shows that it could hardly have arisen by chance, well, then, it did not. But it may have arisen

through any of many other peculiar statistical artifacts.

When an investigator is concerned about whether he has a "result," he has at least two other ways of looking into the matter further, both of which seem to me more valuable in survey research than the significance test. He may raise the question of whether the result found (no matter how large or how small, how "significant" or "non-significant") might not be due to some third variable correlated with those under investigation. If the relationship is truly a chance one, then it will tend to show inconsistencies under different values of the third variable. If it is more than a chance relationship, but still due to this other variable, then the relation will wash out. Because of this latter effect, the introduction of such control variables probably does a better weeding-out job than a significance test.

Even more valuable than such partial correlations in testing, refining, and elaborating survey "findings" is the test by implication. If there is a causal relationship between two variables, then this should imply other relationships as well. To use an example from *Union Democracy* (one of the first Bureau of Applied Social Research studies to argue against the importance often attached to significance tests), it is hypothesized that night work generates stronger association among printers, and, sure enough, this is found to be the case. A test of significance might have been used at this point, and the matter dropped there, with the finding that the higher printer-association of night workers was or was not statistically significant. The procedure taken instead said that, *if* night work does in fact tend to generate association among printers, *then* this process should manifest itself not

only by a generally higher level of association with other printers among night workers but in other ways as well. Night workers' relations with fellow printers should be especially high in contexts surrounding the job itself but not so high in a family context. Also the length of time on night work should positively be related to association with other printers. And those who *have been* on night work but are now on day work should show higher association than those who have always been on day work. When all these implications are tested and found to be true, our hypothesized causal relationship is strongly reinforced, *whether or not* a significance test shows that the original statistical relationship may have arisen by chance.

I am not arguing against the use of tests of significance but suggesting rather that we pay less attention to them, for significance tests in contrast to the techniques mentioned above tend to lead the survey researcher

nowhere and tend to make him satisfied that he has "significant findings" by a misappropriation of the term significant. I am saying, in effect, "Go ahead and use significance tests, but don't make the too-common error of letting them, rather than more substantively sophisticated methods, carry the heart of your survey analysis."

It is, of course, very different in experimental work, which has not to worry about correlated variables and networks of causal interdependence which can mask relations or show spurious ones. For experimenters the major question which must be raised about a statistical relationship is that answered by a significance test. For survey analysts this question is—or should be—dwarfed by the question of spurious relations, which can be answered by methods such as those described above.

JAMES S. COLEMAN

University of Chicago

REJOINDER

February 10, 1958

To the Editor:

Although I expressed it clumsily, perhaps the main point of my review was not a defense of significance tests in survey research but rather the proposition that, unless the survey analyst follows *some* formalized, preferably quantitative operations in his reasoning, the end result is about as reliable as reading tea leaves. My personal belief is that BASR methodology in discarding, not just sampling tests, but also measures of association, scaling procedures (*regardless* of the specific procedure one espouses), and null hypotheses, runs a great risk of ending up with data which may illustrate a given line of thought but which have little force in compelling a doubtful reader to accept the conclusions.

Professor Coleman's apt characterization of "fully-only" research indicates that he agrees with me on this principle. What remains, however, is some disagreement about the utility of different classes of operations.

We both agree that, through "partialing," the survey analyst should test the possibility that his finding is spurious in terms of other variables. In addition, I feel that the research worker should present some evidence that his own operations, in terms of sampling, coding, index formation, and measures of association, have not misled him. Coleman wishes to exclude this second class of spuriousness. He argues that a lot of trivial research is decked out with significance tests. I agree, but I believe that this is essentially argument *ad hominem*, and the fact that trivial research also uses arithmetic does not invalidate arithmetic. He argues, in effect, that tests of significance are not a *sufficient* criterion for accepting a finding. I agree, but I cannot, from what I know of logic, deduce from this that they are not a *necessary* criterion.

Coleman proposes to substitute partials and tests of implications for significance tests. He may very well be right, but the application of the principle to which we

both agree requires some formalized process for making these tests. Coleman says: "If the relationship is truly a chance one, then it will tend to show inconsistencies under different values of the third variable." Probably so, but how can you demonstrate "inconsistencies" without some measure of inconsistencies and some allowance for chance fluctuation? Does he propose to reject every relationship which does not show identical degrees of relationship in each value of the third variable? If not, which ones does he propose to keep and which does he propose to reject? My prediction is that the answer to these questions will require, if not a significance test, something so much like one that the difference is not worth worrying about. Coleman says that, if the implications of an interpretation pan out, the interpretation "is strongly reinforced." Although this is a logically invalid form of argument (If A then B, B is true, ergo A is true), it is one of the backbones of empirical science, and I am for it. What bothers me is how you tell whether the implications

pan out or not, if you do not use some sort of criterion for measuring the "pan-out-ability" of a given relationship and evaluating the net "pan-out-ability" of a series of relationships. Again, something akin to significance tests is sneaking in the back door.

In summary, I do not believe that the BASR methods and traditional significance tests are mutually exclusive, but each provides data on a different type of potential error. Full error control requires the application of both types of tests, and the applications of either criterion can only be reliable when they can be expressed in terms of formalized, quantifiable operations. Until the BASR operations are codified in such a way that two research analysts must come to the same conclusions from the same set of data, I see no reason why the few methods we have which do yield reliability should be tossed out the window.

JAMES A. DAVIS

University of Chicago

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY, 1957

According to reports received by the *Journal* from 71 departments of sociology in the United States and Canada offering graduate instruction, 113 doctoral degrees and 230 Master's degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1957.

DOCTOR'S DEGREE

- Mary S. Abdul-Haqq, B.S.Ed., M.A. Ohio State, 1952, 1955. "Factors Related to Students' Participation in Social Organizations at the Ohio State University." *Ohio State*.
- Fred T. Adams, M.A. Alabama. "Roles and Role Behavior in a Mental Hospital." *Tulane*.
- John Shields Aird, A.B. Oberlin College, 1946; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Fertility Levels and Differentials in Two Bengali Villages." *Michigan*.
- Robin Francis Badgley, B.A. McGill, 1952; M.A. Yale, 1955. "Assimilation and Acculturation of the English Immigrant in New Haven." *Yale*.
- Walter C. Bailey, A.B., M.A. Indiana, 1942, 1947. "Differential Communication in the Supervision of Paroled Opiate Addicts." *Southern California*.
- Delbert Barley, A.B. McPherson College, 1939; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1951. "Refugees in Germany: Relationships between Refugees and the Indigenous Population of a Rural Black Forest Community." *Pennsylvania*.
- Alexander Bassin, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1934; A.M. New York, 1951. "Effect of Group Therapy upon Certain Attitudes and Perceptions of Adult Offenders on Probation." *New York*.
- Bruce Biddle, B.A. Antioch College, 1951. "An Application of Social Expectation Theory to the Initial Interview." *Michigan*.
- David Joseph Bordua, A.B., A.M. Connecticut, 1950, 1952. "Authoritarianism and Intolerance: A Study of High-School Students." *Harvard*.
- Rev. Gabriel Brinkman, B.S. Quincy College, 1953; M.A. Catholic, 1953. "The Social Thought of John de Lugo." *Catholic*.
- Sister Mary Sheila Burns, B.A. Marian College, 1945; M.A. Catholic, 1953. "A Comparative Study of Social Factors in Religious Vocations to Three Types of Women's Communities." *Catholic*.
- Jay Grant Butler, B.S. Brigham Young, 1949; M.S. Purdue, 1951. "An Analysis and Measurement of Value Orientations as Related to Conventional and Delinquent Behavior." *Illinois*.
- Mervyn L. Cadwallader, A.B., M.A. Nebraska, 1948, 1951. "A Cybernetic Theory of Social Change." *Oregon*.
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- Mohammad Huneidi, B.S. American University of Beirut, 1949. "The Bedouin Nomads of Jordan: Their Conditions and Potentials for Development." *Cornell*.
- Rev. Joseph Tracy Hurley, Orders, Mt. St. Alphonsus Seminary, 1955. "The Teachings of Pope Pius XI and XII on Missionary Accommodation." *Catholic*.
- Elizabeth Chapman Isaacs, A.B. Wayne State, 1942. "The World Council of Churches as an Agency of Social Control." *Wayne State*.
- Wsevolod W. Isajiw, B.A. La Salle College, 1955. "Criteria for Acceptance of a Sociological Theory." *Catholic*.
- Richard L. Jackson, B.A. Ohio Wesleyan, 1953. "Children's School Adjustment as Related to Severity of Home Discipline." *Ohio State*.
- August Janssen, B.A. The Principia (Elsah, Ill.), 1951. "Primary Groups in Japanese Concentration Camps." *Colorado*.
- Walter Theophil Janzow, B.D. Concordia Seminary (St. Louis, Mo.), 1944. "The Relationship of Member Participation in Church Activities to Religious Beliefs and Attitudes." *Southern Illinois*.
- Rev. John J. Johnson, B.A. Grand Seminaire, 1948. "The Pattern of Marriage of Clients in a Catholic Marriage Counseling Center." *Catholic*.
- Louise Ann Johnson, A.B. College of St. Catherine, 1941. "A Partial Explanation of the Perceptions of American College and University Professors of Social Science." *Columbia*.
- Cynthia G. Kelley, B.S. Northwestern, 1954. "An Analysis of the Thematic Content of Thirty Popular Non-Fiction Books about India by American Authors (1920-56)." *Michigan State*.
- John D. Kelly, B.A. Harvard, 1950. "Effects of Background and Experience on Knowledge and Attitudes of Youth concerning American Business Structure: A Cross-sectional and Longitudinal Study of 687 Minnesota Youths as High-School Seniors and Three Years Later." *Minnesota*.
- B. M. Abdul Majeed Khan, B.A. Hamline, 1956. "Occupational Aspirations of Northeastern Minnesota Farm Boys, 1956." *Minnesota*.
- John Kinch, A.B. Washington (Seattle), 1955. "A Study of the Changes of Reference-Group Orientation and Some of the Factors Related to Them." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Barry A. Kinséy, A.B. Oklahoma State, 1953. "Differential Identification and Crime and Causation: A Critical Evaluation." *Nebraska*.
- Ruth Kornhauser, "Parents and School: Clients' Expectations and Demands." *Chicago*.
- Patrick C. Krell, B.A. Creighton, 1955. "A Study of Selected Characteristics of Committed Juvenile Delinquents in Omaha, Nebraska, 1955-56." *Omaha*.
- Roger G. Krohn, B.A. St. Olaf College, 1953. "The Social Role of the Revolutionary Leader." *Minnesota*.
- Daniel Kubát, Ph.D. Munich (Germany), 1955. "McCarthyism: A Case Study in the Sociology of Obsession." *Kansas*.
- Min-hsioh Kwoh, B.S. Nanking. "The Farmers Associations' Movement of Taiwan (Formosa)." *Cornell*.
- Jack Ladinsky, B.S. Missouri, 1957. "Voluntary Associations and Social Participation of Negroes in a Small City." *Missouri*.
- Hyo Chai Lee, A.B. Alabama, 1951. "The Gentry and the Social Structure of the Yi Dynasty of Korea." *Columbia*.
- Francis Ingels Lee, B.A. Iowa, 1955. "Desegregation of the Schools." *Purdue*.
- Rev. Gabriel Lee, B.S. Marquette, 1954. "Missionary Accommodation to Korean Culture." *Fordham*.
- Robert Kendric Leik, B.S. Oregon, 1953. "Monona Terrace: Interest Groups and Social Change." *Wisconsin*.
- Marc-André Lessard, A.B. Laval, 1954. "Le développement d'une zone touristique." *Laval*.
- Ernest J. Leupp, A.B. Columbia College, 1953. "Guild Socialism in Great Britain." *Columbia*.
- Myron Levenson, B.S. Pittsburgh, 1949. "Ethnic Factors in Medical Studies—American Indians." *Pittsburgh*.
- Doralee M. Lewis, B.S. Maryland, 1953. "Social Factors Associated with Reading Test Scores of Seventh- and Eighth-Grade Students." *Maryland*.
- Stanley Lieberman, "Ethnic Groups in Medicine." *Chicago*.
- Leon Lindberg, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1955. No thesis. *California (Berkeley)*.
- Maren Lockwood, B.S. College of London, 1955. "Women Executives' Off-the-Job Activities. Changing Patterns of Leisure." *Maryland*.

- Joseph Lopreato, B.A. Connecticut, 1956. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Margery Low, B.S. Minnesota, 1939. "An Evaluation of the Rural Community Nursing Experience in the Nursing Curriculum." *Minnesota*.
- Lloyd Benjamin Lueptow, B.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "Economic Security and the Need for Achievement." *Wisconsin*.
- Rev. Edward P. McColgan, A.B. St. Columban's College, Dalgan Park, Ireland. "America and Japan: How Political Relationships Affect International Understanding." *Fordham*.
- Joyce Gevirtz McCray, B.A. Wellesley College, 1954. No Thesis. *Vale*.
- Rita S. McEvoy, B.A. Maryland, 1956. "Psychosomatic Illness and Absenteeism." *Maryland*.
- Jack M. McLeod, B.S. Wisconsin, 1952. No thesis. *Michigan*.
- Sister M. Loretto Anne Madden, A.B. Loretto Heights College (Loretto, Colo.), 1943. "The Social Apostolate of Joseph Projectus Machebeuf, First Bishop of Denver." *Catholic*.
- Rudolph Marquardt, A.B. Southern California, 1947. "Some Implications of Decentralization in the Los Angeles Area." *Southern California*.
- Webster C. Martin, Jr. A.B. Minnesota, 1946. "Social Determinants of Infant Feeding and Training Practices." *Wayne State*.
- Judah Matras, S.B. Chicago, 1956. "Models for Analysis of Occupational Structure." *Chicago*.
- Rev. William C. Mayer, B.A. St. Ambrose College, 1951. "The Social Backgrounds of Modern Saints and Beati, 1815-1954." *Catholic*.
- Eileen Maynard, M.S. in Library Science, Syracuse, 1950. "Description of Personal Character by Three Early Ethnographers." *Syracuse*.
- Mother Mary Andrew Mennis, A.B. New Rochelle College, 1952. "An Analysis and Evaluation of the Treatment of Women's Social Roles in American Research from 1945 through 1956." *Catholic*.
- Shirley Merritt, A.B. Bowling Green, 1956. "Public School Teachers' Attitudes toward Civil-Liberty Issues." *Bowling Green*.
- Leonard P. Metzger, B.A. Washington and Jefferson College, 1954. "Popular Literature as a Mirror of Some Changing American Values." *Oregon*.
- John Wilfred Meyer, B.A. Goshen College (Ind.), 1955. "Medical Needs and Medical Education in the West." *Colorado*.
- H. Curtis Mial, A.B. Princeton, 1941. "Study of College-Community Relations in New York State." *Syracuse*.
- Phil V. Mobley, B.S. Mississippi Southern College, 1955. "Education of the Housewife and Utilization of Health and Medical Services in Scott County, Mississippi." *Mississippi State College*.
- Rev. Joseph G. Montero, Orders, Catholic, 1955. "The American Adaptation of the Y.C.W. Movement as Revealed in the Chicago Federation." *Catholic*.
- Jonathan Braddock Moreland, A.B. California (Santa Barbara), 1947. "Socioeconomic Changes Affecting the Negro in the United States from 1940 to 1955." *Southern California*.
- Helene Farag Moussa, A.B. American University (Beirut, Lebanon), 1952. "Employment Status of Mothers and Family Relations." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Robert Lee Murray, B.A. Benedict College, 1940. "Social Effects of Integration on Negro Servicemen." *Catholic*.
- Charles B. Nam, B.A. Yale, 1952. "A Macro-Micro System Model of Fertility Behavior: Synthesis of Some Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Social Factors Affecting Human Reproduction." *North Carolina*.
- Raymond Duane Nashold, B.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "Joint Involvement of Husband and Wife in Farm and Home Management as Related to Selected Personal, Family, and Farm Characteristics." *Wisconsin*.
- Constance A. Nathanson, A.B. Smith College, 1952. "Learning the Doctor's Role: A Study of First- and Fourth-Year Medical Students." *Chicago*.
- Samuel Nicholson, A.B. California, 1949; A.M. Michigan, 1956 (Far Eastern Studies). No thesis. *Michigan*.
- Vincent O'Leary, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1948. "Scale Analysis Applied to Adjustment Areas in Marriage." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Hubert Oppe, A.B. San Diego State College, 1954. "The German Youth Movement: A Sociological Analysis." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Wallace C. Oppel, B.A., M.S., and M.A. Louisville, 1948, 1952, 1957. "Some Aspects of Broken Appointments in a Longitudinal Study." *Louisville*.

- Harold N. Organic, A.B. Michigan, 1942. No thesis. *Michigan*.
- Delno Tyree Perkins, A.B. Oberlin College, 1951. "A Study of Some of the Factors in the Friendship Selections of Juniors in High School." *Oberlin College*.
- John Photiadis, B.S. Salonica (Greece), 1946. "The Coffee House and Its Influence on a Greek Community." *Cornell*.
- Robert Pinches, B.S. Ohio State, 1940. "A Study of the Group Activity Interests among a Sample of Rural Young Adults in Minnesota." *Minnesota*.
- Peter Pineo, B.A. British Columbia, 1955. "Migration and the French Canadian Extended Family." *McGill*.
- Solom Poll, B.S. Temple, 1955. No thesis. *Pennsylvania*.
- Loren Press, A.B. San Diego State College, 1954. No thesis. *California (Berkeley)*.
- Jess Elwood Ranker, Jr. A.B. Southern California, 1955. "A Study of Juvenile Gangs in the Hollenbeak Area of East Los Angeles." *Southern California*.
- Marsh B. Ray, A.B. Chicago, 1950. "Cure and Relapse among Heroin Addicts." *Chicago*.
- Leslie C. Reed, A.B. Western State College, 1941. "An Analysis of the Vocational Adjustment of One Hundred Parolees at the U.S. Probation Office, Denver, Colorado." *Denver*.
- Anne Mary Rippon, A.B. New Rochelle College, 1955. "The Loss of Individuality within the Bureaucratic Structure as Analyzed in Selected Scientific Literature and as Perceived by Authors of Selected Fiction Works Written in the Period 1945-56." *Fordham*.
- Alton D. Rison, A.B. Huston-Tillotson College, 1953. "Some Social and Emotional Problems Accompanying Illness." *Texas*.
- Raymond Richard Ritti, B.S. Stevens Institute of Technology, 1951. "The Purdue Engineering Graduate: His Background, College Experience, and Expectations." *Purdue*.
- Stanley S. Robin, B.A. Ohio State, 1955. "Executive Performance and Attitudes toward Mobility." *Ohio State*.
- Roy H. Rodgers, A.B. Wheaton College, 1951. "Effects of a High Sex Ratio on the Dating Behavior of Undergraduate Males." *North Carolina*.
- Peter I. Rose, A.B. Syracuse, 1954. "The Exemption Mechanism: A Conceptual Analysis." *Cornell*.
- Hugh Laurence Ross, A.B. Swarthmore, 1955. No thesis. *Harvard*.
- John Allen Ross, B.A. Ottawa, 1956. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Edward Gregory Rosse, B.S. Fordham, 1954. "The Role of the Children's Court in Combating School Delinquency." *New York*.
- Victor Rossi, A.B. Antioch College, 1954. "A Study of the Relation between Race Preference and Group Behavior." *Fisk*.
- Eugene Canfield Royster, B.A. Antioch College, 1953. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Edward H. Rybnicek, B.A. Denison (Ohio), 1949. "An Approach to Differences in Cooperation among Protestant Denominations." *Minnesota*.
- Raymond Sakumoto, B.A. Hawaii, 1955. "A Study of Dating Attitudes among University of Hawaii Students." *Hawaii*.
- Zoe B.A. Salem, A.B. Michigan, 1953. No thesis. *Michigan*.
- Pratap V. Salvi, B.S. Poona (India). "A Study of Leadership in Phansop Village State (India) and Suggestions for Its Training." *Cornell*.
- Quirico Samonte, A.B., A.M. Philippines, 1952, 1954. No thesis. *Michigan*.
- Thomas Scheff, B.S. Arizona, 1950. No thesis. *California (Berkeley)*.
- Alfred Leonard Scherzer, B.A. Columbia, 1949. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Edwin Michael Schur, A.B. Williams College, 1952; L.L.B. Yale Law School, 1955. "Criminal Confidence—Creation in Modern American Society." *New School*.
- Lawrence Schwartz, B.S. Oregon, 1956. No thesis. *Michigan*.
- Luis Augusto Serron, B.S. Illinois, 1955. "Institutional Developments in American Agriculture." *Illinois*.
- D. K. Sharma, B.S. and M.A. Nagpur University, India. "The Social Structure of Village Jamania India and a Development Program." *Cornell*.
- Clayton A. Shepherd, A.B. Maryland, 1952. "A Statistical Analysis of the Variation in Delinquency Trend between In-school and Vacation Months." *Maryland*.
- Robert P. Sherwood, B.S. Utah, 1956. "Scouting and School Success in Social Science Classes at East High School as Related to Pupil Needs." *Utah*.
- Stanley Edward Shively, B.A. Colorado, 1955. "Downward Social Mobility among Soviet Administration." *Colorado*.
- June Lila Shmelzer, B.A. Connecticut, 1955. No thesis. *Connecticut*.

- Rev. Leo Columbus Siener, A.B. St. Mary's Seminary, 1945. "The Ladies of Charity of Nashville: A Study of Particular Organization in Its Work of Volunteer Social Charity, 1939-56." *Catholic*.
- José Agustin Silva-Michelena, B.S. Venezuela, 1956. "Socioeconomic Status as Related to Sociometric Choices of School Children in the Venezuelan Andes." *Wisconsin*.
- James Carroll Simms, B.A. Maryland, 1956. "The 'Unemployed Employed' in Montgomery County, Maryland: A Public Welfare Problem." *Maryland*.
- Baij Nath Singh, M.A. Allahabad (India), 1944. "Essay: Research Findings on Social Participation and Their Implications for Conditions in India." *Cornell*.
- David Sirota, B.A. City College of New York, 1954. No thesis. *Michigan*.
- Donald D. Smith, A.B. Syracuse, 1955. "An Analysis of Culture-Personality Models." *Nebraska*.
- Richard T. Smith, A.B. Kansas City, 1955. "Patterns of the Dental Career." *Kansas City*.
- James L. Spangenberg, A.B. Florida, 1943; B.D. Southern Baptist Seminary, 1946. No thesis. *Michigan*.
- Hall Tripp Sprague, B.A. Colorado, 1952. "Culture Histories of Three Industries in England between 1000 and 1900." *Colorado*.
- Robert J. Stalcup, A.B. Huron College, 1956. "Occupational Adjustment and Socioeconomic Backgrounds: A Study of Nebraska Farm Youth." *Nebraska*.
- James Arthur Stambaugh, B.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "A Study of Behavior Patterns of Opiate Addicts and Non-addicted Inmates Incarcerated at the Federal Correctional Institute at Milan, Michigan." *Wisconsin*.
- Denny Speros Stavros, A.B. Wayne State, 1952. "Assimilations of Southern White Factory Workers in Detroit." *Wayne State*.
- Don R. Stewart, A.B. Wayne State, 1953. "The Importance of Role Playing in Authoritarian Personality Development." *Wayne State*.
- Edward Grant Stockwell, A.B. Harvard, 1955. No thesis. *Connecticut*.
- Victor Streufert, B.S. Ed. Concordia Seminary, 1948. "Factors of Background and Behavior Predictive of Academic Standing, Leadership Ranking, and Social Acceptance Rating among Students Preparing for Professional Church Work." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Sister Mary Mark Sullivan, B.A. Mt. St. Joseph College, 1942. "The Social Adjustment of Junior High School Children Living in a Low-Income Area." *Catholic*.
- James Wason Swinehart, A.B. William Jewell College, 1953. "The Relation of Socioeconomic Status to Attitude toward Maternal Role." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Karl Ernst Taeuber, A.B. Yale, 1955. No thesis. *Harvard*.
- Yüksel Tekeli, A.B. Ankara (Turkey), 1955. "Social Relations in Group Morale." *Kansas*.
- Percival A. Tetteh, B.S. University College (Ghana). "Social Factors in Town and Country Planning in Ghana." *Cornell*.
- Elwyn Lavoy Thomas, B.A. Brigham Young, 1952. "A Comparative Study of Male Recidivists and Non-recidivists and a Brief Review of their Institutionalization at the Idaho Industrial Training School." *Brigham Young*.
- John Lawrence Thompson, B.A. Princeton, 1952. No thesis. *Pennsylvania*.
- Joanne Jacoby Thorne, B.A. Oklahoma A. & M., 1955. "The Social Structure of a Legalized Gambling Establishment." *Purdue*.
- John P. L. Thorslev, B.A. Omaha, 1955. "A Study of the Citizens' Councils as a New Organization and as a Social Movement." *Omaha*.
- Aida Tomeh, B.A. American University of Beirut, 1954. No thesis. *Michigan*.
- Constance M. Turney, B.A. Maryland, 1954. "Humanitarian and Correctional Motivations in Penal Reform in the United States." *Maryland*.
- Michael A. Vartanian, A.B. Michigan, 1948. "Parent-Child Relationships among the Armenians in Delray, Michigan." *Wayne State*.
- Vivian Susan Verdell, B.S. Virginia State College, 1955. No thesis. *Pennsylvania*.
- Ilse Josephine Volinn, Ph.D. Vienna, 1937. "Job Satisfaction of Men and Women Buyers within the Social Structure of a Large Department Store." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Elvi Waik, B.A. British Columbia, 1955. "Becoming a Nurse—Socialization into an Occupational Role." *British Columbia*.
- Vernon Lanier Watson, B.A. Mississippi, 1955. "The Attitudes of High-School Students toward Law-Enforcement Officers: A Comparative Study." *Mississippi*.
- Rev. Arnold J. Weber, B.A. St. John's University, 1948. "A Comparative Study of Social Attitudes of High-School Students and their Fathers." *Catholic*.

- James Robert Weir, B.S. Teachers College of Connecticut, 1955. No thesis. *Connecticut*.
- James Stanley Werking, B.A. Maryland, 1956. "Herman Melville, the Man and His Works: A Study in the Sociology of Literature." *Maryland*.
- Robert M. White, B.A. North Dakota, 1957. "An Analysis of the Objectivity-Imperative and Related Problems on Sociological Methodology and Interpretation." *North Dakota*.
- Bliss Leighton Wiant, B.S. Ohio State, 1952. "Some Factors Related to Belief Intensity." *Cornell*.
- Sidney M. Willhelm, A.B. Texas, 1957. "The Social Origin of Actors, Actresses, and Entertainers." *Texas*.
- Barbara Ruth Williams, B.A. Austin College, 1954. "The Status of Women in England." *Illinois*.
- George Lumby Wilson, A.B. Southern California, 1954. "Personal and Social Factors Related to Preventable Automobile Accidents in a Population of United States Mail-Vehicle Drivers." *Southern California*.
- Leland Wilson, B.S. McPherson College (Kan.), 1953. "A Sociological Study of Church of the Brethren Men in Alternative Service." *Kansas*.
- Donald Thomas Withers, B.S. New York, 1950. "Current Sociological Thought on the Factors Related to Juvenile Delinquency and Its Congruence with Public Opinion." *New York*.
- George Won, B.A. Hawaii, 1955. "A Study of Some Social Factors Related to Job Satisfaction in a Garment Factory." *Hawaii*.
- Rolland Wright, A.B. San Diego State College, 1953. No thesis. *California (Berkeley)*.
- Rev. Clair A. Yaech, A.B. St. Augustine Seminary (Toronto, Canada), 1952. "The Role of the Tonarigumi in Social Change in Japan." *Fordham*.
- Angelita Q. Yap, A.B., B.S.E. Assumption Convent, Manila, P.I., 1955. "Development of Program Design in the Department of Social Science of UNESCO." *Catholic*.
- Lawrence N. Yonemura, A.B. San Jose State College, 1954. "A Demographic Study of the Japanese Population in the United States, with Special Reference to California, 1940-50." *California (Los Angeles)*.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1957

The following list of doctoral dissertations in progress in universities and colleges in the United States and Canada is compiled from returns sent by 44 departments of sociology. The number of candidates now working for doctoral degrees is 308. This list includes dissertations in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them.

- Herbert Aarons, M.A. Pennsylvania State, 1953. "A Study of Town Hall, Men's Organization in Los Angeles." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Harold Alksne, A.B., A.M. New York, 1952, 1953. "Social Heterogeneity within an Economically Homogeneous Group." *New York*.
- Donald E. Allen, B.A., M.A. Ohio State 1939, 1940. "Analysis of Public Conversation." *Missouri*.
- Adolph W. Almgren, A.B. Bowling Green, 1943; S.T.M. Oberlin College, 1949. "The Social Creed of the Methodist Church." *Ohio State*.
- Sister M. Ann Amen, A.B. Quincy College, 1940; M.A. Catholic, 1951. "The Role of Informal Groups in Institutional Adjustment in a Catholic Home for the Aged." *Catholic*.
- Antonio Arce, B.A. Normal School of Costa Rica, 1950; M.A. Michigan State, 1952. "Social Implications of Transition from Traditional to Rational Methods of Operation on a Coffee-growing Estate." *Michigan State*.
- Herbert Aurbach, B.S. Western Reserve, 1948. "A Study in the Application of the Folk-urban Continuum to the Classification of Kentucky Counties." *Kentucky*.
- Robert William Avery, A.B., A.M. Oberlin College, 1948, 1952. "Career Orientations." *Harvard*.
- Howard Bain, A.M. Chicago, 1950. "A Sociological Analysis of the Relationships between the Degree of Participation in a Drinking Group and the Social Mobility Patterns." *Chicago*.
- Robert K. Bain, A.M. North Carolina, 1949. "Professionalization of Life Insurance Salesmen." *Chicago*.
- Bernard H. Baum, Ph.B., M.A. Chicago, 1948, 1953. "Decentralization of Authority in a Bureaucracy." *Chicago*.
- Robert C. Bealer, B.S., M.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1953, 1955. "Mass Communications, Social Structure, and Decision-making: A Study of Farmers' Use of Market News." *Michigan State*.
- John C. Beresford, A.B. Antioch College, 1952; A.M. Michigan, 1953. "Nature and Origins of Catholic Fertility Patterns in the U.S." *Michigan*.
- James M. Beshers, B.A. Swarthmore College, 1952; M.A. North Carolina, 1955. "Census-Tract Data and Social Structure: A Methodological Analysis." *North Carolina*.
- Goddard Binkley, B.S. Northwestern, 1943. "Conversation and Sociability." *New School*.
- Warner Bloomberg, A.M. Chicago, 1950. "Recruitment, Reputation, and Role as Factors in the Development of Political Influence among Leaders in an Industrial Community." *Chicago*.
- Margaret Blough, B.S. Lindenwood College, 1934; A.M. Chicago, 1950. "A Study of the Current Role of Organized Labor as a Pressure Group in the Political System of Urban Community." *Chicago*.
- Melvin Theodore Bobick, B.S., M.A. Illinois, 1948, 1952. "Explanatory Concepts in Sociology." *Illinois*.
- Charles Bolton, A.B. Denver, 1947; A.M. Stanford, 1948. "The Development of the Process of Love Relationship." *Chicago*.
- Calude B. Boren, A.B. Texas Technological College, 1948; M.A. State College of Washington, 1949. "Some Trends in School Administrative Practices." *Texas*.
- Audrey Farrell Borenstein, B.A., M.A. Illinois, 1953, 1954. "The Ethical Ideal of the Professions: Analyses of the Academician and the Physician." *Louisiana State*.
- Lee Braude, A.M. Chicago, 1954. "The Rabbi: A Study in the Relation of Contingency Situations to Differential Career Structure." *Chicago*.
- E. Jacques Brazeau, A.M. McGill, 1951. "The Training of French Canadian Ground-Crew Personnel in the Royal Canadian Air Force." *Chicago*.
- Channing Briggs, S.B. George Williams College,

- 1948; A.M. Chicago, 1952. "Decision-Making in Formal Organization." *Chicago*.
- Alexander Broel-Plateris, Diploma, Great University of Law (Lithuania), 1936; A.M. Chicago, 1955. "Marriage Disruption and Divorce Law." *Chicago*.
- Rev. Robert M. Brooks, A.B. St. Norbert College, 1944; M.A. Notre Dame, 1956. "The Former Seminarian: A Study of Change in Status." *Notre Dame*.
- Robert Guy Brown, A.B. Rhode Island State College, 1949; M.A. North Carolina, 1951. "Social Organization of a Psychiatric Inpatient Service." *North Carolina*.
- Severyn T. Bruyn, B.S., M.A. Illinois, 1950, 1951. "A Comparative Study of Voluntary Community-Action Programs." *Illinois*.
- Mary Rue Bucher, Ph.B. Chicago, 1948. "Conflicts and Transformation of Identity: A Study of Medical Specialists." *Chicago*.
- Reba Bucklew, B.A., M.A. Texas State College for Women, 1943, 1946. "The Impact of Commuting on Community Life: A Comparative Study of Commuting and Non-commuting Residents in Denton, Texas." *Louisiana State*.
- Donald Campion, A.B., Ph.L., A.M. St. Louis, 1945, 1946, 1949. "A Sociological Analysis of Suicides in Philadelphia." *Pennsylvania*.
- Tilman M. Cantrell, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1947, 1948. "Role Consensus." *Oregon*.
- Jerome E. Carlin, A.B. Harvard, 1949; A.M. Chicago, 1951. "The Lawyer as Individual Practitioner: A Study in the Professions and the Social Structure." *Chicago*.
- George Robert Carpenter, B.S. Brigham Young, 1950. "Cross-cultural Values as a Factor in Premarital Intimacy." *Purdue*.
- Wilmoth A. Carter, A.B. Shaw, 1937; A.M. Atlanta, 1943. "Study of the Negro Main Street of a Contemporary Urban Community." *Chicago*.
- Joan M. Chapman, A.B. Miami, 1946. "An Apparent-Member Study of Juvenile Delinquency." *New York*.
- Roger Chartier, A.B., A.M. Laval, 1949, 1950. "Ethnic and Labor Tensions in an Industrial Town in Quebec." *Chicago*.
- Chang-boh Chee, A.B. North Central College (Naperville, Ill.), 1955; A.M. Duke, 1956. "Sociology in Japan: The Process of Adaptation of Western Sociological Orientation." *Duke*.
- Frank T. Cherry, S.B. Alabama State, 1951; A.M. Fisk, 1953. "Negroes in North Lawn-dale." *Chicago*.
- Frederick Harold Chino, A.B., M.A. Stanford, 1951, 1952. "Values, Social Stratification, and Occupational Choice." *Stanford*.
- Jerry S. Cloyd, S.B. Harvard, 1948; B.S., M.S. Nebraska, 1951, 1953. "A Critique and Analysis of Present Theories of Small Groups." *Nebraska*.
- Thomas M. Coffee, A.B. St. Benedict's College, 1952. "A Socio-psychological Study of the American Protective Association as a Social Movement." *Notre Dame*.
- Herbert Collins, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1942; A.M. Duke, 1946. "The Idea of Race." *Duke*.
- John Colombotos, A.B., A.M. Columbia, 1949, 1952. "The Compatibility of Personal Goals and Organizational Requirements in a School System and in a Business Enterprise: A Comparative Study." *Michigan*.
- John F. Connors III, B.S. Mt. St. Mary College, 1948; M.A. Catholic, 1954. "The Adequacy of Public Housing Units to Family Needs: A Study of Value Conflicts within a Social Reform Agency." *Catholic*.
- Philip Converse, A.B. Denison, 1949; A.M. Michigan, 1956. "Group Influences in Voting Behavior." *Michigan*.
- Walter Roy Cook, B.A. Hamline, 1953; M.S. Wisconsin, 1956. "Correlates of Occupational and Educational Aspirations of High-School Youths." *Wisconsin*.
- Lawrence J. Cross, B.A., M.A. Loyola (Chicago), 1943, 1951. "The Catholics of Norristown, Pa." *Pennsylvania*.
- Levy P. Cruz, S.M. Escola de Sociologia (Brazil), 1951. "Mobility and Social Structure in Small Communities in Northeastern Brazil." *Chicago*.
- Richard F. Curtis, A.B. Oberlin College, 1953; A.M. Michigan, 1954. "Consequences of Social Mobility in a Metropolitan Community." *Michigan*.
- John Dackawich, B.A. Maryland, 1955. "An Inquiry into the Value Structures of the Residents of Boulder, Colorado." *Colorado*.
- Ralph Dakin, B.F.A., M.A. Colorado, 1942, 1948. "Culture and Group Structures—Scenes of Social Situations." *Colorado*.
- Arlene Kaplan Daniels, A.B., M.A. California (Berkeley), 1952, 1954. "Dentists: A Study in the Sociology of the Professions." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Robert A. Danley, B.A. Illinois, 1948; M.A. Rochester, 1950. "The Construction, Stand-

- ardization and Application of a Level-of-Living Scale for a Rural Population." *Cornell*.
- William V. D'Antonio, B.A. Yale, 1949; M.A. Wisconsin, 1953. "Business and Political Leaders in El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Chihuahua: A Comparative Study of Power Structures, National Images, Attitudes, and Ideology." *Michigan State*.
- Fred Davis, M.A. Chicago, 1951. "Polio in the Family." *Chicago*.
- Bobbie Jean Dedman, A.B. Berea College, 1953; M.A. Vanderbilt, 1957. "Differential Perception of Family Structure and Correlates of Family Structure." *Vanderbilt*.
- Arturo DeHoyos, B.A., M.A. Brigham Young, 1952, 1954. "Ethnic Differences in Social Aspirations of Urban Youth." *Michigan State*.
- Jack DeLora, B.S. Bowling Green State, 1947; M.A. Western Reserve, 1948. "Patterns of Locality Involvement of Urban Small Businessmen." *Michigan State*.
- Alfred Maxey Denton, Jr., B.S. Oklahoma A. & M. 1949; M.A. North Carolina, 1951. "Some Factors in the Migration of Construction Workers." *North Carolina*.
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- Theodore Ferdinand, B.S. (Chem.). Notre Dame, 1951; M.S. Purdue, 1953. "Sociopsychological Factors in Political Ideology." *Michigan*.
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- Fred Goldner, M.A. Chicago, 1950. "Industrial Discipline." *California (Berkeley)*.
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- Carle P. Graffunder, A.B. Seattle Pacific College, 1950; M.A. Columbia, 1953. "The Changing Role of Agricultural Extension Agents." *Michigan State*.
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- John M. Hunnicutt, A.B. Hastings College, 1951; M.A. Nebraska, 1954. "Professional Image and Identification: A Study of Nursing." *Nebraska*.
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- Richard E. LeBlond, Jr. B.A., M.A. Cincinnati, 1950, 1950. "Italian Military Elites." *Michigan*.
- Anne S. Lee, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1950. "Differential Fertility in the United States." *Pennsylvania*.
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- Richard C. Leonard, B.A. St. Thomas College, 1949; M.A. Catholic, 1950. "Educational and Occupational Selection in Emmitsburg, Maryland: A Study of Youth during the Decade 1946-56." *Catholic*.
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- Seymour Leventman, A.B. Washington State, 1951; M.A. Indiana, 1953. "Status Situations of Minneapolis Jews." *Minnesota*.
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- Dan C. Lortie, A.B. McGill, 1947; A.M. Chicago, 1949. "Four Years Out—Process of Career Development and Differentiation among Young Chicago Lawyers." *Chicago*.
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- Benjamin H. Luebke, B.S. Oregon Agriculture College, 1925; M.S. Kansas State College, 1926. "Delineation of the Rural Communities in the State of Oaxaca, Mexico." *Florida*.
- Kenneth Gordon Lutterman, B.S., M.S. Wisconsin, 1951, 1954. "Social and Psychological Aspects of Voluntary Giving." *Wisconsin*.
- Amos H. Lytton, A.B. Akron, 1946; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Retirement in the Rubber Industry." *Chicago*.
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- Albert J. McQueen, A.B. Oberlin College, 1952; A.M. Michigan, 1953. "Anomic and Integrative Pattern of Adjustment to an Urban Community among Lower-Class Negro Migrants." *Michigan*.
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- Kalliopie M. Mohring, Diploma, Superior School of Agriculture, Athens, Greece, 1949. "Change in Family Organization of Greek Immigrants." *Michigan*.
- Joan W. Moore, A.M. Chicago, 1953. "Some Aspects of the Social Organizations of the Chicago Upper Class." *Chicago*.
- Subhash, Chandra Mukerjee, B.Sc. London School of Economics, 1953; M.A. New

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- Mohiey Nasrat, B.S., M.S. Cairo (Egypt), 1947, 1952. "Relation of Anomie to Migration." *Iowa State College*.
- Gertrud Neuwirth, Dr. rer. pol. Graz, Austria, 1953. "Friendship Patterns and Organizational Participation: A Study in Ambience." *Minnesota*.
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- Elinor Roth Nugent, B.S., M.A. Missouri, 1938, 1943. "Change in Fashion as an Expression of Social Change." *Louisiana State*.
- T. K. Obrebska, M.Sc. Poland, 1937. "Polish Intelligentsia: A Case Study in Social Class." *New York*.
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- Wilhelmina E. Perry, A.B. Tillotson College, 1944; M.A. Howard, 1946. "Leadership in the Negro Community of a Metropolitan Center." *Texas*.
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- Hilda Raj, B.A., M.A. Madras, 1920, 1923; B.A., M.A. Cambridge, 1933, 1939. "Persistence of Caste in South India: An Analytical Study of the Hindu and Christian Nadars." *American*.
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- Horace D. Rawls, B.S., M.S. North Carolina State College, 1943, 1946. "Guidance and Education for the Aged in North Carolina." *Duke*.
- Calvin W. Redekop, A.B. Goshen College, 1949. "Sectarianism: Tension with the World." *Chicago*.
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- Earle Reeves, Jr., B.A., B.D. Eastern Baptist College, 1949, 1952; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1954. "The Autobiography: A Study of Its

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- Guenther Roth, "German Social Democracy in Imperial Germany: A Case Study of Political and Social Isolation." *California (Berkeley)*.
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- Joseph Sardo, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1950, 1953. "The Study of a Rural Social Organization in Sicily." *Florida*.
- James A. Sartain, B.S. Troy State Teachers College, 1947; M.A. Peabody College, 1948. "A Comparison of the Attitudes of Children and Parents toward Desegregation of Schools." *Vanderbilt*.
- Jeanette (Smalley) Schaefer, A.B., M.A. Southern Illinois, 1952, 1953. "The Emergent Social Structure of an Interracial Housing Development." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Thomas Scheff, B.S. Arizona, 1950; M.A. California (Berkeley), 1957. "Socialization and Learning in Elementary School." *California (Berkeley)*.
- James Arthur Schellenberg, A.B. Baker, 1954; A.M. Kansas, 1955. "Correlates of Family Planning and Ideal Family Size." *Kansas*.
- John Schlereth, B.A. St. Francis College, 1938; M.S. in Ed. Fordham, 1947. "Social System and Social Structure in Modern Sociology." *Fordham*.
- Harry Schwarzweller, B.S., M.S. Cornell, 1951, 1955. "A Systematic Analysis of the Value Orientations and Structural Antecedents in the Occupational and Educational Choice-making Process among Rural High Schools." *Cornell*.
- Frances G. Scott, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1952, 1954. "The Roles of the Aged in the American Family." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Woodrow Wilson Scott, B.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1940; M.A. Wisconsin, 1951. "Interpersonal Relations as Affected by Ethnic Characteristics of Working Groups." *Southern California*.
- Ruth Searles, A.B. Oberlin College, 1951; A.M. Michigan, 1955. "Influence and Communication Patterns as Related to Organizational Effectiveness." *Michigan*.
- Anima Sengupta, B.A., B.Teaching, Calcutta, 1936, 1940; M.A. Columbia, 1953. "The Role of Women in Indian Public Life in Modern Times." *American*.
- S. Frederick Seymour, A.B. Union College, 1948. "The Labor Force in Kansas City, 1910-50." *Chicago*.
- David M. Shaw, M.A. Minnesota, 1955; A.B.

- Redlands, 1953. "Experimental Study of Division of Labor in Small Groups." *Minnesota*.
- Clovis, Shepherd, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1948, 1952. "Bureaucratization in a Supermarket Industry." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Ray E. Short, B.A. Willamette (Ore.), 1944; B.D. Duke, 1947. "Social Control as Applied to International Relations." *Duke*.
- Fred B. Silberstein, B.A. M.A. Ohio State, 1949, 1950. "Social Mobility and Prejudice." *Ohio State*.
- Baij Nath Singh, M.A. Allahabad (India), 1944; M.S. Cornell, 1957. "A Study of Factors Related to Individual and Community Improvement in a Mormon Community, with Implications for Community Development in India." *Cornell*.
- David Sirota, B.A. City College of New York, 1954; A.M. Michigan, 1956. "A Study of Ethnic Nationalism." *Michigan*.
- Paul LaBonte Sites, B.A. Indiana Central College, 1955; M.S. Purdue, 1956. "A Study of Purdue Campus Culture." *Purdue*.
- Jonathan A. Slesinger, A.B. Vassar College, 1949; M.A. American University, 1954. "Career Adaptations in a Junior-Management Assistant Program." *Michigan*.
- Ted C. Smith, B.A., M.A. Utah, 1948, 1949. "Changing Power Structure in a Suburban Community." *Utah*.
- Lorenzo Snow, A.B. Brigham Young, 1950; M.A. Northwestern, 1952. "A Study of Adaptive Behaviors of Young Persons at Two Age Levels." *Ohio State*.
- Clinton Snyder, B.S., M.A. Michigan State, 1943, 1954. "Variations in Role and Status Expectations as Related to Personal Interaction." *Michigan State*.
- Lawrence E. Snyder, B.D. Hamma Divinity School, 1923; M.A. Ohio State, 1926. "A Study of Social Values as Depicted in War Novels of World Wars I and II." *Ohio State*.
- Jacob Sodden, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1941; A.M. New York, 1943. "The Impact of Suburbanization on Synagogue." *New York*.
- George M. Stabler, B.S. Earlham College, 1950; M.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "Bejucal: Social Values and Changes in Agricultural Practices in a Cuban Urban Community." *Michigan State*.
- Stephen Stanford, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1950, 1951. "Changing Ideologies of the American Home." *Colorado*.
- Richard Stern, B.A. Yale, 1951; M.A. Columbia, 1952. "Labor Turnover in a Banking Institution." *Pennsylvania*.
- Arthur L. Stinchcombe, A.B. Central Michigan, 1953. "The Dynamics of Craft Institutions: A Study of the Construction Industry." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Gregory P. Stone, M.A. Chicago, 1953. "Clothing and Structure: A Study of Symbols in the Context of Community Life." *Chicago*.
- Gordon F. Sutton, A.B., A.M. Wayne State, 1952, 1955. "The Organization of a Metropolitan Community as Related to the Nature of Its Potential Growth." *Michigan*.
- Yuzuru Takeshita, A.B. Park College, 1951; A.M. Michigan, 1952. "Socioeconomic Correlates of Urban Fertility in Japan." *Michigan*.
- Esther Tauber, B.A. Missouri, 1932; M.S.Sc., Ph.D. New School, 1937, 1954. "Personality Changes in the Process of Acculturation and National Integration in Israel." *New School*.
- Miller L. Taylor, B.A. San Jose State College, 1952; M.A. Louisiana State, 1954. "The Life Insurance Man: A Sociological Analysis of an Occupation." *Louisiana State*.
- Mary Margaret Thomes, B.S. College of St. Benedict, 1944; M.S. Southern California, 1950. "Comparison of Mother-Child Communication of Mentally Disturbed Child with That of Normal Child." *Southern California*.
- Damon A. Turner, B.A. Miami, 1934; M.S.A. Ohio State, 1936. "Types of Community Organization Process as Means of Social Change." *Pittsburgh*.
- Paul S. Ullman, A.B., M.A. Southern California, 1951; 1953. "Parental Participation in Child-rearing as Evaluated by Social Deviates." *Oregon*.
- Odell Uzzell, B.S. Fayetteville State, 1943; M.A. Ohio State, 1951. "A Study of Occupational Aspirations of Young Negro Males in North Carolina." *Ohio State*.
- Donald M. Valdes, B.A. Montclair State Teachers College, 1948; M.A. George Peabody College, 1949. "Rank Order of Discriminations of Whites in Newark, Ohio." *Ohio State*.
- Ivan Archie Vallier, B.A. Utah, 1953. "Structural Features and System Maintenance in Communal Agricultural Settlements." *Harvard*.
- Robert C. Vanderham, B.A., M.A., DePauw, 1947, 1949. "A Study of the Ingham County Hospital as a Social System." *Michigan State*.
- Robert H. Vasoli, B.A. LaSalle College, 1952; M.A. Notre Dame, 1953. "A Prediction Scale for Federal Probationers." *Notre Dame*.
- Howard Vollmer, A.B., M.A. Stanford, 1950,

1951. "Institutionalization of the Employer-Employee Relationship in Modern Industry." *California (Berkeley)*.
- William Wallace Vosburgh III. B.A. Yale, 1950; M.A. University of California (Los Angeles), 1952. "The Relationship between Social Class and Use of Leisure Time." *Yale*.
- Marc Vosk, B.S. City College of New York, 1929; M.A. Columbia, 1931. "Jewish Views of Relationships between Jews and Gentiles." *New School*.
- Leonard Westley Wager, A.B., A.M. Washington, 1951, 1952. "Career Patterns: A Study of Airline Pilots in a Major Airline Company." *Chicago*.
- William S. Walker, A.B. West Virginia State College, 1949; A.M. New York, 1950. "A Descriptive Study of Individual and Group Behavior and Group Process at the Highfields Project." *New York*.
- William Ward, B.A. Muhlenberg, 1941; M.A. Syracuse, 1943; B.D. Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1945. "An Analysis of Relationships between Change of Residence and Church Membership in an Area of West Bethlehem, Pa." *Pennsylvania*.
- Leon H. Warshay, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1949; M.A. Chicago, 1951. "The Limitation of Culture Contact as Explanation of Variation in Broadness of Perspective." *Minnesota*.
- Walter Bingham Watson, B.A. Southern Methodist, 1953; M.S. Wisconsin, 1954. "Migration to and from Metropolitan Areas of the United States, 1949-50." *Wisconsin*.
- Murray Wax, B.S. Chicago, 1942; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1947. "The Temporal Images of Radical Social Movements." *Chicago*.
- Nancy Ellen Waxler, A.B. Illinois, 1953. "The Effects of Coping Mechanisms on Interpersonal Behavior." *Radcliffe College*.
- Mildred Weil, B.S. Northwestern, 1943; A.M. New York, 1950. "An Analysis of the Acceptance of the Universalistic-Career and/or the Particularistic-Traditional Roles by Women with an Emphasis on Socioeconomic Status, Educational Background, and Occupation." *New York*.
- Bernard Weinstein, "The Social-economic Characteristic of the Handicapped Marginal Worker." *Chicago*.
- Neil J. Weller, Ph.B., A.M. Chicago, 1945, 1950. "A Re-examination of the 'Protestant Ethic' in a Modern Industrial Metropolis." *Michigan*.
- Benedict Joseph Wengler, B.A. St. Francis College, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "Sociology of the Apprentice." *Fordham*.
- Robert R. Wharton, B.A. Temple, 1951; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1952. "The Norristown Class Structure." *Pennsylvania*.
- David Wheatly, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1946, 1948. "A Study of Ecological Expansion in Japanese Communities." *Michigan*.
- Raymond H. Wheeler, B.S.Ed. Miami, 1951; A.M. Cincinnati, 1954. "Invasion of White Residential Areas by Negroes and Its Relationship to Property Values: An Ecological Study." *Michigan*.
- Stanton Wheeler, A.B. Pomona, 1952; M.A. Washington, 1956. "Identification, Self-conception, and Perception of Group Opinion in a Prison Community." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Wayne L. Wheeler, A.B. Doane College, 1944; M.A. Nebraska, 1948. "An Analysis of a Liberal Arts College and Its Community Setting: A Study in Social Change." *Missouri*.
- Julie Ellen White, B.A., M.A. Texas State College for Women, 1945, 1950. "Changes in the Social Self in an Institutional Foster-Care Environment." *Illinois*.
- Mary Goshorn Williams, A.B., A.M. Kansas, 1938, 1939. "Normal and Deviant Drinking by High-School Students." *Kansas*.
- David L. Wolfe, A.B., M.A. Illinois, 1950, 1952. "Organizational Commitment." *Oregon*.
- Donald Wolfe, A.B. Illinois, 1952; A.M. Michigan, 1955. "Formal Authority as a Dimension of Group Structure." *Michigan*.
- Ernest Works, B.A. Agriculture, Mechanical and Normal College (Ark.), 1951; M.A. Illinois, 1955. "The Prejudice-Interaction Hypothesis from the Point of View of the Negro Minority Group." *Illinois*.
- Josephine Wtulich, B.A. Vassar College, 1946; M.S. Fordham, 1949. "Occupational Experience of Selected High-School Graduates: A Study in Expectations and Fulfilment." *Fordham*.
- Simon Yasin, B.A. McGill, 1951; M.A. Michigan State, 1954. "The Utility of Social-psychological Typologies for the Analysis of Decision-making Activities." *Michigan State*.
- James Neale Young, B.S. Clemson College, 1948; M.S. Agriculture, Kentucky, 1950. "The Influence of Neighborhood Norms on the Diffusion of Recommended Farm Practices." *Kentucky*.

NEWS AND NOTES

Alfred University.—Dr. Roland L. Warren, professor and chairman of the Department of Sociology, will assume in July the position of director of the new Community Study Service of the State Charities Aid Association. The new program, made possible through the assistance of the Russell Sage Foundation, will aid local citizens' groups in gathering and analyzing data essential to the furthering of community services, especially in regard to the constantly changing needs in health and welfare.

The service will be available to community groups, including the 152 local affiliates of the State Charities Aid Association. These are connected with the Association through the State Committee on TB and Public Health, the New York State Heart Assembly, the New York State Society for Mental Health, the Child Adoption Service, and the State Committee on Children and Public Welfare.

During the past year Dr. Warren was engaged in a special project on voluntary citizen activities in Stuttgart, Germany, under a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

University of Bridgeport.—J. S. Roucek, chairman of the Department of Political Science and Sociology, toured Germany in June as the guest of the German Federal Government at Bonn.

The Philosophical Library will publish a collection of essays prepared by fifty-nine American and foreign contributors—*Contemporary Sociology*—which is edited by Dr. Roucek.

Brooklyn College.—Professor Willoughby Waterman, who served more than thirty years in the City Colleges of New York and who was chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology for several terms, retired this year.

Professor LeRoy Bowman will retire in September. He plans to continue work on a book in the field of community organization.

Three senior staff members will return from sabbatical leaves in the fall. Samuel Koenig has been at Bar-Ilan University in Tel-Aviv, Israel; Felix Gross has spent the year as Fulbright

lecturer at l'Università degli Studi di Roma; and Joseph Jablow has made a study of land tenure among the Ponca Indians for the Department of Justice.

Professor A. M. Lee, former chairman of the Department, will return from a special leave in September. He has served during the year as UNESCO Professor of Sociology at l'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy.

The Department is collaborating with the departments of Economics and Philosophy in a faculty seminar on Religion in Higher Education under a grant from the Danforth Foundation. Kenneth Boulding, of the University of Michigan, and John A. Hutchison, of Columbia University, will be the leaders of the seminar.

Leo Chall, a staff member who is founder and editor of *Sociological Abstracts*, has recently received a \$5,000 grant from the National Science Foundation in recognition of the important service he is rendering through the publication of the *Abstracts*.

Marion Cuthbert has been granted a sabbatical leave for 1958-59. She will give time to writing and to working with community groups in New England.

Professor John Madge, former general secretary of the British Sociological Society and currently principal scientific officer for the British Building Research Station of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, is serving as visiting professor for the academic year. He recently spoke to a seminar in the social sciences on "Teaching and Research in Sociology in Great Britain." He is also engaged in the Columbia University Research Project on Hungary currently being undertaken under the auspices of the Department of Government at Columbia University.

Seymour M. Miller, recently promoted to associate professor, is currently on sabbatical leave. In addition to research and writing in the area of industrial sociology, he is conducting research on the effectiveness of a psychiatric consulting service to schools and the nature of the case load of a low-cost psychiatric clinic under the auspices of the Rockland County Mental Health Association.

George Simpson has been promoted to asso-

ciate professor and granted a sabbatical leave for 1958-59. He has been awarded a senior Fulbright lectureship in sociology at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands for the year 1958-59.

Dr. Hugh Smythe has been promoted to assistant professor. He has rejoined the Department after a research leave, under a grant from the Ford Foundation, devoted to a study of the elite in Nigeria.

Carleton College.—Professor E. Franklin Frazier was visiting professor on the Hill Family Foundation Lectureship during the second semester.

Professor Samuel M. Strong, chairman of the Department of Sociology, is on leave of absence through the first semester of 1958-59 and is teaching again in the Summer Session of the University of Alberta a course on intergroup relations under the auspices of the University of Alberta and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews.

Case Institute of Technology.—In an effort to assess the impact of technology on society, a group of interested scholars have joined to form the Society for the History of Technology. The Society will sponsor meetings at which various aspects of technological history will be investigated and will publish a quarterly journal, *Technology and Culture*, devoted to the study of the development of technology and its relations with society and culture.

The executive committee of the newly formed society consists of Melvin Kranzberg, chairman, Case Institute of Technology; Carl W. Condit, Northwestern University; Howard Mumford Jones, Harvard University; Edward Lurie, University of Michigan; Robert Muthauf, Smithsonian Institution; William Fielding Ogburn, University of Chicago; Stanley Pargellis, Newberry Library; John B. Rae, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Richard Shryock, Johns Hopkins University; and Lynn White, Jr., Mills College.

As its first program, the Society co-sponsored the meeting of the Humanistic-Social Division of the American Society for Engineering Education, held at the University of California, Berkeley, on June 16-17.

The Society expects to begin publication of *Technology and Culture* in the fall of 1959. Applications for charter membership (\$10) in

the Society for the History of Technology should be sent to Professor Melvin Kranzberg, Room 315, Main Building, Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

Central Council for Health Education.—The Council is holding its 1958 summer school August 19-29 at Bishop Otter College, Chichester, England.

This School will be organized as a study conference on the theme "The Science and Art of Health Education." A large number of doctors, nurses, health inspectors, teachers, industrial welfare workers, and other key people from overseas as well as from the United Kingdom participate annually in this School, which has become an international conference for the pooling of experience and discussion of Health Education problems.

The inclusive fee for tuition and residence is £22.

Full particulars can be obtained from the Medical Director, The Central Council for Health Education, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, London, W.C. 1, England.

University of Chicago.—Philip M. Hauser, professor and chairman of the Department of Sociology, is lecturing this summer in the fields of demography and ecology at the University of Washington in Seattle.

The University has established a Comparative Education Center to stimulate research and provide advanced study for graduate students and postdoctoral fellows. The Ford Foundation has made a grant to assist in development of the Center and the support of a five-year program of studies and fellowships. The Center is part of the Department of Education, but an interdepartmental advisory council will assist in establishing policies. The work of the Center will be directed by C. Arnold Anderson, with the assistance of Francis S. Chase, Robert J. Havighurst, Herman G. Richey, and other members of the Department of Education, together with faculty members from the departments of Anthropology, Economics, Geography, Sociology, History, and other University departments. For information concerning the Center, and for fellowship applications, please write to: C. Arnold Anderson, Director, Comparative Education Center, Department of Education, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Ford Foundation.—The Foundation announces that it is offering a limited number of training fellowships for the academic year 1959-60 for graduate training in the social sciences (including law) and the humanities relating to Asia and the Near East, to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, or to Africa (south of the Sahara).

The fellowships are available to United States and Canadian citizens and to persons residing permanently in the United States who can give substantial evidence of their intention to become citizens. Applicants should not ordinarily be over thirty-five years of age. Previous training relating to the foreign area of interest is not required. More specifically, applications are invited from (1) graduate students in the social sciences or humanities who wish to combine training in their field with intensive training in a foreign area; (2) scholars who have already received the doctorate in one of the social sciences or humanities who wish to add training in a foreign area; and (3) persons of promise or demonstrated ability in government, communications, or other professions.

The Asian and Near Eastern Program and the African Program may be undertaken in the United States or abroad or both. Programs involving study abroad will be considered only if the applicant has already acquired the necessary language facility and a minimum knowledge of the culture and history of his area of interest. Graduate students who are in the early stages of training will be expected to work at universities in the United States until they have developed competence adequate for study abroad. Advanced graduate students and holders of the doctorate need not limit their programs to work in colleges or universities.

In the Soviet Union and East European Program graduate students in the early stages of study ordinarily will be expected to work at area centers of Soviet or East European studies in the United States. These centers should have official university recognition and support, adequate library resources for both teaching and research on the area, competent instruction in the principal language of the area, course and seminar offerings in the area in at least five disciplines or fields in addition to language instruction, and an effective mechanism for integrating the area studies. The applications of advanced graduate students and of postdoctoral applicants may include plans for the study of

supplemental languages, disciplines, and culture areas in, or pertinent to, the study of the Soviet Union and East European area.

Stipends for study in the United States include a monthly maintenance allowance of approximately \$175 for the Fellow, plus allowances for dependents, tuition, and necessary transportation. Stipends for Fellows studying abroad vary according to country, and include allowances for dependents, transportation, and, in exceptional cases, certain other expenses which may be necessary to carry out the training program.

Applications must be submitted on or before November 1, 1958. Application forms and further information may be obtained from: The Secretary, The Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellowships, 477 Madison Avenue (15th Floor), New York 22, New York.

Fund for Social Analysis.—The Fund, which has been recently established, is offering in 1958 a limited number of grants-in-aid for studies of problems posed by Marxist theory and its application. Projects for books and essays in all fields of social science, including social philosophy and the sociology of science, will be welcomed. Grants will ordinarily range from \$500 to \$3,000 and may be requested for an entire project, or for any part, or for assistance in research, editing, or publication. For information and further particulars address the Corresponding Secretary, The Fund for Social Analysis, Room 2800, 165 Broadway, New York 6, New York.

Gerontological Society, Inc.—The eleventh annual scientific meeting of the Gerontological Society, Inc., will be held at the Bellevue Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 6, 7, and 8, 1958. Abstracts of papers for the program should be submitted to the Program Committee for consideration by July 1, 1958. Abstracts should be sent to the subchairmen of the section in which the author(s) elect to give their papers.

The subchairmen are: *Clinical Medicine*—Dr. Ewald Busse, Duke University Hospital, Durham, North Carolina; *Biology*—Dr. Morris Rockstein, Department of Physiology, New York University, 550 First Avenue, New York 16, New York; *Psychology*—Dr. Ethel Shanas, National Opinion Research Center, 5711 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois; and

Social Welfare—Dr. W. M. Beattie, Jr., Department of Sociology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

Exact details as to the length of a presentation and its place on the program will be made available by the appropriate subchairmen. Scientific and commercial exhibits are scheduled, with a series of social functions and a meeting open to the public. Chairman of the Exhibitions Committee is Dr. Leo Gitman, 813 Howard Avenue, Brooklyn 12, New York.

The plan of the meeting is to serve as a particular source of information in each section in addition to general sessions for the comprehensive information of all students of gerontology.

Harvard University.—Six liberal arts college professors of social sciences and humanities have been awarded fellowships jointly by their institutions and by Harvard University's Center for East Asian Studies for the academic year 1958-59. They will undertake postdoctoral programs of studies which will enable them to offer new courses on Asia or to enrich existing ones with more content about East Asia. While not becoming specialists concerning this area, they will become better prepared for such instruction.

Funds to cover the part of the grants which Harvard awards have been allocated by the Ford Foundation for a three-year experimental period. Persons interested in applying should write to Dr. Allan B. Cole, Curator, Fellowships in East Asian Studies, Center for East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 16 Dunster Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

National Science Foundation.—At its meeting in March, the chairman of the National Science Board announced the appointment of a Committee on Social Sciences consisting of the following: Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president, University of Notre Dame, chairman; Donald H. McLaughlin, president, Homestake Mining Company; Douglas M. Whitaker, vice-president for administration, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research; and Frederick A. Middlebush, president emeritus and director of Development Fund, University of Missouri.

The Foundation wishes to announce that the next closing date for receipt of proposals in the Social Science Research Program of the National Science Foundation is October 1, 1958. Proposals received by that date will be evalu-

ated in the fall. Approved grants will be activated in time for work to begin in the second semester or the summer of 1959.

The Social Science Research Program supports basic research in anthropology, archeology, demography, human ecology, economic and social geography, economics, social psychology, sociology, and the history and philosophy of science.

Proposals received after October 1, 1958, will be reviewed following the winter closing date of February 1, 1959, with activation of approved grants in the summer and fall of 1959. Inquiries should be addressed to National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D.C.

University of Oklahoma.—Jack E. Dodson, formerly of Texas College of Arts and Industries, has joined the staff as assistant professor.

Reed M. Powell has returned from a Smith-Mundt lecture appointment at the University of San Carlos, Guatemala, and is presently a postdoctoral student at Harvard University.

Wyatt Marrs, departmental chairman, has finished an analysis of the concept of social parasitism which has been published by the University of Oklahoma Press under the title *The Man on Your Back*.

Stanford University.—William M. McCord, formerly with the Department of Social Relations at Harvard University, has been appointed assistant dean of humanities and sciences and assistant professor of sociology. He is the co-author with Joan McCord of *Psychopathy and Delinquency*.

Robert A. Ellis, formerly with the Department of Sociology at the University of Southern California, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. He has received a grant from the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health to compile a bibliography of the literature relating to social stratification and personality development. Dr. Ellis has been selected as a participant in the Behavioral Science Research Conference to be held this summer at the University of Mexico under the sponsorship of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research.

Mrs. Jan Howard has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Paul Wallin has been appointed visiting scientist at the National Institute of Mental

Health and is on leave from the university during the 1957-58 academic year.

Edmund H. Volkart is serving as the social psychology member of the American Editorial and Advisory Board of the UNESCO Social Science Dictionary.

Wayne State University.—The Department awarded its first Ph.D. degree to William Faunce, now at Michigan State University.

Mel Ravitz has been appointed chairman of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Relocation, Detroit Housing Commission. He will direct the 1958 Wayne State Summer Workshop in Human Relations.

Donald C. Marsh continues as acting chairman. He is a member of the Council of the Detroit International Institute.

Louis Ferman is studying job dislocation and radical ideology under a grant from the Wayne

State-University of Michigan Institute of Industrial Relations.

Stephen C. Cappannari and Leonard W. Moss are teaching a course on the culture of Italy. This is part of the Department's contribution to the developing Italian Research Center of the University.

Associate Professor Emeritus Maude Fiero has been called out of retirement to present a lecture series on social causation.

Western Reserve University.—Vice-President Webster G. Simon announced the appointment of Dr. Nathan E. Cohen as the new dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences.

Dr. Cohen, formerly associate dean of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, will replace Miss Margaret Johnson, who is retiring at the end of the current academic year.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Manual of Intergroup Relations. By JOHN P. DEAN and ALEX ROSEN. Introduction by EDWARD A. SUCHMAN and ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. xiii+194. \$3.75.

This *Manual* is a by-product of the Cornell University studies of intergroup relations on the community level. Financed by the Russell Sage Foundation and written jointly by a sociologist and a social worker, it is an extraordinarily successful effort to streamline the traditionally haphazard process by which social science findings come to influence the training of administrators. The text must have been committed to print before the authors could perceive on how broad an institutional front and how intensely southern white society would react to the school desegregation rulings. Yet hindsight—the only solace of the reviewer who postpones his assessment of a topical book!—in this case strengthens one's respect for the authors' analysis.

The *Manual* has two principal aims: to help the directors of particular organizations to plan, organize, and execute the development of unsegregated activities and "fair-play values" within their organizations and to help them and other interested citizens to recognize and organize the available resources for similar change in the community at large. Chapters ii-vi, devoted to the first aim, are argued almost wholly in terms of the structure and problems characteristic of agencies engaged in group work with youngsters—scout camps, YMCA's, settlement houses, etc. However, as Suchman and Williams point out in their Introduction, "the principles involved apply to intergroup practices in other organizations." And, despite the paucity of illustrations from such areas as employment, schools, and housing, much of the detail of the argument is evidently applicable to them. Chapters vii-ix, devoted to the second aim, bring in a wider range of problems but, of necessity, discuss them rather more in strategic than in tactical terms. Throughout, the procedure is to elucidate the variables relevant to choice of action by presenting and discussing case material and then to state certain general judgments in the

form of twenty-seven numbered "propositions," which are set off in italics. The authors have also tabulated data on the opinions and experience of some 350 group workers; a number of the tables will impress practitioners as buttressing the argument of the text.

The authors do not overemphasize the role of personality-rooted prejudice; they recognize the importance of both institutional inertia and institutional authority; they dispose appropriately of the view that prejudice must be abolished before acknowledged justice can be done. They point out that their key propositions vary in logical form and do not add up to "a logical system." While they apologize for this "disadvantage," in fact their firm rejection of the temptation to engage in theory-building has enabled them to stress those generalizations which are most frequently relevant and strategic for the practitioner's analysis of *his* problems.

Dean and Rosen acknowledge that other points might have been chosen for such emphasis, and they tell us nothing about how they made their selections. Nor are the researcher-authors of the Introduction helpful on this matter, which goes to the heart of the relation between scientific inquiry and practical advice. The propositions, they tell us, are "the outgrowth of five years of research and field investigations into hundreds of practical problems." At the same time they say that they have risked propositions that "do not represent direct deductions from the scientific data" (p. viii). Yet their persistent references to the contexts within which their argument applies, their cautious statement of many propositions, and their use of near-tautologies in others (e.g., "Proposition 3: Intergroup understanding is impeded by ignoring individual and group differences and treating all persons as though they were alike") guarantee that virtually all the propositions could be justified by research data and program reports already widely available. Is not the relationship between research and useful practical advice much more complex than such hand-washing suggests? The authors have shortened the process of translation so superbly that even a

partial analysis of what they did would be useful to others who may wish to follow their example.

To a degree unusual in the literature, this manual also fulfils the social scientist's acknowledged responsibility for clarity on the social values affected by his advice. At the margin, however, it loses sight of the distinction between pluralistic and melting-pot values. The former are asserted early in the book: treating everyone alike is wrong not only because it ignores the fact that people from different cultural backgrounds act differently and perceive differently but also because many cultural differences are "worth acknowledging and preserving" (pp. 19-20). Later, however, the phrases "democratic values" and "fair-play values" are used as standards not only where they denote rational appreciation of differences and preference for equal opportunity but also where they seem to refer to preferences for full participation in spontaneous social activity regardless of the cost in subcultural integrity. Thus the practitioner is told that "natural friendship groups" of a single ethnic base should be admitted into a group-work organization—but only because their members will not come in on other terms and "only with the understanding that their being part of the organization is a first step to widening the intercultural experiences of their members" (p. 84), which, as the context makes clear, means changing the cultural composition of the group. Irrational rejection of contact is still the most frequent situation, but the tendency, unwittingly, to build "intergroup relations" into an end of supreme value needs to be actively guarded against.

The book, as a whole, is beautifully organized; illustrations are frequent and apt; it is a pleasure to read such lucid, informal prose. A great many administrators, uninformed about the wealth of experience now available and anxious about the supposed uniqueness of their own intergroup problems, will thank their stars for this slender book.

WILLIAM C. BRADBURY

University of Chicago

In 1950 the United Nations Economic and Social Council asked UNESCO to undertake a program of disseminating scientific facts to combat racial prejudice. The chapters in this volume, published originally as nine brochures, are well written, non-technical, and scientifically sound.

Juan Comas describes the Negro myth, the Jewish myth, and the Aryan myth. It is unfortunate that he includes "hereditary instinct" as one of the causes of racial prejudice, and some will take issue with his contention that nothing can be achieved by promulgating new laws or enforcing compliance with present laws against the manifestations of racial prejudice. Comas, H. L. Shapiro, and L. C. Dunn all deal with the environmental obstacles confronting racial hybrids. Comas and O. Klineberg maintain that the effects of race mixture per se are neither good nor bad, but both Shapiro and Dunn point out that hybridization, by producing a wider range of types, does have biological advantages. Klineberg provides a skilful review of the social and cultural factors which may affect performance on psychological tests. Writing from a relativistic point of view, Michael Leiris examines the alleged relationships between race and culture.

Claude Lévi-Strauss's thoughtful essay deals with the contributions of the different races to civilization, the criteria for judging the relative level of development in human societies, and the place of Western civilization in the modern world. He sees a need to preserve the diversity of cultures so that new collaborations will occur.

Taking the position that race relations are a function of a certain type of social and economic system, Kenneth Little compares the intense racial consciousness of South Africa with the opposite extreme in Brazil and Hawaii and the intermediate British situation. Incidental attention is given to the racial situations in Jamaica, New Zealand, and the United States, and the relationships among race, religion, and class are brought out. Little concludes his excellent essay with the statement that the future of race relations is related to the reorganization of world affairs. In his view what is needed is "an international effort to liberalize racial attitudes." Such an effort would involve not admonition but fundamental economic and political issues.

In the light of present knowledge concerning the causes of prejudice, Arnold M. Rose

The Race Question in Modern Science. By UNESCO. New York: Whiteside, Inc., and William Morrow & Co., 1956. Pp. 373. \$5.00.

presents a lucid analysis of the roots of racial prejudice and suggests a program of action to contribute toward a reduction of prejudice. Dunn's discussion of race and biology includes a summary of genetic principles, a brief but illuminating treatment on the formation of races, and a review of the gene-frequency method of racial classification. In discussing the significance of racial differences, G. M. Morant's general inference is that there are racial differences in mentality. He postulates that one group may be outstanding for one mental character, and another group for a different character, with group diversity tending to equalize all peoples when all characters are considered.

This volume concludes with Shapiro's chapter on race mixture. Like several of the other authors, Shapiro writes about the meaning of race, and he reviews the conquering, colonizing, and slave-trading of Europeans. Racial hybrids are estimated to comprise 2.5 per cent of the world's population but one-sixth of the New World's population. Shapiro points out that miscegenation has often produced caste-like groups, but he cites Pitcairn Island and Hawaii to show that this result is not inevitable. His criticisms of Davenport and Steggerda's *Race Crossing in Jamaica* are cogent.

GEORGE E. SIMPSON

Oberlin College

Doctor and Patient in Soviet Russia. By MARK G. FIELD. ("Russian Research Center Study," No. 29.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. xviii+266. \$5.00.

For obvious reasons any clearheaded view of life in the Soviet Union is specially welcome at this moment of history. Mark G. Field, utilizing those limited sources available in the Russian language together with the extensive interview data collected by the Harvard Russian Research Center from displaced persons, has provided just such a picture of one aspect of Soviet life: the care of the sick. He has succeeded admirably in demonstrating "a close and meaningful interdependence between the social system and the medical profession," cast in a frame of reference familiar to students of Parsons' sociology of the professions.

The book is divided into three parts: (1) the historical and cultural background; (2) the

structure of the medical profession and the role and position of the physician; and (3) the patient. A social institution is described which was "ripe" for socialization at the time of the Revolution. The well-established zemstvo system laid the groundwork for the pattern of organization and distribution of medical services which was to be instituted by the Soviet regime. After the Revolution, however, the ideals motivating the zemstvo volunteers appear to have changed. The incentive to serve on the land, among the underprivileged peasants—so strong in the zemstvo physician—was largely lost. Paradoxically, in the "workers' state," the desire to "go to the people" seemed to run dry. "This was due, perhaps," Field explains, "to the fact that idealism had become not only institutionalized but also compulsory. While the zemstvo physician went to the countryside partly as a sign of protest against the tzarist regime, the Soviet physician, on the other hand, failed to go, perhaps also in protest against the Soviet regime" (p. 80).

Perhaps the most interesting consequence of this "disenchantment" of Soviet intellectuals is given only brief mention by Field. If correct, it may be of the utmost importance in helping us to understand the high level of scientific accomplishment by Soviet professionals whose dissatisfaction with the regime is strongly evident in this and other recent studies.

Field speaks of "the intense and exclusive preoccupation with personal affairs" which has been observed among the Russian people. Blau recently commented on this phenomenon in the following way: "Discontent with political conditions induced many members of the intelligentsia to escape into their work, to which they referred as their 'internal emigration.' This suggests that political alienation may make unanticipated contributions to the economy by motivating the individual to concentrate his energies on his job" (*American Sociological Review*, XXII, 124). Similarly, unanticipated contributions may be made to scientific progress by "political alienation," and, more specifically for the Soviet physician, the loss of a missionary goal of service might be replaced by a correspondingly strong drive for new knowledge in medical science. This must be included as a possible explanation for the tendency described by Field for Soviet physicians to prefer the urban research institutes and medical schools over the general

practice of medicine in rural dispensaries. Field's explanation, however, tends to emphasize the avoidance function of such attitudes.

In general, Field reconstructs the story of a process of adaptation to the Soviet system in which the medical profession's corporate independence and the individual physician's corresponding professional identity were neutralized. The collegial loyalty to profession which prerevolutionary Russian doctors shared with their European counterparts was systematically subordinated by coercive measures to Soviet ideology. "Service to the State" was upgraded to a dominant place over the "welfare of the patient."

The end result for Soviet medicine has been an impressive increase in the amount of medical service available to the Russian people, a steady improvement in the quality of such care, and a more equal distribution of service. The professional doctor, however, has become, if anything, more instrumental in his motivation and less idealistic. He cynically and cleverly avoids the regime's attempts to solve the problem of maldistribution of doctors. Consequently, the Soviet doctor, like his American counterpart, clusters in the city, gravitating to special practice, research, and teaching. This leaves the feldsher, a kind of Soviet chiropractor, as the main instrument of general practice.

Yet, in spite of the immense amount of dissatisfaction toward the system which he finds among Soviet doctors, and among patients as well, Field is careful to remind us not to draw false conclusions thereby. Dissatisfaction is not equivalent with disaffection.

In the Russian Research Center's earlier study, parent to this one, it was concluded that the Soviet regime had evolved means for coping with tensions without allaying them. The alienated Soviet citizen, it appeared, "accepts the system and rejects the regime" (R. Bauer, A. Inkeles, and C. Kluckhohn, *How the Soviet System Works* [Cambridge, Mass., 1956]). Field supports this conclusion when he finds that, although Soviet patients express strong dissatisfaction with their experiences under Soviet medicine, they retain strong preferences for the Soviet style of medicine. Those former Soviet citizens who have come to the United States overwhelmingly prefer Soviet medicine to the American entrepreneurial system of private medicine. This is true in spite of their acknowledgment of the superiority of

American medical facilities and of the physician's skill.

At any time this book would command a wide audience among professional sociologists, doctors, and laymen. It is particularly timely now.

SAMUEL W. BLOOM

Baylor University

The Rio Grande Flood: A Comparative Study of Border Communities in Disaster. By ROY A. CLIFFORD. ("Disaster Studies," No. 7.) Washington, D.C.: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, 1956. Pp. xv+145. \$2.50.

An Introduction to Methodological Problems of Field Studies in Disasters. By LEWIS M. KILLIAN. ("Disaster Studies," No. 8.) Washington, D.C.: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, 1956. Pp. v+35. \$0.75.

Convergence Behavior in Disasters: A Problem in Social Control. By CHARLES E. FRITZ and J. H. MATHEWSON. ("Disaster Studies," No. 9.) Washington, D.C.: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, 1957. Pp. ix+102. \$2.00.

These monographs are part of the continuing series offered by the Committee on Disaster Studies of the National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council. All three are noteworthy contributions from the large body of disaster research, little of which has yet reached published or easily accessible form. The committee is to be highly commended for making such material progressively available.

How social scientists can assist policy-makers and administrators is well illustrated in the very readable monograph by Fritz and Mathewson. They neatly summarize and evaluate the research data on "convergence" behavior, that is, the inevitable but informal, spontaneous movement of people, messages, and supplies toward a disaster scene. The authors then show the necessity of viewing such behavior within a wide context, and they particularly point out the inadequacy of such rubrics as "traffic problems" or "sightseers," with which such behavior is typically viewed. They distinguish and examine major forms of

convergence, their different underlying motivations, and the important implications of their analysis to the means and techniques necessary for controlling convergence. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that, unlike much research oriented toward application, the recommendations made actually appear to stem from the analytical findings.

Fritz and Mathewson, however, offer more than an excellent example of applied social science research. For example, their typology of convergers is a very suggestive theoretical advance that might well be profitably extended to the study of crowd membership in general. Their well-documented analysis also adds still further to the accumulating evidence of the considerable rationality and organization of people under stress and shows the limited applicability of such concepts as "panic" and "social disorganization."

The Killian monograph does not deal with substantive findings but rather with the problems of obtaining data through field research in actual disasters. It touches upon such matters as research design and the need of flexibility of field planning, the particular sampling difficulties of disaster field work, aspects of obtaining entree to disaster-stricken communities and of securing co-operation of respondents, and on possible field techniques and disaster-aggravated interviewing difficulties.

The presentation is detailed enough to be of great practical value. It is highly recommended both to novices in disaster research and to experienced workers who may see some of their field problems in a clearer light.

Although its readability is not at the level of the other two monographs, Clifford's presents the best theoretically grounded analysis of an actual disaster that has yet reached print. The author reports on the simultaneous exposure to the same disaster (by the record 1954 flood of the Rio Grande) in two different social systems, exemplified in Eagle Pass, Texas, and its across-the-river neighbor, Piedras Negras, Mexico.

At the descriptive level a good account is given of cross-cultural differences in reactions to disaster. More important, the study was conceived and the data analyzed on the basis of general theoretical constructs drawn from such men as Tönnies, Loomis, and Becker and, particularly, from the pattern variables classification scheme of Parsons. On the basis of the typological constructs made, a series of hy-

potheses were derived regarding the influence of value orientations and social structures on disaster reactions. These hypotheses were examined against the observed differential reactions of the formal organizations and informal groups of the two social systems involved.

If the intent of the study does not quite match its execution, it is still nevertheless a fine pioneering attempt. Apart from the unpublished work of Rosow, it is considerably superior, as a theoretical contribution, to anything else that the reviewer is aware of in the area of disaster research. An additional meritorious feature is that the analysis is fairly consistently carried out at a sociological rather than a social-psychological level.

E. L. QUARANTELLI

Harpur College

American Minorities: A Textbook of Readings in Intergroup Relations. Edited by MILTON L. BARRON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957. Pp. xx+518.

This volume brings together some fifty-six authors, only about one-third of them sociologists, who contribute fifty selections on various aspects of the subject of minorities. The editor has written a brief introduction to each essay and an index.

Books of readings serve one indisputable purpose, namely, to make available for student use scattered literature not otherwise available. The weakness of these compilations, when considered as textbooks, is that they lack systematic coherence. Also, since the essays selected represent the editor's evaluation, there will usually be considerable difference of opinion as to the possible bias represented by the selection. There is nothing wrong with this, especially if no claim is made to include all, or even representative, viewpoints. After all, other editors may make their own selection. As far as the present book is concerned, it seems to me to be quite fairly representative of the current literature on the subject. It is not the editor's fault if the level of that literature is fairly low. The quality of a book of readings cannot be expected to rise above its sources. On the whole, the included material is best when it confines itself to reporting of facts, characteristics, and situations of the different minorities. The theoretical and system-

atic aspects are the weakest. Since this also is true of the literature as a whole, it cannot be held against this particular compilation. As for the reason for this state of affairs, a sentence or two from a review by Lloyd Warner of another book strikes me as highly suggestive: "The deficiencies of the book are attributable to the hesitancy of the writers to deal directly and fully with a central problem of the community. . . . The indirectly presented evidence indicates that the authors understood its importance. Why wasn't it possible for them to give this problem the analysis needed? The over-sensitive concerns of liberals and intellectuals have placed strong taboos on objective, detached study of this crucial problem" (*Saturday Review*, October 20, 1956).

In the meantime, Barron's book will be found useful to teachers of courses in this field.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

University of Washington

Message Diffusion under Uncontrolled Conditions. By JUDSON B. PEARSON, JIRI NEHNEVAJSA, and RODNEY D. ELLIOTT. ("University of Colorado Studies, Series in Sociology," No. 3.) Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1957. Pp. 55+vi. \$2.00.

On Washington's Birthday in 1955, as part of a nation-wide publicity program for Crusade for Freedom, an airplane dropped nine thousand leaflets over Boulder, Colorado. Two days later interviewers ascertained whether and how 428 members of randomly selected households had learned of the operation, gained possession of a leaflet, passed it on, and held conversations about it, and whether they had known of or contributed to the Crusade for Freedom before or after the leaflet drop. Eight demographic items were recorded as well. Distributions of these characteristics are reported and cross-tabulated by possession of a leaflet. Since only 24 individuals—5.6 per cent of the sample—had ever held a leaflet in their hands, no intricate analysis with this dependent variable was possible. (The authors wisely point out that "Operation Skydrop" may have successfully served certain functions which did not depend on the effectiveness of the leaflets.)

Knowledge of the undertaking is not treated as a dependent variable here. This decision

was reached because newspaper and radio publicity had not been eliminated, making it impossible to determine with certainty to what extent any knowledge of the operation was due to the leaflet drop. It might, nevertheless, have been interesting to see what categories of respondents made up the 43 per cent who had not heard of the leaflet drop two days after its occurrence, despite extensive publicity.

The sample fairly represents, in the authors' own words, "the population of residences rather than the residents," but the information obtained describes the individual respondents and not their households (e.g., whoever opened the door was asked whether he had ever obtained a leaflet, but whether other members of the household had obtained one was not ascertained). This is important because the interviews were conducted between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 4:30 P.M. on a Thursday and thus undoubtedly oversampled individuals who were also at home during the hours following the leaflet drop at noon on the preceding Tuesday. This probably goes far to account for some of the findings (e.g., the small number of leaflet possessors, the very low proportion of those who passed their leaflet on to anyone else or initiated conversations about it, and the fact that most of those who had obtained the leaflet from another person had received it from members of their immediate families). The relatively low portion of leaflet possessors who had obtained their leaflet from another person would probably have been lower still if the stay-at-homes had not been overrepresented.

One of the investigators' major objectives was "to relate our research findings to the body of knowledge accumulated by the Project Revere experiments"—the extensive program of message-diffusion studies directed by Stuart C. Dodd at the University of Washington. While the descriptive findings are reported under eighteen headings, comparisons with Project Revere findings are attempted only for eight and carried out for seven. Four of these seven topics yielded contradictions to Project Revere, explainable by the numerous differences between the research situations. These facts are freely acknowledged by the authors in their text, although not in the summary. Three comparisons yielded results paralleling those of Project Revere: (1) attempts to supplement the data by newspaper polls failed; (2) most of the diffusion occurred in

the first few hours after the leaflet drop; and (3) a function relating the number of leaflets dropped per inhabitant to the proportion of the population of each city who were reached by a message can be successfully extrapolated to the Boulder data, although here "possession of a leaflet" was, apparently, substituted for "having knowledge of the message."

The greatest value of this little volume may well be found in the three appendixes constituting a concise overview of the design and results of Project Revere; not enough about that fascinating enterprise is available in print as yet. Because of the conscientious reporting of investigatory procedures, *Message Diffusion under Uncontrolled Conditions* may also be a useful case document in the teaching of research methods.

HERBERT MENZEL

Columbia University

Social Struktur och politisk Aktivitet ("Social Structure and Political Behavior"). By ERIK ALLARDT. Helsinki: Söderström & Co., 1956. Pp. 160.

This study provides a macro-sociological retest of the proposition discovered by Lazarsfeld and his co-workers that exposure to contradictory voting norms results in voting apathy. Allardt uses this cross-pressure hypothesis to predict variations in voting rates between different election districts and between different elections in Finland. He has classified some 550 communes, constituting the electoral units of Finland, according to their voting participation. And he has assumed that a person's contacts with political out-groups are proportional to the size of these out-groups. Thus, the more evenly party sympathies are distributed in a community, the more persons have contacts with political out-groups, that is, the larger the number of cases of cross-pressure. Hence a new hypothesis is derived: *The more evenly the party preferences are distributed in a community, the lower its voting rate.* Allardt finds that election districts in which one party dominates generally have higher voting rates than election districts with several parties in closer competition for plurality (pp. 29-33). Furthermore, election districts that show an increasing political homogeneity over several years have also an increasing voting rate and vice versa (pp. 112-

20). The same seems to hold also for quite sudden changes (pp. 120-24). Thus both cross-sectional and longitudinal tests give handsome support to the hypothesis. From other studies we know that greater variations in economic class and ethnic background result in greater political diversity. Allardt finds that communities with economic homogeneity have higher voting rates (pp. 72-83) and that ethnic homogeneity has similar effects (pp. 33-40). He further assumes that increased density of population will increase the number of contacts with political out-groups but finds it difficult to disentangle the precise effect of this factor (pp. 64-71). In all these tests the analytic unit is the election district.

The last chapter deals with conditions in Helsinki. An important discovery in a survey of twenty-one-twenty-five-year-olds is the fact that socially mobile persons have lower voting rates (pp. 137-38). Again, this finding is interpreted as support for the cross-pressure hypothesis, that is, the mobile person is assumed to be exposed to one voting norm from his old acquaintances in his past class and a different one from his new contacts in his present class. Here the unit of analysis is the individual.

Throughout his study Allardt keeps in mind one alternative hypothesis explaining political apathy. If the outcome of an election is a foregone conclusion, fewer people bother to vote. Finland has a proportional election system, which means that even small minorities in election districts make a difference, since their votes added up to make a total for the province and might elect a province candidate. However, one province—the island of Åland—has only one representative in Parliament and one dominant party. In spite of the political homogeneity, the voting rate is low. Allardt's hypothesis, therefore, holds only under conditions in which minority votes have an effect on the composition of the legislature. This should be kept in mind before his findings are generalized to other countries.

Allardt's study is an ingeniously and carefully executed contribution to an important theory in sociology. The cross-pressure hypothesis comes out of its macro-sociological test with increased stature, commanding increased confidence. One wishes that the author would expand this short book into a monograph in a world language. Then he could also summarize previous studies of cross-pressure in critical

detail, discuss the precise relation of the cross-pressure hypothesis to other parts of sociological theory, test additional alternative hypotheses about political apathy, and also include a discussion of the methodological problems involved in applying a finding from micro-sociology to a macro-sociological problem.

HANS L. ZETTERBERG

Columbia University

Social Class and Educational Opportunity. By J. E. FLOUD, A. H. HALSEY, and F. M. MARTIN. London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1956. Pp. xix+152. 12s. 6d.

As part of a series of investigations into social mobility undertaken by the London School of Economics, this work studies the relation of social class membership to the likelihood of admission to the English grammar school. Grammar-school education is a prerequisite for admission to those colleges and universities which train for upper-status occupation. Therefore, the examination taken by an eleven-year-old boy is of critical importance in setting upper limits for his future occupational level.

Two areas in England were studied—one near London and the other in the industrial North. They differed markedly in economic level, occupational structure, and proportion of Catholics, but neither area was homogeneous. The first part of the work traces the divergent history of the grammar schools in the two areas. The authors want to assess the impact of increased subsidization upon the social class composition of the grammar schools. Accordingly, a diligent search of past records for the two areas provides a base for comparison with the result of their questionnaire study of the families of recent applicants. In one area a random sample of 50 per cent of the pupils in the relevant age group was employed, while in the other all students were included who took the preliminary examination for admission. Approximately twenty-five hundred families were interviewed.

Students of social stratification and education will find much of interest in this study. The statistical data are presented in considerable detail, and the hypotheses investigated are central concerns of their American colleagues. The major finding is that additional scholarships have not materially increased the pro-

portion of grammar-school students who come from lower-status families. Intelligence differentials between status groups are found to be the major determinants of the social composition of the grammar-school student body. Almost the full quota of boys with the necessary measured intelligence from every socioeconomic level was admitted to the grammar schools. This does not mean that no waste of talent is found but that there is a general relationship between measured ability and educational opportunity. The social causation of intelligence differentials appears to be the crucial area for future research. Other areas of considerable interest to American investigators are the analyses of parental influence, quality of schools, and material level of the home environment. The entire study can be viewed as an illustration of the difficulty of social planning, for recent legislation is shown to be largely ineffective in reaching its goals.

The organization of this book is extremely poor. The authors tend to get involved in detailed results for each geographic area and fail to emphasize many of the more general findings. The publication of the detailed tables does permit the reader to reorganize the material in terms of his own particular interest. No statistical tests of significance are used by the authors, who admit that many of their analyses are based on differences that are not statistically significant. They reason that their cross-classifications produce breakdowns based on too few cases for statistical testing. Although they use their data with caution, it is a pity that they chose to ignore the role of chance in producing minor fluctuations in their results. With a sample this large, their cavalier dismissal of the problem of inference leads to needless suspicion of a work which is both careful and sound.

SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH

Harvard University

The Uses of Literacy: Changing Patterns in English Mass Culture. By RICHARD HOGGART. Fairlawn, N.J.: Essential Books, Inc., 1957. Pp. 319. \$5.00.

I have often wondered what Frederic Wertham would say if he came across a comic book in which a man murdered another by getting him to kiss the poisoned "lips" of a

lady's skull. This, a seventeenth-century conceit of Tourneur, reflects a time of intense preoccupation with cruelty and violence. And when I read of the present debasement of the masses in mass society, I think of the man who competed with a bulldog in seeing how fast he could kill eight rats with his teeth. This, a nineteenth-century datum of Henry Mayhew, reflects a time of widespread human debasement. Are the innocent masses seduced more now than they ever were before by popular entertainment and by propaganda? Is it indeed seduction? Or is it adulterous complicity? Or is it a long marriage that is eternally young?

These questions are not really answered by most writers on mass society and mass persuasion. Accurate answer requires knowledge of the past—not a grand sense of History, but a modest sense of the ordinary life of man. Refined answer requires not only a statement of the differences between past and present but also a statement of the manner in which the change came about. Hoggart tries both types of answer. He has “taken one fairly homogeneous group of [English] working-class people [and] tried to evoke the atmosphere, the quality, of their lives by describing their setting and their attitudes. Against this background may be seen how the much more generally diffused appeals of the mass publications connect with commonly accepted attitudes, how they are altering those attitudes and how they are meeting resistance.” By this means he suggests more good answers than I have run across in a single book before.

By the use of his highly civilized perception and feeling, Hoggart presents us with a rich view of the local, primary sources of human cohesion that tend to exist independently of national influences. By this he adds depth and substantive meaning to the lessons of such valuable studies as Shils and Janowitz' examination of the source of *Wehrmacht* solidarity and Lazarsfeld and Berelson's studies of voting behavior. The view that he gives us of a kind of urban peasantry—concrete and personal in its thought, indifferent, skeptical, suspicious, and even hostile toward the nation outside its neighborhood—is necessary for understanding why political, commercial, and educational “propaganda” from the outside makes comparatively little impact.

Hoggart does not make the mistake of denying any influence at all to the mass media. In-

deed, he sees quite disturbing influences to be at work—and in a far more realistic fashion than is usual in writings on popular culture. Such outside forces are seen to be most effective when they constitute invitations to slip from one traditional attitude into a new but closely related attitude. For example, he tries to show how the characteristic, “live-from-day-to-day” attitude of the poor can be changed into a “soft mass-hedonism.” The moral of all this is that the masses cannot be raped; indeed, they cannot even be seduced without the right line: the right line must play upon an area of incipient willingness.

Finally, it must be said that this is not a report of professional social research. The author is himself of English working-class origin and draws upon his own experience. He does refer to standard surveys of the English workingman and to circulation statistics for mass publications, but his book is primarily a product of sensibility. It happens that his sensibility is fine indeed.

ELIOT FREIDSON

City College of New York

Business Looks at Banks: A Study of Business Behavior. By GEORGE KATONA. With ALBERT LAUTERBACH and STANLEY STEINKAMP. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957. Pp. vii+184. \$5.00.

This volume gives a straightforward report of a nation-wide sample interview survey conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The survey was designed to give a representative view of business executives' practices and attitudes in relation to commercial banks. Executives interviewed were in firms with at least one million dollars net worth. A sample of 237 such firms was used, and the sample was divided into two strata—medium-sized and large firms, the latter having nine million or more dollars net worth.

Findings are presented on the nature and stability of banking connections among such firms, on satisfaction with banking services, on perception of differences among banks, on the use of banks for advice, and on other matters. The spirit of the survey is one of pioneering exploration. No clearly defined hypotheses were set out in advance, and the findings are not related to prevailing conceptions as found in textbooks and elsewhere. One

wonders if the state of existing knowledge on attitudes and practices relating to banks is as scanty as the author suggests. For example, the continuing survey conducted by R. L. Polk and Company for the Public Relations Council of the American Bankers Association (see *Banking*, March, 1954, pp. 34-36, 122; April, 1954, pp. 48, 100) is ignored. Despite doubts about the freshness of some of the information, the addition to our knowledge will be welcomed by all those concerned with an institutional picture of how our business system operates. The interest of the authors as suggested in their final interpretive chapter is in implications of the findings for the problem of the effectiveness of monetary policy in controlling the economy and very broadly in the use of attitude data in theories of business behavior. A more narrowly focused institutional interest in the relations of large business firms with banks in recent years might have led to a welcome effort to put this study into the context of existing literature on banking and business policy.

FRANCIS X. SUTTON

Ford Foundation

The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History. By GEORGE P. SCHMIDT. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957. Pp. viii+310. \$6.00.

As teachers, many readers of this *Journal* should be considerably interested in this book about American undergraduate colleges. The sprightly opening chapters outline compactly their early history and trace their proliferation under the combined impact of the desire of proud young communities to ornament themselves with institutions of higher education and the need of the more scholarly denominations to train ministers. Following the lead of Yale, the citadel of classical tradition and the largest college in the country, most of these schools hoped to discipline student minds through endless verse-by-verse translation of Latin and Greek classics and dutiful recitation of yesterday's ethics lecture. A bright spot was the senior course in moral philosophy, generally taught by the school president himself, which at its best ranged provocatively through the immediate and not so immediate problems of the day—from the issues of slavery to the evidence for the existence of

ghosts. Beginning with compulsory chapel at five in the morning, students were expected to adhere strictly to an intricate set of regulations for the day's conduct; violators were punished with fines carefully fitted to the offense (at Union College, cutting chapel cost four cents, drunkenness three dollars). Heading the school was an all-purpose official who taught classes, punished miscreants, collected fees, presided at church services, and kept peace with the public.

Subsequent chapters discuss the emergence of the private womens' college and the rise of the university with its new educational philosophies. Fraternities, athletics, and extracurricular activities appear, to replace the strict controls of earlier practice. Also briefly recounted is the struggle for a place on the campus of the natural sciences, then the social sciences, and, at present, the performing arts. An overview of today's liberal-arts college includes a summary of current curriculum practices and discussion of such problems as the admission of talented younger students and the proper character of examinations. In a clear final section problems of academic freedom are insightfully reviewed.

Few college teachers will fail to find this survey interesting and informative. However, since the book is primarily a historical study, its value to sociologists is less clear. The author's formulations are often tantalizing, as when he suggests why there can be only one basic presidential commencement address or notes the sometimes close correspondence between a school's current curriculum and the style of its newest campus buildings, but he does not pursue the sociological implications of such comments. In any case, although Professor Schmidt does not hesitate to generalize concerning trends and relationships, his remarks are unlikely to grate on sociological ears.

WAGNER THIELENS, JR.

Columbia University

American Cities in the Growth of the Nation. By CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN. New York: John De Graff, Inc., 1957. Pp. xii+258. \$6.50.

American Cities presents a historical sketch of sixteen United States cities to illustrate the historical thesis that cities were a dynamic force in the formation of "American civilization" and the movement of the "frontier"

westward. The thesis is not original to this volume, and the portraits do little more than play upon the theme. And so the author intended, for this volume is the published lectures given at University College, London, in the winter of 1951 simply to illustrate this theme to a British audience. The author had a second intent—that "these studies might help to explain to English readers why the American character has assumed so distinctive a form, why forces have shaped the American into a person with whom citizens of the Old World can frequently feel little kinship" (p. 2).

The sixteen cities presented are the seaboard cities at the beginning of the nineteenth century, viz., New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and Boston; the river cities of Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans; the New England manufacturing cities of Holyoke and Naugatuck; Chicago as the rail center; Denver and Wichita as the cities of the Great Plains; the Northwest city of Seattle; the automotive city of Detroit; and Washington, the federal city. The reviewer is not familiar with the historical materials for any of these cities other than Chicago and therefore is unable to assess their adequacy for any other than Chicago. The Chicago portrait is a very readable account of the main historical events in Chicago's growth and development. Some attention is given to the growth of "institutions" within the city, the major industries, the railroads, the *Chicago Tribune*, the University of Chicago, and so on. Naturally, in a volume of this scope a few hundred words must encompass the history of each. Here lies the character of the volume. The general reader will find a brief historical sketch—though inevitably a selective one—for each of the sixteen cities. The sketches rely largely on secondary source materials, and this together with their brevity make them of little value to the scholar.

The sociologist will not find this volume very useful, not even as an adjunct to urban sociology courses. The student can more profitably pursue the simple theses advanced in this work in the Arthur Schlesinger volumes, and, for the history of particular cities, they might better be referred to the more standard historical works on each city.

ALBERT J. REISS, JR.

Vanderbilt University

Great Cities of the World: Their Government, Politics and Planning. Edited by WILLIAM A. ROBSON. Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan Co., 1957. Pp. 814. \$11.00.

This symposium consists of twenty-one essays concerning twenty-four cities located in eighteen different countries, together with a lengthy Introduction by the editor. The bulk of most of the essays is devoted to details of the formal structure of municipal government, financing, and expenditures. For the most part planning problems and policies are described superficially, and only a few essays treat urban politics in any depth.

The book is, however, a noteworthy first step toward comparative study, and the editor is indeed able to extract a few significant generalizations from the mass of material, as it becomes apparent that "great cities all over the world are facing common problems which are mainly due to similar causes." He has, however, gone well beyond the data in setting forth his vision of the "metropolitan region of tomorrow" wherein "we can once more bring together the home, the workplace, and the playground or recreational centre." The lines along which "we shall find that we have transformed the great metropolis" seemingly derive from the social philosophy of Lewis Mumford rather than from any evidence of trends or forces provided by the symposium contributors. Clearly, a comparative science of urbanism or metropolitanism needs the contributions of human ecologists, economists, geographers, and other social scientists as well as specialists in the study of government.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Analytical Bibliography of International Migration Statistics, Selected Countries, 1925-1950 ("Population Studies," No. 24.) By United Nations. New York: United Nations, Department of Social and Economic Affairs, 1955. Pp. v+195. \$2.00.

Demographers who work with statistics of international migration sooner or later come to the paranoid conclusion that the nations of the world have held a secret conference and agreed upon the following: no two nations will collect statistics of arrivals and departures in exactly the same way; no two nations will give

to the same type of agency the responsibility for this task; all statistical reports will be published in volumes in which the word "migration" is omitted from the title; and every decade or so each nation will change its system of reporting and publishing results.

The Population Commission of the United Nations and the Library of Congress have thus performed a tremendous service to migration analysis in compiling this bibliography, which blazes a path through this maze of different languages and systems of statistical reporting.

For each of twenty-six co-operating nations this bibliography provides three sets of facts: (1) a list of the primary sources of migration statistics, by title, for each year during the period 1925-50 (this is supplemented by a list of other publications where important summary or secondary analysis appears and a section on "definitions and explanations" that spell out the procedures followed by that nation); (2) a list of the categories of entering and departing persons for which that nation has maintained statistics and the years for which the data are available; and (3) a list of facts (including characteristics of migrants) reported in the tables of the publications cited for each category of arriving and departing persons.

This monumental work was done at the Library of Congress under the supervision of Phyllis Carter, with Irene B. Taeuber as consultant. The project is regarded as an updating of Ferenczi's classic volume on *International Migrations* prepared for the International Labour Office under the editorship of Walter F. Willcox. Although the study of international migration will never be simple because of difference in definitions, regulations, and methods of reporting, this bibliography will go far in encouraging more people to undertake work in this important area.

DONALD J. BOGUE

University of Chicago

American Housing and Its Use: The Demand for Shelter Space. By LOUIS WINNICK. With the assistance of NED SHILLING. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957. Pp. 143. \$5.50.

This volume in the "Census Monograph Series," conceived as "an economic analysis of the utilization of American housing," is cast

in a framework of housing-market behavior. Effects of income, household size, and rent on the persons per room ratio are its primary focus. First, census or survey data are explored cross-sectionally. A longitudinal approach enters in a regression analysis of the relationship between changes in income, household size, and rent and changes in density level over the decade 1940-50 for eighty-nine large cities. Because household size appears as the major determinant of density level, the analysis turns to the identification of factors underlying the decline in household size, variation in density level by type of household, and changes in household composition over time.

The concept of space utilization and its quantification in the persons per room ratio are discussed at length. But problems in the concept and measurement of household, income, and rent receive little attention. The tendency toward "underanalysis" and "overinterpretation" perhaps reflects the paucity of census data on housing rather than defects in the study design.

BEVERLY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Migration and Mental Disease: A Study of First Admissions to Hospitals for Mental Disease, New York, 1939-1941. By BENJAMIN MALZBERG and EVERETT S. LEE. With an Introduction by DOROTHY S. THOMAS. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1956. Pp. x+142. \$1.50.

Dorothy Thomas' Introduction to this monograph adeptly notes the deficiencies and inadequacies of most early studies dealing with the relationship between migration status and mental disease and the indeterminate results of early ecological studies relating mobility and mental disorders. In contrast, Professor Thomas believes that the study by Malzberg and Lee makes a concrete contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

The basic data of this study comprised over 46,000 cases of first admissions to New York State mental hospitals from 1938 to 1941 and to veterans' and licensed hospitals for the last of these three years. The latter set of data was multiplied by three and combined with the first series of data. The factors controlled in

the study were age, sex, and color and "are among the most important factors affecting comparisons of rates of mental disease in different populations." However, as the authors indicate, the findings "may still be obscured by such uncontrolled variables as rural-urban distribution and socioeconomic or marital status."

To the credit of the authors is their clear recognition of the problem of distinguishing between "migrants" and "non-migrants." They tackled this problem by varying the definitions of each. In chapter ii, for instance, the rates of first admissions of the foreign-born are compared with those of the natives; in chapter iii, natives are divided into those born in New York State and those born elsewhere in the country and are compared with each other and with the foreign-born; in chapter iv, the concept of migration incorporates a definite time factor, and migrants to the state within the five years preceding the 1940 census are compared with non-migrants for that period; finally, in chapter v, the migrants to the state within the five years before the 1940 census are compared with those who arrived earlier.

The main findings of the study are summarized as follows: "In New York State the rates of first admission . . . were much higher for migrants than for non-migrants when age, sex, and color were controlled. Depending upon the definition of migrant and the character of the residual 'non-migrant' population, the differential varied but it frequently exceeded 100 per cent and in some instances it was above 200 or even 300 per cent. Rates of admission for migrants exceeded those for non-migrants not only for total psychoses but for three groups of psychoses which were examined separately: dementia praecox, manic depressive psychoses," and all other psychoses. Furthermore, the rates for total psychoses were much higher for recent than for earlier migrants.

Now, why these differentials? It should be noted that all the differentials found in the study were "destination" differentials. The authors point out that their data "permit no definite answers." However, they are inclined to believe that such differentials arise from a combination of two factors: "from selection in the place of origin" and "from stresses of migration or adjustment to the new environment." They are inclined to doubt, and rightly so, that such differentials arise "from differences in prevailing rates of mental disease in

the originating and New York institutions."

However, obviously "rates of admission" to mental hospitals are not "rates of mental disease" but merely of the latter. Both from the author's conditions and other considerations, we are convinced that it is a very biased inference that differentials observed may be in line with this bias. The authors do mention the inference of "rates of mental disease" from data "rates of first admission." "Our data obviously suggest that rates of mental disease as well as first admissions are higher for migrants than for non-migrants." However, the authors do indicate that the inferences regarding the inference of "rates of mental disease" compared with the non-migrants to a migrant to a mental hospital to be recorded as "first admission" without record of previous commitments are likely to be known.

In addition, the authors note that the inferences of their general findings "New York State is decidedly 'migrant'." "It may be that the very atypical New York State is in itself highly atypical of stable individuals."

It is quite clear that all the inferences mentioned above—the criterion of "rates of admission" and other considerations—by the authors—indicate that the "rates of admissions" are grossly inflated and grossly deflated in favor of non-migrants. Therefore, any inferences from "rates of admission" data about differentials in "rates of mental disease" by migration status should be made with extreme caution. However, the author's graph is a careful and well-done piece of research on "migration and mental disease" and merits the attention of interested sociologists.

SURIN

Brown University

Wien, Stadt ohne Nachwuchs (Vienna, City without Progeny)". By H. Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum & De Persgroep N.V., 1957. Pp. 394. Hfl. 18.

Although Vienna produced a large number of sociologists, so many of them left the city that it is still virgin territory for sociological research. Yet the city's position

most outpost of the Western world, combined with its abrupt change from a monarchical capital of major importance to the capital of a small republican state, have tended to make its social structure unique and, therefore, of great sociological interest.

Dr. Jolles imported the usual tools of social science for his investigation. The details were filled in during his residency in Vienna from March, 1954, to September, 1955. His work is based on official statistics and a representative area sample of twenty-five hundred Viennese households. An entire chapter is devoted to a methodological explanation.

Taking as his central theme the decline of marital fertility in Vienna, Jolles brings many aspects of Viennese society into his analysis. He discusses popular explanations of the phenomenon, referring to such "causes" as the housing shortage, wars, working women, and the low level of income. Each of these "theories" is investigated statistically and found to be inadequate. Income may be taken as an example of the author's method: he demonstrates a negative correlation between the number of children and the income of the head of the household; seasonal variations in birth rates are found despite stable incomes; and, on a long-range basis, fluctuations in income, owing to wars and economic crises, are not reflected in a change from the steady decline of the birth rate.

Jolles' own views may be summed up as follows:

The decline of the birth rate is . . . a process, and for this reason can be understood only from other processes and forces which were in play during the same time-period, and never from an existing condition. In each situation there are countless moments of historical development. . . . It is self-evident that the above-mentioned analysis of several economic factors cannot offer an explanation of the decline . . . this analysis cannot, by definition, explain a process. Only when one could, which was unfortunately impossible in most cases, also follow the accompanying circumstances from an earlier period, would an investigation regarding the process be feasible [p. 146].

Although the author shows in the first section that each of these factors is insufficient in itself to explain the phenomenon, he does not stop there. The second part of the book is concerned with an analysis of the historical processes to the declining birth rate. Politically, for example, Jolles shows that the So-

cialists not only favored a decline in lower-class fertility as a means of improving the position of this class in the labor market but also led the government to take over many of the functions previously carried on by the family, weakening the family structure and thus contributing further to the decline.

The author concludes that historical developments have resulted in a society which is insecure and oversusceptible to any crisis—one manifestation of which is the low rate of marital fertility. Jolles has made a significant contribution to demographic analysis.

SUZANNE ROEHR ANGELUCCI

*University of California
Berkeley*

Underdeveloped Areas: A Book of Readings and Research. Edited by LYLE W. SHANNON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1957. Pp. xi+496. \$6.50.

The editor of this collection of "adapted" articles tells us that he searched two hundred professional journals covering the last ten years and discovered some two thousand articles on underdeveloped areas; of these, around two hundred impressed him as being "more helpful" than the others, and he was finally able to winnow them down to the forty-nine included in the present volume. No criteria of selection are given. Shannon appears to have avoided the temptation—irresistible to so many editors—to cut the material into distorted tidbits in order to save space or to suit a scheme different from that of the original authors.

What, then, is the miscellany before us? Shannon draws on the several social sciences and has chosen articles that I have been able to classify according to their main content as follows: fifteen are economic; nine deal with technical assistance; eight are demographic; six are political; four are concerned with education; two with health; and five are general in scope. Within the categories some articles survey the whole world with general comments; others concentrate on a particular country or village. The book is organized into thirteen sections, each accompanied by a short introductory comment by the editor; but the variety of perspectives of the authors triumphs over the editor's attempts at synthesis.

There are three general theories that appear in many articles as scientific frames of reference. Beyond these there are but a variety of common-sense or descriptive points of view. The three theories are those of the economics of development, the cultural resistances to change, and the population explosion. The economic theory of development, based primarily upon capital accumulation, is the most sophisticated social science theory currently being applied to the life of developing areas. Indeed, it is so sophisticated that an untutored student, attempting to learn it inductively through its use in the articles here, would certainly suffer from intellectual indigestion; he would do better with one of several available systematic treatises. The theory of cultural (and in a few instances, social structural) resistances to change is the familiar lesson taught us by the anthropologists: Do not try to push people around until you have intimate knowledge of whom you are pushing. It is sound advice, and the several articles in the book that give it supply pointed illustrations. However, this point of view leads one to make detailed ethnographic studies of particular cultures and therefore by its nature cannot be generalized. The theory of the population explosion caused by rapidly declining death rates is a familiar one to all readers of this *Journal*; it is ably described and illustrated by the selections Shannon has included.

But where is the general theory of society? Where have the central theoretical tools of sociology been used to create a model of the key changes in social structure to be expected as a result of economic development? Such theorizing is not to be found here (except for some passing hints by the demographers about anticipated changes in family structure). True, there is a scarcity of current systematic thought by sociologists on this problem—a scarcity which is extraordinary inasmuch as the problem is of urgent concern to practical men throughout the world and is also in the direct line of sociological theory developed by the classical European sociologists who saw the emergence of their own urban-industrial societies out of the ruins of a feudal past. But Shannon has not sampled what little there is.

Consequently, I conclude that this book will give the reader (be he professional or student) a good idea of the types of articles that are being published these days about underdeveloped areas, but it will not supply him with

any systematic frame of reference for viewing the process of development, least of all with respect to sociology.

JOSEPH A. KAHL

Washington University
St. Louis

The Society of the Future. By H. VAN RIESSEN. Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1957. Pp. 320. \$4.95.

This review calls for the subtlety of Ellsworth Faris and the rancor of E. B. Reuter. The gentle wrath of Bain is not enough. The author is an engineer and philosopher, but the book tries to reinstate "revealed religion" as the arbiter of science and life in general.

Its basic theme is the conflict between freedom and authority and holds that "man should not try to push his own work, his planning and organizing, in between himself . . . and the redemption Christ has brought about. Anyone who does so endangers the life of faith, deforms society and will certainly never realize the security he sought to establish" (Preface).

Such statements permeate the book. Possibly it merits review as an example of the alleged "return to religion," "the bankruptcy of science," "the futility of intelligence," and "the necessity for Faith." It is doubtful whether such a "return" is desirable, possible, or occurring.

Van Riessen's Bible-obsession appears to be literal. Hence, his God is Omnipotent, Omniscient, All-loving, and Absolute in all His Attributes. So He must *like* war, poverty, disease, and death, since He permits them. Nor can He escape responsibility by saying He made man a "free moral agent." The Creator is responsible for the creature. Also, if man is really "free," God cannot be either Omnipotent or Omniscient, whether He be monster or Perfect Love.

Christians "refute" such "heresy" by asserting God's "mind" is Infinite and man's finite—"the wisdom of man is foolishness unto the Lord." This makes man's intelligence a farcical hoax. Revelation (always to *men*) becomes man's sole safe guide and his responsibility nil, though God holds him responsible for all his acts. Logically, God is an accessory both before and after the act, since He could prevent both the act and its consequences.

Thus van Riessen's "theory" is absurd—at least to me, though I may be possessed by the

devil whom God made, and for some inscrutable divine reason, permits to befuddle poor old Bain. Doubtless van Riessen knows why.

Chapter ii deals with utopias from Plato to Orwell. All were "Anti-Christ" because they knew not Jesus. Chapter iii develops Kuyper's idea of "spere sovereignty" as the means of preserving proper balance between freedom and authority. This is sound, I think, but not for van Riessen's reasons: "*No authority is safe unless it recognizes, is rooted in, and is limited by the sovereignty of Christ. No freedom can flourish and be preserved except upon the foundation of the work of the redemption of Christ*" (p. 86) (all italics in all quotations are his). To me, the need for the "work of Christ" stems from an error of alleged Omniscience. Christolatry may be another such error.

Chapters v, vi, and vii—"Science and Technique," "The Society of the Future," and "The Liberation of Society"—deal with things the author knows something about. They are worth reading despite the space he uses to beat the dead dogs of deterministic materialism, pre-relativity behaviorism, and mid-nineteenth century positivism. Van Riessen apparently has not heard of Russell, Whitehead, Dewey, Bentley, and Einstein. He fears planning, organization, scientific management, automation, and the devaluation of labor. He makes some cogent criticisms of recent works on labor-management relations and gives a list of nineteen factors that make the future dark. However, he does not see inevitable doom, though the Bible foretells it as preparation for the Second Coming of Christ. He rejects the work of most men he discusses because they do not conform to his conception of the "redemptive work of Christ"—which he does not discuss very rigorously.

My space is gone so I conclude with two quotations and the advice to read the book if you think this review is too harsh.

"*Genuine fellowship* (or community or group), however diffusive, is a *unit* always *limited* in extent, of *relative permanence*, of a *qualified* character, of a *meaning* related to the environment, and formed from at bottom *independent, responsible* men and women" (p. 298). Sounds good, but this soon follows: "To exclude any misconception . . . such re-Christianization is meant as the faith in the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ and life proceeding from His grace. Of such genuine re-Christianization there are very few signs" (p. 308).

Van Riessen knows! Shades of Newton's *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*! But Newton was one of the first "higher critics," was probably a Unitarian, and died over 225 years ago.

READ BAIN

Miami University

Economic Backwardness and Economic Growth: Studies in the Theory of Economic Development. By HARVEY LEIBENSTEIN. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957. Pp. xiv+295 \$6.75.

Countries which fail to achieve economic growth are characterized by a relative stability of institutional forms and practices. By contrast, countries which show continuous secular growth simultaneously display a tendency toward change in all aspects of social organization. What are the conditions which permit the successful transition from stability to development in some countries and inhibit it in others?

The main aim of Leibenstein's study is to provide a partial understanding of these conditions and to explain the relationships among some of the factors involved. Economic development is considered "as a purely intellectual problem," and a general theory is sought which will explain the existence of certain characteristic features of advanced economies which are seldom found in economically backward ones. The emphasis is on contributing to a theory of development which is consistent with what is known about the economies of underdeveloped parts of the world, but Leibenstein is not attempting here to explain specific areas or to develop solutions for their problems. Instead, facets viewed as central to the problem of economic development are abstracted and simplified in models in which Leibenstein seeks to identify some of the relevant variables and to indicate their relationships from the viewpoint of a central hypothesis which he terms "the critical minimum effort principle."

The best argument for such an approach is the spate of empirical studies on the economic development of specific regions which end with concrete policy recommendations based on a jumble of factual information, much of it questionable, and all of it subject to *ad hoc* explanation rather than to interpretation in the light of any over-all growth theory. Observational studies of local areas are essential to policy determination and planning. Yet some of the su-

perficially more imposing studies yield recommendations which reveal little more than their authors' biases. Neither the need for an adequate general theory of economic growth nor the absence of an acceptable one is at issue. The question here is the utility of the theoretical propositions which Leibenstein develops. There is room here for only a few comments.

Leibenstein restricts his considerations to what he considers the central aspects of the development process. In doing so, he avoids the entanglements of the real world, but he simultaneously limits himself to a partial theory. Furthermore, there are clearly other approaches which will produce other theories. Whether these are "better" or "worse" depends in part on the purposes for which they are used and is, in any event, a matter of judgment. Leibenstein's models reflect his view of economic development as a conflict of simultaneously operating forces some of which favor and some of which hamper economic achievement. Conceptually, he describes a backward economy as an equilibrium system which tends toward stability with respect to per capita income. Development thus becomes an "explosive disequilibrium path" which can be maintained only where initial growth stimulants exceed the critical minimum effort level, that is, where they are of a magnitude sufficient to provide increasing income per person and to overcome those factors which impede a shift from an economy of the equilibrium type to one of the non-equilibrium type.

Leibenstein has gone farther than most economists in insisting that population must be viewed as an endogenous variable and in examining the place of this variable with critical acumen. Similarly, he has recognized other "matters more elusive than those usually dealt with in economics," such as knowledge, innovation, skills, and motivations, even to the extent of admitting that, although not now subject to precise measurement, "They may well be at the very heart of our problem" (p. 143). However, neglect of governmental activity, even if purposeful, may be a logical flaw.

At any rate, Leibenstein's arguments are cogently and systematically presented and, in my opinion, contribute to a general theory of development. In the abstract they remain speculations, verifiable only by logic, but pragmatically they constitute the kind of conceptual apparatus essential to sound policy decisions in specific areas where they can serve as the frame

of reference for a detailed organization and interpretation of factual materials.

VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY

The Population Council
New York City

Les Travailleurs algériens en France ("Algerian Workers in France"). By MICHEL ANDRÉE. With a Preface by PIERRE LAROCHE. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956. Pp. 238. Fr. 1,200.

How do Moslems, of pastoral and peasant backgrounds, adapt to working in an industrial and superordinate society?

This book contains some interesting and well-documented answers and analyses. It is one of the series of research publications now coming out of the National Scientific Research Center in Paris, scene of much of the new vitality in French social science.

The presence in France of 186,419 Algerian workers out of an estimated 300,000 Algerian population in the Metropole (in 1955) provided the author with a rich set of subjects for investigation. Methods included (a) content analyses of past literature (ethnographic monographs, economic and demographic studies, and government documents) and (b) mail questionnaires and direct interviews. Miss Michel drew her conclusions both from Algerians (170 of them) and from the Frenchmen who come regularly into contact with Algerian workers—employers and foremen, union officials, and social workers. The latter provided her with data on the "stereotypes" and "ideologies" held by the "dominant group" vis-à-vis Algerian workers.

The general conclusion is that Algerians find themselves in a "segregated situation" in both their work and their daily life. Conclusions appear in tables showing wage discriminations, comparing the two ethnic groups, and in the author's personal observations of "lamentable living conditions," absence of promotion, work accidents, dependence on the Ministry of Interior, and "the ambiguity of laws which provide a juridical formalism in order better to mask the inequality of this category of citizens." She blames such "discriminations" on the structure of French society, pointing to studies which show that Algerian and other

African workers in Belgium and the Sarre, or members of the Soviet Moslem republics, are well housed, well promoted, and have no problem of *racisme* (p. 223).

Finding parallels in American race relations (she refers to H. E. Steele's study on North-South differences in jobs for Negroes [*Social Forces*, Vol. XXXII (1953)]), Miss Michel disavows a psychoanalytic or psychological interpretation of such phenomena and objects to making inventories of "complexes" of individuals to explain behavior independently of historical and social circumstances.

In stating her displeasure with the aspects of French social structure which keep Algerians toward the bottom of hierarchical relationships, the author is clearly not restrained by the style of observing and reporting peculiar to some American social scientists. The "myth of objectivity" appears not to have influenced the book. "American-style" social science methods indeed, have affected much postwar French investigations. But Miss Michel remains, with other French contemporaries, unacculturated when it comes to free use of the language and methods of sociology to accuse, expose, or register a reformer's indignation. Thus the book is written with both statistics and passion. Its Cartesian style, moreover, imposes an aesthetically pleasing order over the author's own political and social values and the complex data. (In form it is remindful of Lewis Coser's *The Functions of Social Conflict*.)

Apart from a French style of revealing the sociologist's "bias," what is in the book to interest American students of social process? The chief interest would seem to be in the comparative data it provides for several current areas of investigation, Natalie Rogoff's work on "occupational choice," for instance, or Redfield and Singer's interest in the ways in which small peasant communities are linked to larger religious systems and industrial complexes. Miss Michel's descriptions of Algerians interacting with Frenchmen shed some light on these studies and on many others.

Students of culture contact may be interested, among other things, in how demographic and cultural factors in Algeria affect the employment, recruiting, and training of workers in France or how contrasting religious, linguistic, and familial upbringing affect Algerians' acceptance of French time perspective, dietary habits, and the different social values

related to organizing work and repairing machines.

Miss Michel's book points up the opportunity for interesting and significant further research by American social scientists on the French scene, normally the preserve of political scientists, historians, and students of belles-lettres.

WILTON S. DILLON

Phelps-Stokes Fund
New York City

National Tuberculosis Association, 1904-1954: A Study of the Voluntary Health Movement in the United States. By RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK. New York: National Tuberculosis Association, 1957. Pp. 342. \$3.50.

Sociologists looking into this volume for a natural history of a voluntary association are likely to be disappointed. This story of the National Tuberculosis Association is mainly a compilation of names, dates, and events after the fashion of the much-maligned, old-fashioned writer of political and military history.

There is some anecdotal material about the inside workings of the National Tuberculosis Association and its relations to other organizations. For example, we see how physicians can use their prestigious position to control decisions in areas where their medical training and experience are not particularly relevant. We are given several examples of the clash of interests between staff members of an organization and the outside "expert" hired to improve organizational efficiency. We get a good picture of how a commitment to a specialized problem (in this case, tuberculosis control) can act as a stumbling block in the attack on broader health and social problems. However, the author, a medical historian, does not go into the details of social structure and human interaction that the student of social organization would find most useful.

This volume will have a greater interest to sociologists focusing specifically on the area of tuberculosis treatment and control. Should tuberculosis be treated at home or in a sanatorium? Just what are the dangers of infection and how should they be protected against? Should infectious patients be forcibly hospitalized? The author shows that all these questions have been live issues for fifty years or more. Sociologists studying these issues today

can get a historical perspective on their problems by reading this volume.

JULIUS A. ROTH

University of Chicago

Youth at Work: A Study of Adolescents in Industry by an Appointed Factory Doctor. By M. E. M. HERFORD. London: Max Parrish, 1957. Pp. xvi+154. \$3.00.

There were nearly eighteen hundred Appointed Factory Doctors in England in 1948. Their twofold responsibility was to examine adolescents from fifteen to eighteen and to provide health examinations and make investigations, under supervision, for workers in selected industries. In the latter instance the AFD may be called upon to investigate industrial diseases or accidents occurring in his own factory district.

In this volume one of these doctors reports upon his experiences in one factory district in England. Since the AFD has been criticized as duplicating other services offered by the National Health Service, a primary purpose of this study was to present evidence to justify the continued appointment to, and improvement of, the position of Appointed Factory Doctor.

While the sample used in this study is too small to be of statistical significance, the author discusses a wide variety of health problems found among adolescent boys and girls from the working class which could be profitably compared with youth from other social classes. While the perspective of this volume is upon health problems, the author also deals with many of the employment problems affecting adolescents in industry (e.g., job selection, training, job-changing, job satisfaction, the role of the trade union, etc.). Dr. Herford correctly emphasizes that health and sickness cannot be understood without examining the economic, social, and psychological factors which impinge upon these adolescents. As part of his task, the author describes some of the social and psychological hazards which exist as obstacles in the transition from school to the adult life of an industrial worker.

One interesting chapter takes up many of the home influences upon the adolescent in industry—father's occupation, mother working, parents' health, housing, home background,

size of family, wages, cinema and church attendance, sex, etc. In correlating the occupation of fathers with the expressed ambition of working adolescents, the author found that children coming from semi- and unskilled classes tend to seek training that would put them in a higher social class than their fathers. In contrast, children from parents in a skilled category of employment are apt to strive for an occupational achievement similar to their parents'. This may be suggestive of the development of a norm of achievement of social mobility among the working class in Great Britain for status as a skilled worker in the transition from one generation to another. This appears to be in contrast to the United States, where the norm of achievement of social mobility would be to a professional or white-collar occupation. The growth of automation, with its reduction of skilled categories of employment, introduces other variables that are not considered in this volume. The author reports that the number of working mothers is increasing in Great Britain, as in the United States, which may suggest that some common factors arising out of industrialization and urbanization are operating in both countries. About 40 per cent of the adolescents surveyed said that they did no reading and could not remember the name of a book or the theme of any book which they had read at school. A very small percentage said that they read with any sustained interest. And, when newspapers were read, they were read primarily for sports news or crime.

The value of this volume is its treatment of a variety of topics affecting the health and adjustment of young people entering or working in industry. A serious weakness is the cursory treatment of all the topics discussed by the author, who fails to provide any adequate analysis of the items mentioned. It appears that Dr. Herford sought to observe and report upon everything that interested him but failed to indicate the frame of reference within which his observations were made. Nor did he treat any problem faced by adolescents in industry with any depth of analysis. On the positive side, the author does convey a picture of the work of the Appointed Factory Doctor in British industry.

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Les Élections du 2 janvier 1956 ("The [French] Elections of January 2, 1956"). Edited by MAURICE DUVERGER, FRANÇOIS GOGUEL, and JEAN TOUCHAND. ("Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques," No. 82.) Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1957. Pp. xvi+505. Fr. 1,700.

This volume, like many of the other numbers of its series, both illuminates French politics and provides some interesting comparative perspectives. It is somewhat analogous to the Nuffield College studies of British elections in that it contains contributions analyzing one particular election from various points of view. This is the first such study carried out for France and was done under some difficulties: first, the election studied was advanced unexpectedly by adverse votes of confidence on the Faure cabinet and, second, the research budget was limited. In spite of these problems, it is a significant contribution.

Aspects of the election considered by the twenty contributors include the following: the political situation bringing about the election (Duverger, Fauvet); the party platforms (Dupoux); the press (Kayser, Grosser, Charlot, Royer); social class in relation to voting (Klatzmann); biographical characteristics of candidates and of those elected (Dogan); and detailed analyses of local contests and issues.

For the American political sociologist it is of interest to point out some of the features of this volume that differ most strikingly from what might be expected in a similar study if it were done in this country. Taking for granted the differences resulting from the multiparty and parliamentary system of France, we still find certain aspects of French research that depart from our customary approaches. There is, for example, a strong emphasis on local studies in individual *départements* and on the historical development of the vote on the

local scene—a type of study that can be very useful for the understanding of national politics. Studies of this sort permit us to see more closely the appeal of Poujade in the Midi and of Mendès-France in his home district as well as the significance of Protestantism in Alsace.

For the most part, the analysis of election statistics is dominated by the cartographic approach, which, though clear in presentation, needs to be supplemented by more powerful statistical techniques. But at the same time the volume contains an interesting analysis by Klatzmann of the Communist vote in Paris, using regression techniques; he infers that a higher proportion of working-class voters chose the Communist list in solid working-class areas than elsewhere. Also included in the volume is the analysis of a survey conducted in one Paris district by Stoetzel and Hassner, followed by a criticism by Goguel. This survey was carried out on a small scale ($N=504$) and, though it affords interesting interpretations of the social background of voters for various parties, did not give results agreeing very closely with the actual vote. Goguel, in referring to this discrepancy, views the survey method with a skepticism that would be rare in American election studies. Either there are intrinsic difficulties in applying it in France or further methodological work is needed.

This "Cahier," as well as others in the series, is essential reading for the political sociologist who wishes to generalize about French political behavior. The differences between the approach presented there and the methods commonly used in this country suggest fruitful avenues for co-operation between American and French researchers.

DUNCAN MACRAE, JR.

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IN THIS ISSUE

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The paper presented here by Charles K. Warriner is closely related to an earlier publication,

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"Groups Are Real: A Reaffirmation," which appeared in the October, 1956, issue of the *American Sociological Review*. Mr. Warriner is an assistant professor of sociology and human relations at the University of Kansas. He has been conducting research (with E. J. Baur) on the sociology of resource-utilization controversies and their resolution by communities, states, and the nation.

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OUT OF UTOPIA: TOWARD A REORIENTATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

RALF DAHRENDORF

ABSTRACT

This paper first attempts an outline of the common elements of construction in utopian societies. It is claimed that recent theoretical approaches in sociology have tended to analyze social structure in terms of immobility, i.e., have assumed the utopian image of society. The author suggests that overconcern with the social system—in the structural-functionalist approach—has led contemporary sociology to a loss of problem consciousness and urges that a conflict model be adopted for the explanation of sociological problems.

Then I may now proceed to tell you how I feel about the society we have just described. My feelings are much like those of a man who has beheld superb animals in a drawing, or, it may be, in real life, but at rest, and finds himself longing to behold them in motion, executing some feat commensurate with their physique. That is just how I feel about the city we have described.—Socrates in PLATO's *Timaios*.

I

All utopias from Plato's Republic to George Orwell's brave new world of 1984 have had one element of construction in common: they are all societies from which change is absent. Whether conceived as a final state and climax of historical development, as an intellectual's nightmare, or as a romantic dream, the social fabric of utopias does not, and perhaps cannot, recognize the unending flow of the historical process.¹ For the sociologist it would be an intellectual experiment both rewarding and entertaining to try and trace in, say, the totalitarian universe of 1984 potential sources of conflict and change and to predict the directions of change indicated in Big Brother's society. Its originator, of course, did not do this: his utopia would not make sense unless it was

more than a passing phase of social development.

It is no accident that the catchwords of Huxley's Brave New World—"Community,

¹ There are very many utopian constructions, particularly in recent decades. Since these vary considerably, it is doubtful whether any generalization can apply to all of them. I have tried to be careful in my generalizations on this account and to generalize without reservation only where I feel this can be defended. Thus I am prepared to argue the initial thesis of this paper even against such assertions as H. G. Wells's: "The Modern Utopia must not be static but kinetic, must shape not as a permanent state but as a hopeful stage, leading to a long ascent of stages" (*A Modern Utopia* [London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1909], chap. i, sec. 1). It seems to me that the crucial distinction to make here is that between intra-system processes, i.e., changes that are actually part of the design of utopia, and historical change, the direction and outcome of which is not predetermined.

Identity, Stability"—could be applied with equal justice to most other utopian constructions. Utopian societies have (to use a term popular in contemporary sociological analysis) certain structural requisites; they must display certain features in order to be what they purport to be. First, utopias do not grow out of familiar reality following realistic patterns of development. For most authors, utopias have but a nebulous past and no future; they are suddenly there, and there to stay, suspended in mid-time or, rather, somewhere beyond the ordinary notions of time. Our own society is, for the citizens of 1984, hardly more than a fading memory. Moreover, there is an unexplained gap, a kind of mutation somewhere between 1948 and 1984, interpreted in the light of arbitrary and permanently adapted "documents" prepared by the Ministry of Truth. The case of Marx is even more pertinent. It is well known how much time and energy Lenin spent in trying to link the realistically possible event of the proletarian revolution with the image of a Communist society in which there are no classes, no conflicts, no state, and, indeed, no division of labor. Lenin, as we know, failed, in theory as in practice, to get beyond the "dictatorship of the proletariat," and somehow we are not surprised at that. It is hard to link, by rational argument or empirical analysis, the wide river of history—flowing more rapidly at some points, more slowly at others, but always moving—and the tranquil village pond of utopia.

Nor are we surprised that in social reality the "dictatorship of the proletariat" soon turned out to be more and more of the former, involving less and less of the latter.

A second structural characteristic of utopias seems to be the uniformity of such societies or, to use more technical language, the existence of universal consensus on prevailing values and institutional arrangements. This, too, will prove relevant for the explanation of the impressive stability of all utopias. Consensus on values and institutions does not necessarily mean that utopias cannot in some ways be democratic. Consensus can be enforced—as it is for Orwell

—or it can be spontaneous, a kind of *contrat social*—as it is for some eighteenth-century utopian writers, and, if in a perverted way, i.e., by conditioned spontaneity, again for Huxley. One might suspect, on closer inspection, that, from the point of view of political organization, the result would in both cases turn out to be rather similar. But this line of analysis involves critical interpretation and will be postponed for the moment. Suffice it to note that the assumption of universal consensus seems to be built into most utopian constructions and is apparently one of the factors explaining their stability.

Universal consensus means, by implication, absence of structurally generated conflict. In fact, many builders of utopias go to considerable lengths to convince their audience that in their societies conflict about values or institutional arrangements is either impossible or simply unnecessary. Utopias are perfect—be it perfectly agreeable or perfectly disagreeable—and consequently there is nothing to quarrel about. Strikes and revolutions are as conspicuously absent from utopian societies as are parliaments in which organized groups advance their conflicting claims for power. Utopian societies may be and, indeed, often are caste societies; but they are not class societies in which the oppressed revolt against their oppressors. We may note, third, that social harmony seems to be one of the factors adduced to account for utopian stability.²

Some writers add to their constructions a particularly clever touch of realism: they invent an individual who does not conform to the accepted values and ways of life. Orwell's Winston Smith or Huxley's Savage are cases in point—but it is not difficult to imagine a surviving capitalist in Communist society or similar villains of the peace in other utopias. For exigencies of this kind, utopias usually have varied, though effective, means at their disposal to do away with the disturbers of unity. But how did they

² R. Gerber states, in his study of *Utopian Fantasy* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1955): "The most admirably constructed Utopia fails to convince if we are not led to believe that the danger of revolt is excluded" (p. 68).

emerge in the first place? That question is rather more difficult to answer. Characteristically, utopian writers take refuge in chance to carry off this paradox. Their "outsiders" are not (and cannot be) products of the social structure of utopia but deviants, pathological cases infected with some unique disease.

In order to make their constructions at all realistic, utopians must, of course, allow for some activities and processes in their societies. The difference between utopia and a cemetery is that occasionally some things do happen in utopia. But—and this is the fourth point—all processes going on in utopian societies follow recurrent patterns and occur within, and as part of, the design of the whole. Not only do they not upset the status quo: they affirm and sustain it, and it is in order to do so that most utopians allow them to happen at all. For example, most writers have retained the idea that men are mortal, even in utopia.³ Therefore, some provisions have to be made for the reproduction, both physical and social, of society. Sexual intercourse (or at least artificial fertilization), the upbringing and education of children, and selection for social positions have to be secured and regulated—to mention only the minimum of social institutions required simply because men are mortal.⁴ In addition to this, most utopian constructions have to cope in some way with the division of labor. These regulated processes are, however, no more than the metabolism of society; they are part and parcel of the general consensus on values, and they serve to uphold the existing state of affairs. Although some of its parts are moving in predetermined, calculable ways, utopia as a whole remains a *perpetuum immobile*.

Finally, to add a more obvious observa-

tion, utopias generally seem to be curiously isolated from all other communities (if such are indeed assumed to exist at all). We have already mentioned isolation in time, but usually we also find isolation in space. Citizens of utopia are seldom allowed to travel, and, if they are, their reports will serve to magnify, rather than bridge, the differences between utopia and the rest of the world. Utopias are monolithic and homogeneous communities, suspended not only in time but also in space, shut off from the outside world, which might, after all, present a threat to the cherished immobility of the social structure.

There are other features which most utopian constructions have in common, and which it might be interesting for the sociologist to investigate. Also, the question might be asked, Just how pleasant would it be to live in even the most benevolent of utopias? Karl Popper, in his *Open Society and Its Enemies*, has explored these and other aspects of closed and utopian societies at considerable detail, and there is little to add to his incisive analyses.⁵ In any case, our concern is of a rather more specific nature than the investigation of some common structural elements of utopia. We now propose to ask the seemingly pointless, and even naïve, question whether we actually encounter all or any of these elements in *real* societies.

One of the advantages of the naïveté of this question is that it is easily answered. A society without history? There are, of course, "new societies" like the United States in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; there are "primitive societies" in a period of transition from pre-literate to literate culture. But in either case it would be not only misleading but downright false to say that there are no antecedents, no his-

³ Although many writers have been toying with the idea of immortality as conveyed by either divine grace or the progress of medical science. Why utopian writers should be concerned with this idea may be explained, in part, by the observations offered in this paper.

⁴ In fact, the subjects of sex, education, role allocation, and division of labor loom large in utopian writing from its Platonic beginnings.

⁵ Other authors could and should, of course, be mentioned who have dealt extensively with utopia and its way of life. Sociologically most relevant are L. Mumford, *The Story of Utopias* (New York: P. Smith, 1941); K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1936 [trans. by L. Wirth and E. Shils]); M. Buber, *Paths in Utopia* (New York: Macmillan, 1950 [trans. by R. F. C. Hull]).

torical roots, no developmental patterns linking these societies with the past. A society with universal consensus? One without conflict? We know that without the assistance of a secret police it has never been possible to produce such a state and that even the threat of police persecution can, at best, prevent dissensus and conflict from finding expression in open struggles for limited periods of time. A society isolated in space and devoid of processes upsetting or changing its design? Anthropologists have occasionally asserted that such societies do exist, but it has never taken very long to disprove their assertions. In fact, there is no need to discuss these questions very seriously. It is obvious that such societies do not exist—just as it is obvious that every known society changes its values and institutions continuously. Changes may be rapid or gradual, violent or regulated, comprehensive or piecemeal, but it is never entirely absent where human beings create organizations to live together.

These are commonplaces about which even sociologists will hardly disagree. In any case, utopia means Nowhere, and the very construction of a utopian society implies that it has no equivalent in reality. The writer building his world in Nowhere has the advantage of being able to ignore the commonplaces of the real world. He can populate the moon, telephone to Mars, let flowers speak and horses fly, he can even make history come to a standstill—so long as he does not confound his imagination with reality, in which case he is doomed to the fate of Plato in Syracuse, Owen in Harmony, Lenin in Russia.

Obvious as these observations may be, it is at this point that the question arises which explains our interest in the social structure of utopia and which appears to merit some more detailed examination: If the immobility of utopia, its isolation in time and space, the absence of conflict and disruptive processes, is a product of poetic imagination divorced from the commonplaces of reality—how is it that so much of recent sociological theory has been based on exactly these as-

sumptions and has, in fact, consistently operated with a utopian model of society?⁶ What are the reasons and what the consequences of the fact that every one of the elements we found characteristic of the social structure of utopia reappears in the attempt to systematize our knowledge of society and formulate sociological propositions of a generalizing nature?

It would evidently be both misleading and unfair to impute to any sociologist the explicit intention to view society as an un-moving entity of eternal stability. In fact, the commonplace that wherever there is social life there is change can be found at the outset of most sociological treatises. I contend, however, in this paper that (1) recent theoretical approaches, by analyzing social structure in terms of the elements characteristic of immobile societies, have, in fact, assumed the utopian image of society; that (2) this assumption, particularly if associated with the claim to being the most general, or even the only possible, model, has been detrimental to the advancement of sociological research; and that (3) it has to be replaced by a more useful and realistic approach to the analysis of social structure and social process.

II

Much of the theoretical discussion in contemporary sociology reminds me of a Platonic dialogue. Both share an atmosphere of unrealism, lack of controversy, and irrelevance. To be sure, I am not suggesting that there is or has been a Socrates in our profession. But, as with Plato's dialogues, somebody selects for essentially arbitrary reasons a topic or, more often, a general area of inquiry and, at the same time, states his position. Then there is some initial disagree-

⁶ In this essay I am concerned mainly with recent sociological theory. I have the impression, however, that much of the analysis offered here also applies to earlier works in social theory and that, in fact, the utopian model of society is one of two models which reappear throughout the history of Western philosophy. Expansion of the argument to a more general historical analysis of social thought might be a task both instructive and rewarding.

ment. Gradually disagreement gives way to an applauding, but disengaged and unconvincing, murmur of "Indeed," or "You don't say." Then the topic is forgotten—it has nothing to do with anything in particular anyway—and we move on to another one, starting the game all over again (or else we turn away in disgust from the enterprise of theory altogether). In this process, Plato at least managed to convey to us a moral and metaphysical view of the world; we, the scientists, have not even been able to do that.

I am reminded of Plato in yet a more specific sense. There is a curious similarity between the *Republic*—at least from the second book onward⁷—and a certain line of sociological reasoning rather prominent in these days and by no means associated with only one or two names. In the *Republic*, Socrates and his partners set out to explore the meaning of *δικαιοσύνη*, "justice." In modern sociological theory we have set out to explore the meaning of "equilibrium" or, as it is sometimes called, "homeostasis." Socrates soon finds out that justice really means *το ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν*, that everybody does what is incumbent upon him. We have discovered that equilibrium means that everybody plays his role. To illustrate this point, Socrates and his friends go about the business of constructing a theoretical—and presumably ideal—*πόλις*. We have constructed the "social system." In the end, both Plato and we are left with a perfect society which has a structure, is functioning, is in equilibrium, and is therefore just. However, what are we going to do with it? With his blueprint in mind, Plato went to the assistance of his friend Dion in Syracuse and tried to realize it. He failed miserably.

⁷ The first book of the *Republic* has always struck me as a remarkable exception to the general pattern of Plato's Socratic dialogues. (It is, of course, well established that this book was written considerably earlier than the rest of the *Republic*.) Whereas I have little sympathy with the content of Thrasymachus' argument in defense of the "right of the strongest," I have every sympathy with his insistence, which makes this book much more controversial and interesting than any other dialogue.

Plato was wise, he admitted defeat. Without abandoning his idea of the best of all possible worlds, he decided that perhaps, so far as real human beings and real circumstances were concerned, democracy with all its shortcomings was a more effective way to proceed.⁸ We have not yet been quite as wise. Although what we still tend to call "theory" has failed as miserably in tackling real problems as Plato's blueprint, we have so far not admitted defeat.

The social system, like utopia, has not grown out of familiar reality. Instead of abstracting a limited number of variables and postulating their relevance for the explanation of a particular problem, it represents a huge and allegedly all-embracing superstructure of concepts that do not describe, propositions that do not explain, and models from which nothing follows. At least they do not describe or explain (or underlie explanations of) the real world with which we are concerned. For much of our theorizing about social systems the same objection holds that Milton Friedman raised against Lange's "Economic System":

[He] largely dispenses with the initial step of theory—a full and comprehensive set of observed and related facts to be generalized—and in the main reaches conclusions no observed facts can contradict. His emphasis is on the formal structure of the theory, the logical interrelations of the parts. He considers it largely unnecessary to test the validity of his theoretical structure except for conformity to the canons of formal logic. His categories are selected primarily to facilitate logical analysis, not empirical application or test. For the most part, the crucial question, "What observed facts would contradict the generalization suggested and what operations could be followed to observe such critical facts?" is never asked; and the theory is so set up that it could seldom be answered if it were asked. The theory pro-

⁸ I am aware that this account telescopes the known facts considerably and overstates Plato's intention to realize the Ideal State in Syracuse. The education of Dion's son was obviously a very indirect way of doing so. However, there is enough truth even in the overstatement offered here to make it a useful argument.

vides formal models of imaginary worlds, not generalizations about the real world.⁹

Consensus on values is one of the prime features of the social system. Some of its advocates make a slight concession to reality and speak of "relative consensus," thereby indicating their contempt for both the canons of scientific theory (in the models of which there is no place for "relatives" or "almosts") and the observable facts of reality (which show little evidence of any more than highly formal—and tautological—consensus). That societies are held together by some kind of value consensus seems to me either a definition of societies or a statement clearly contradicted by empirical evidence—unless one is concerned not so much with real societies and their problems as with social systems in which anything might be true, including the integration of all socially held values into a religious doctrine. I have yet to see a problem for the explanation of which the assumption of a unified value system is necessary, or a testable prediction that follows from this assumption.

It is hard to see how a social system based on ("almost") universal consensus can allow for structurally generated conflicts. Presumably, conflict always implies some kind of dissensus and disagreement about values. In Christian theology original sin was required to explain the transition from paradise to

history. Private property has been no less a *deus ex machina* in Marx's attempt to account for the transition from an early society, in which "man felt as much at home as a fish in the water," to a world of alienation and class struggles.¹⁰ Both these explanations may not be very satisfactory; they at least permit recognition of the hard and perhaps unpleasant facts of real life. Modern sociological theory of the structural-functional variety has failed to do even that (unless one wants to regard the curiously out-of-place chapter on change in Talcott Parsons' *Social System* as the original sin of this approach). By no feat of the imagination, not even by the residual category of "dysfunction," can the integrated and equilibrated social system be made to produce serious and patterned conflicts in its structure.

What the social system can produce, however, is the well-known villain of the peace of utopia, the "deviant." Even he requires some considerable argument and the introduction of a chance, or at least an undetermined variable—in this case, individual psychology. Although the system is perfect and in a state of equilibrium, individuals cannot always live up to this perfection. "Deviance is a motivated tendency for an actor to behave in contravention of one or more institutionalized normative patterns" (Parsons).¹¹ Motivated by what, though? Deviance occurs either if an individual happens to be pathological, or, if, "*from whatever source* [this, of course, being unspecified], a disturbance is introduced into the system."¹² In other words, it occurs for sociologically—and that means structurally—unknown and unknowable reasons. It is the bacillus that befalls the system from the dark depths of the individual psyche or the nebulous reaches of the

⁹ Milton Friedman, "Lange on Price Flexibility and Employment," in *Essays in Positive Economics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 283. The following sentences of Friedman's critique are also pertinent (pp. 283 ff.): "Lange starts with a number of abstract functions whose relevance—though not their form or content—is suggested by casual observation of the world. . . . He then largely leaves the real world and, in effect, seeks to enumerate all possible economic systems to which these functions could give rise. . . . Having completed his enumeration, or gone as far as he can or thinks desirable, Lange then seeks to relate his theoretical structure to the real world by judging to which of his alternative possibilities the real world corresponds. Is it any wonder that 'very special conditions' will have to be satisfied to explain the real world? . . . There are an infinite number of theoretical systems; there are only a few real worlds."

¹⁰ Marx tackled this problem in the Paris manuscripts of 1845 on *Economics and Philosophy*. This entire work is an outstanding illustration of the philosophical and analytical problems faced in any attempt to relate utopia and reality.

¹¹ *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 250.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 252; my italics.

outside world. Fortunately, the system has at its disposal certain mechanisms to deal with the deviant and to "re-equilibrate" itself, i.e., the mechanisms of social control.

The striking preoccupation of sociological theory with the related problems of reproduction, socialization, and role allocation or, on the institutional level, with (in this sequence) the family, the educational system, and the division of labor fits in well with our comparison of this type of theory and utopian societies. Plato carefully avoided Justinian's static definition of justice as *sum cuique*; in his definition the emphasis is on *πράττειν*, on the active and, to apply a much abused term, dynamic aspect. Similarly, the structural-functionalist insists on his concern not with a static but with a moving equilibrium. But what does this moving equilibrium mean? It means, in the last analysis, that the system is a structure not of the building type but of the organism type. Homoeostasis is maintained by the regular occurrence of certain patterned processes which, far from disturbing the tranquillity of the village pond, in fact *are* the village pond. Heraclitus' saying, "We enter the same river, and it is not the same," does not hold here. The system is the same, however often we look at it. Children are born and socialized and allocated until they die; new children are born, and the same happens all over again. What a peaceful, what an idyllic, world the system is! Of course, it is not static in the sense of being dead; things happen all the time; but—alas!—they are under control, and they all help to maintain that precious equilibrium of the whole. Things not only happen, but they function, and so long as that is the case, all is well.

One of the more unfortunate connotations of the word "system" is its closure. Although some structural-functionalists have tried, there is no getting away from the fact that a system is essentially something that is—even if only "for purposes of analysis"—self-sufficient, internally consistent, and closed to the outside. A leg cannot be called a system; a body can. Actually, advocates

of the system have little reason to be unhappy with this term; abandoning it would rob their analyses of much of their neatness and, above all, would disable them with respect to the "whatever sources"—the villainous outsiders they can now introduce to "account" for unwanted realities. I do not want to go too far in my polemics, but I cannot help feeling that it is only a step from thinking about societies in terms of equilibrated systems to asserting that every disturber of the equilibrium, every deviant, is a "spy" or an "imperialistic agent." The system theory of society comes, by implication, dangerously close to the conspiracy-theory of history—which is not only the end of all sociology but also rather silly.¹³ There is nothing logically wrong with the term "system." It begins to give birth to all kinds of undesirable consequences only when it is applied to total societies and is made the ultimate frame of reference of analysis. It is certainly true that sociology deals with society. But it is equally true that physics deals with nature, and yet physicists would hardly see an advance in calling nature a system and trying to analyze it as such. In fact, the attempt to do so would probably—and justly—be discarded as metaphysics.

To repeat, the social system as conceived by some recent sociological theorists appears to be characterized by the same features as those contained in utopian societies. This being so, the conclusion is forced upon us that this type of theory also deals with societies from which historical change is absent and that it is, in this sense, utopian. To be sure, it is utopian not because some of the assumptions of this theory are "unrealistic"—this would be true for the assumptions of almost any scientific theory—but because it is exclusively concerned with spelling out the conditions of the func-

¹³ It could, for instance, be argued that only totalitarian states display one unified value system and that only in the case of totalitarian systems do we have to assume some outside influence ("from whatever source") to account for change—an argument that clearly reduces the extreme structural-functional position to absurdity.

tioning of a utopian social system. Structural-functional theory does not introduce unrealistic assumptions for the purpose of explaining real problems; it introduces many kinds of assumptions, concepts, and models for the sole purpose of describing a social system that has never existed and is not likely ever to come into being.

In thus comparing the social system with utopia, I feel I have done an injustice to the majority of utopian writers which needs to be corrected. With few exceptions, the purpose underlying utopian constructions has been one of criticism, even indictment, of existing societies. The story of utopias is the story of an intensely moral and polemical branch of human thinking, and, although, from a realistic and political point of view, utopian writers may have chosen doubtful means to express their values, they have certainly succeeded in conveying to their times a strong concern with the shortcomings and injustices of existing institutions and beliefs. This can hardly be said of modern sociological theory. The sense of complacency with—if not justification of—the status quo, which, by intention or default, pervades the structural-functional school of social thought is unheard of in utopian literature. Even as utopias go, the social system is rather a weak link in a tradition of penetrating and often radical criticism. I do not want to suggest that sociology should be primarily concerned with uncovering and indicting the evils of society; but I do want to assert that those sociologists who felt that they had to embark on a utopian venture were rather ill-advised in retaining the technical imperfections while at the same time abandoning the moral impulses of their numerous fore-runners.

III

It is easy to be polemical, hard to be constructive, and—at least for me—impossible to be as impressively and happily catholic as those at whom my critical comments are directed. However, I do not propose to evade the just demand to specify whose work I

mean when I refer to the utopian nature of sociological theory, to explain why I think that an approach of this kind is useless and even detrimental for our discipline, and to describe what better ways there are in my opinion to deal with our problems.

The name that comes to mind immediately when one speaks about sociological theory in these days is that of Talcott Parsons. Already, in many discussions and for many people, Parsons appears to be more of a symbol than a reality. Let me therefore state quite explicitly that my criticism applies neither to Parsons' total work nor only to his work. I am not concerned with Parsons' excellent and important philosophical analysis of *The Structure of Social Action*, nor am I concerned with his numerous perceptive contributions to the understanding of empirical phenomena. I do think, however, that much of his theoretical work in the last ten years represents an outstanding illustration of what I mean by the utopian bent in sociological theory. The double emphasis on the articulation of purely formal conceptual frameworks and on the social system as the point of departure and arrival of sociological analysis involves all the vices and, in his case, none of the virtues of a utopian approach. But, in stating this, one should not overlook that at some time or other many prominent American sociologists and some British anthropologists have engaged in the same kind of reasoning.

Two main remedies have been proposed in recent years against the malady of utopianism. In my opinion they have both been based on a wrong diagnosis—and by correcting this diagnostic error we may hope to get to the root of the trouble and at the same time to a path that promises to lead us out of utopia.

For some time now it has been quite popular in our profession to support T. H. Marshall's demand for "sociological stepping stones in the middle distance" or Robert K. Merton's plea for "theories of the middle range." I cannot say that I am very happy with these formulations. True,

both Marshall and Merton explain at some length what they mean by their formulas. In particular, they advocate something they call a "convergence" of theory and research. But "convergence" is a very mechanical notion of a process that defies the laws of mechanics. Above all, this conception implies that sociological theory and sociological research are two separate activities which it is possible to divide and to join. I do not believe that this is so. In fact, I think that, so long as we hold this belief, our theory will be logical and philosophical, and our research will at best be sociographic, with sociology disappearing in the gorge between these two. The admonitions of Marshall and Merton may actually have led to a commendable rediscovery of empirical problems of investigation, but I venture to assert that, looking purely at their formulations, this has been an unintended consequence, a by-product rather than the content of their statements.¹⁴

There is no theory that can be divorced from empirical research; but, of course, the reverse is equally true. I have no sympathy with the confusion of the just demand that sociological analysis should be inspired by empirical problems and the unjust demand that it should be based on, or even exclusively concerned with, something called "empirical research." As a matter of fact, the advocates of "empirical research" and the defenders of abstract theory have been strikingly similar in one, to my mind crucial, respect (which explains, by the way, why they have been able to coexist with comparatively little friction and controversy): they have both largely dispensed with that prime impulse of all science and scholarship, with the puzzlement over specific, concrete, and—if this word must be used—empirical problems. Many sociolo-

gists have lost the simple impulse of curiosity, the desire to solve riddles of experience, the concern with problems. This, rather than anything else, explains both the success and the danger of the utopian fallacy in sociological thinking and of its smaller brother, the fallacy of empirical research.

It is perhaps fairly obvious that a book like *The Social System* displays but a minimal concern with riddles of experience. But I do not want to be misunderstood. My plea for a reinstatement of empirical problems in the central place that is due to them is by no means merely a plea for greater recognition of "facts," "data," or "empirical evidence." I think that, from the point of view of concern with problems, there is very little to choose between *The Social System* and the ever increasing number of undoubtedly well-documented Ph.D. theses on such subjects as "The Social Structure of a Hospital," "The Role of the Professional Football Player," and "Family Relations in a New York Suburb." "Areas of Investigation," "Fields of Inquiry," "Subjects," and "Topics," chosen because nobody has studied them before or for some other random reason, are not problems. What I mean is that at the outset of every scientific investigation there has to be a fact or set of facts that is puzzling the investigator: children of businessmen prefer professional to business occupations; workers in the automobile industry of Detroit go on strike; there is a higher incidence of suicides among upwardly mobile persons than among others; Socialist parties in predominantly Catholic countries of Europe seem unable to get more than 30 per cent of the popular vote; Hungarian people revolt against the Communist regime. There is no need to enumerate more of such facts; what matters is that every one of them invites the question "Why?" and it is this question, after all, which has always inspired that noble human activity in which we are engaged—science.

There is little point in restating methodological platitudes. Let me confine my-

¹⁴ Most of the works of Marshall and Merton do display the kind of concern with problems which I am here advocating. My objection to their formulations is therefore not directed against these works but against their explicit assumption that all that is wrong with recent theory is its generality and that by simply reducing the level of generality we can solve all problems.

self, therefore, to saying that a scientific discipline that is problem-conscious at every stage of its development is very unlikely ever to find itself in the prison of utopian thought or to separate theory and research. Problems require explanation; explanations require assumptions or models and hypotheses derived from such models; hypotheses, which are always, by implication, predictions as well as explanatory propositions, require testing by further facts; testing often generates new problems.¹⁵ If anybody wants to distinguish theory and research in this process, he is welcome to do so; my own feeling is that this distinction confuses, rather than clarifies, our thinking.

The loss of problem-consciousness in modern sociology explains many of the drawbacks of the present state of our discipline and, in particular, the utopian character of sociological theory; moreover, it is in itself a problem worthy of investigation. How was it that sociologists, of all people; could lose touch with the riddles of experience, of which there are so many in the social world? At this point, I think, the ideological interpretation of sociological development which has recently been advanced by a number of authors is pertinent.¹⁶ By turning away from the critical facts of experience, sociologists have both followed and strengthened the trend toward conservatism that is so powerful in the intellectual world today. What is more, their conservatism is

not of the militant kind found in the so-called Left Wing of conservative parties in England, France, Germany, and the United States; it is, rather, a conservatism by implication, the conservatism of complacency. I am sure that Parsons and many of those who have joined him in utopia would disclaim being conservatives, and, so far as their explicit political convictions go, there is no reason to doubt their sincerity. At the same time, their way of looking at society or, rather, of not looking at society when they should have promoted a sense of disengagement, of not wanting to worry about things, and has, in fact, elevated this attitude of abstinence to a "scientific theory" according to which there is no need to worry. By thus leaving the job of worrying to the powers that be, sociologists have implicitly recognized the legitimacy of these powers; their disengagement has turned out to be a—however involuntary—engagement on the side of the status quo. What a dramatic misunderstanding of Max Weber's attempt to separate the vocation of politics from that of science!

Let me repeat that I am not advocating a sociological science that is politically radical in the content of its theories. In any case, there would be little sense in trying to do this, since, logically speaking, there can be no such science. I am advocating, however, a sociological science that is inspired by the moral fiber of its forefathers; and I am convinced that if we regain the problem-consciousness which has been lost in the last decades, we cannot fail to recover the critical engagement in the realities of our social world which we need to do our job well. For I hope I have made it quite clear that problem-consciousness is not merely a means of avoiding ideological biases but is, above all, an indispensable condition of progress in any discipline of human inquiry. The path out of utopia begins with the recognition of puzzling facts of experience and the tackling of problems posed by such facts.

There is yet another reason why I think that the utopian character of recent socio-

¹⁵ It is, however, essential to this approach—to add one not so trivial methodological point—that we realize the proper function of empirical testing. As Popper has demonstrated in many of his works since 1935 (the year of publication of *Logik der Forschung*), there can be no verification in science; empirical tests serve to falsify accepted theories, and every refutation of a theory is a triumph of scientific research. Testing that is designed to confirm hypotheses neither advances our knowledge nor generates new problems.

¹⁶ I am thinking in particular of the still outstanding articles by S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix on "Social Status and Social Structure," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. II (1951), and of the early parts of L. Coser's work, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

logical theory has been detrimental to the advancement of our discipline. It is quite conceivable that in the explanation of specific problems we shall at some stage want to employ models of a highly general kind or even formulate general laws. Stripped of its more formal and decorative elements, the social system could be, and sometimes has been, regarded as such a model. For instance, we may want to investigate the problem of why achievement in the educational system ranks so high among people's concerns in our society. The social system can be thought of as suggesting that in advanced industrial societies the educational system is the main, and tends to be the only, mechanism of role allocation. In this case, the social system proves to be a useful model. It seems to me, however, that even in this limited sense the social system is a highly problematic, or at least a very one-sided, model and that here, too, a new departure is needed.

It is perhaps inevitable that the models underlying scientific explanations acquire a life of their own, divorced from the specific purpose for which they have originally been constructed. The *Homo oeconomicus* of modern economics, invented in the first place as a useful, even if clearly unrealistic, assumption from which testable hypotheses could be derived, has today become the cardinal figure in a much discussed philosophy of human nature far beyond the aspirations of most economists. The indeterminacy principle in modern physics, which again is nothing but a useful assumption without claim to any reality other than operational, has been taken as a final refutation of all determinist philosophies of nature. Analogous statements could be made about the equilibrium model of society—although, as I have tried to show, it would unfortunately be wrong to say that the original purpose of this model was to explain specific empirical problems. We face the double task of having to specify the conditions under which this model proves analytically useful and of having to cope with the philosophical

implications of the model itself.¹⁷ It may seem a digression for a sociologist to occupy himself with the latter problem; however, in my opinion it is both dangerous and irresponsible to ignore the implications of one's assumptions, even if these are philosophical rather than scientific in a technical sense. The models with which we work, apart from being useful tools, determine to no small extent our general perspectives, our selection of problems, and the emphasis in our explanations, and I believe that in this respect, too, the utopian social system has played an unfortunate role in our discipline.

There may be some problems for the explanation of which it is important to assume an equilibrated, functioning social system based on consensus, absence of conflict, and isolation in time and space. I think there are such problems, although their number is probably much smaller than many contemporary sociologists wish us to believe. The equilibrium model of society also has a long tradition in social thinking, including, of course, all utopian thinking but also such works as Rousseau's *Contrat social* and Hegel's *Philosophy of Law*. But neither in relation to the explanation of sociological problems nor in the history of social philosophy is it the only model, and I would strongly protest any implicit or explicit claim that it can be so regarded. Parsons' statement in *The Social System* that this "work constitutes a step toward the development of a generalized theoretical sys-

¹⁷ The approach here characterized by the catchword "social system" has two aspects which are not necessarily related and which I am here treating separately. One is its concentration on formal "conceptual frameworks" of no relevance to particular empirical problems, as discussed in the previous section. The other aspect lies in the application of an equilibrium model of society to the analysis of real societies and is dealt with in the present section. The emphasis of advocates of the social system on one or the other of these aspects has been shifting, and to an extent it is possible to accept the one without the other. Both aspects, however, betray the traces of utopianism, and it is therefore indicated to deal with both of them in an essay that promises to show a path out of utopia.

tem"¹⁸ is erroneous in every respect I can think of and, in particular, insofar as it implies that all sociological problems can be approached with the equilibrium model of society.

It may be my personal bias that I can think of many more problems to which the social system does not apply than those to which it does, but I would certainly insist that, even on the highly abstract and largely philosophical level on which Parsons moves, at least one other model of society is required. It has an equally long and, I think, a better tradition than the equilibrium model. In spite of this fact, no modern sociologist has as yet formulated its basic tenets in such a way as to render it useful for the explanation of critical social facts. Only in the last year or two has there been some indication that this alternative model, which I shall call the "conflict model of society," is gaining ground in sociological analysis.

The extent to which the social system model has influenced even our thinking about social change and has marred our vision in this important area of problems is truly remarkable. Two facts in particular illustrate this influence. In talking about change, most sociologists today accept the entirely spurious distinction between "change within" and "change of societies," which makes sense only if we recognize the system as our ultimate and only reference point. At the same time, many sociologists seem convinced that, in order to explain processes of change, they have to discover certain special circumstances which set these processes in motion, implying that, in society, change is an abnormal, or at least an unusual, state that has to be accounted for

in terms of deviations from a "normal," equilibrated system. I think that in both these respects we shall have to revise our assumptions radically. A Galilean turn of thought is required which makes us realize that all units of social organization are continuously changing, unless some force intervenes to arrest this change. It is our task to identify the factors interfering with the normal process of change rather than to look for variables involved in bringing about change. Moreover, change is ubiquitous not only in time but also in space, that is to say, every part of societies is constantly changing, and it is impossible to distinguish between "change within" and "change of," "microscopic" and "macroscopic" change. Historians discovered a long time ago that in describing the historical process it is insufficient to confine one's attention to the affairs of state, to wars, revolutions, and government action. From them we could learn that what happens in Mrs. Smith's house, in a trade union local, or in the parish of a church is just as significant for the social process of history and, in fact, *is* just as much the social process of history as what happens in the White House or the Kremlin.

The great creative force that carries along change in the model I am trying to describe and that is equally ubiquitous is social conflict. The notion that wherever there is social life there is conflict may be unpleasant and disturbing. Nevertheless, it is indispensable to our understanding of social problems. As with change, we have grown accustomed to look for special causes or circumstances whenever we encounter conflict; but, again, a complete turn is necessary in our thinking. Not the presence but the absence of conflict is surprising and abnormal, and we have good reason to be suspicious if we find a society or social organization that displays no evidence of conflict. To be sure, we do not have to assume that conflict is always violent and uncontrolled. There is probably a continuum from civil war to parliamentary debate, from strikes and lockouts to joint consultation. Our problems and their explanations will undoubtedly teach us a great deal about the range of variation in forms of

¹⁸ Characteristically, this statement is made in the chapter "The Processes of Change of Social System" (p. 486). In many ways I have here taken this chapter of *The Social System* as a clue to problems of structural-functionalism—an approach which a page-by-page interpretation of the amazingly weak argument offered by Parsons in support of his double claim that (a) the stabilized system is the central point of reference of sociological analysis and (b) any theory of change is impossible as the present state of our knowledge could easily justify.

conflict. In formulating such explanations, however, we must never lose sight of the underlying assumption that conflict can be temporarily suppressed, regulated, channeled, and controlled but that neither a philosopher-king nor a modern dictator can abolish it once and for all.

There is a third notion which, together with change and conflict, constitutes the instrumentarium of the conflict model of society: the notion of constraint. From the point of view of this model, societies and social organizations are held together not by consensus but by constraint, not by universal agreement but by the coercion of some by others. It may be useful for some purposes to speak of the "value system" of a society, but in the conflict model such characteristic values are ruling rather than common, enforced rather than accepted, at any given point of time. And as conflict generates change, so constraint may be thought of as generating conflict. We assume that conflict is ubiquitous, since constraint is ubiquitous wherever human beings set up social organizations. In a highly formal sense, it is always the basis of constraint that is at issue in social conflict.

I have sketched the conflict model of society—as I see it—only very briefly. But except in a philosophical context there is no need to elaborate on it, unless, of course, such elaboration is required for the explanation of specific problems. However, my point here is a different one. I hope it is evident that there is a fundamental difference between the equilibrium and the conflict models of society. Utopia is—to use the language of the economist—a world of certainty. It is paradise found; utopians know all the answers. But we live in a world of uncertainty. We do not know what an ideal society looks like—and if we think we do, we are fortunately unable to realize our conception. Because there is no certainty (which, by definition, is shared by everybody in that condition), there has to be constraint to assure some livable minimum of coherence. Because we do not know all the answers, there has to be continuous conflict over values and policies. Because of uncer-

tainty, there is always change and development. Quite apart from its merits as a tool of scientific analysis, the conflict model is essentially non-utopian; it is the model of an open society.

I do not intend to fall victim to the mistake of many structural-functional theorists and advance for the conflict model a claim to comprehensive and exclusive applicability. As far as I can see, we need for the explanation of sociological problems both the equilibrium and the conflict models of society; and it may well be that, in a philosophical sense, society has two faces of equal reality: one of stability, harmony, and consensus and one of change, conflict, and constraint.¹⁹ Strictly speaking, it does not matter whether we select for investigation problems that can be understood only in terms of the equilibrium model or problems for the explanation of which the conflict model is required. There is no intrinsic criterion for preferring one to the other. My own feeling is, however, that, in the face of recent developments in our discipline and the critical considerations offered earlier in this paper, we may be well advised to concentrate in the future not only on concrete problems but on such problems as involve explanations in terms of constraint, conflict, and change. This second face of society may aesthetically be rather less pleasing than the social system—but, if all that sociology had to offer were an easy escape to utopian tranquillity, it would hardly be worth our efforts.

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¹⁹ I should not be prepared to claim that these two are the only possible models of sociological analysis. Without any doubt, we need a considerable number of models on many levels for the explanation of specific problems, and, more often than not, the two models outlined here are too general to be of immediate relevance. In philosophical terms, however, it is hard to see what other models of society there could be which are not of either the equilibrium or the conflict type.

THE CASE OF THE FLOPPY-EARED RABBITS: AN INSTANCE OF SERENDIPITY GAINED AND SERENDIPITY LOST

BERNARD BARBER AND RENÉE C. FOX

ABSTRACT

Two distinguished medical scientists independently observed the same phenomenon in the course of their research: reversible collapse of rabbits' ears after injection of the enzyme papain. One went on to make a discovery based on this serendipitous or chance occurrence; the other did not. Intensive tandem interviews were conducted with each of these scientists in order to discover similarities and differences in their experiences with the floppy-eared rabbits. These interview materials are analyzed for the light they shed on the process of scientific discovery in general and on the serendipity pattern in particular.

As with so many other basic social processes, the actual process of scientific research and discovery is not well understood.¹ There has been little systematic observation of the research and discovery process as it actually occurs, and even less controlled research. Moreover, the form in which discoveries are reported by scientists to their colleagues in professional journals tends to conceal important aspects of this process. Because of certain norms that are strongly institutionalized in their professional community, scientists are expected to focus their reports on the logical structure of the methods used and the ideas discovered in research in relation to the established conceptual framework of the relevant scientific specialty. The primary function of such reports is conceived to be that of indicating how the new observations and ideas being advanced may require a change—by further generalization or systematization—in the conceptual structure of a given scientific field. All else that has occurred in the actual research process is considered “incidental.” Thus scientists are praised for presenting their research in a way that is elegantly bare of anything that does not serve this primary function and are deterred from reporting “irrelevant” social and psychological aspects of the research process, however interesting these matters may be in other contexts. As a result of such norms and

practices, the reporting of scientific research may be characterized by what has been called “retrospective falsification.” By selecting only those components of the actual research process that serve their primary purpose, scientific papers leave out a great deal, of course, as many scientists have indicated in their memoirs and in their informal talks with one another. Selection, then, unwittingly distorts and, in that special sense, falsifies what has happened in research as it actually goes on in the laboratory and its environs.

Public reports to the community of scientists thus have their own function. Their dysfunctionality for the sociology of scientific discovery, which is concerned with not one but all the components of the research process as a social process, is of no immediate concern to the practicing research scientist. And yet what is lost in “retrospective falsification” may be of no small importance to him, if only indirectly. For it is not unlikely that here, as everywhere else in the world of nature, knowledge is power, in this case power to increase the fruitfulness of scientific research by enlarging our systematic knowledge of it. The sociology of scientific discovery would seem to be an especially desirable area for further theoretical and empirical development.

One component of the actual process of scientific discovery that is left out or concealed in research reports following the practice of “retrospective falsification” is the element of unforeseen development, of happy or lucky chance, of what Robert K.

¹For an account of what is known see Bernard Barber, *Science and the Social Order* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), chap. ix, “The Social Process of Invention and Discovery,” pp. 191–206.

Merton has called "the serendipity pattern."² By its very nature, scientific research is a voyage into the unknown by routes that are in some measure unpredictable and unplannable. Chance or luck is therefore as inevitable in scientific research as are logic and what Pasteur called "the prepared mind." Yet little is known systematically about this inevitable serendipity component.

For this reason it seemed to us desirable to take the opportunity recently provided by the reporting of an instance of *serendipity gained* by Dr. Lewis Thomas, now professor and chairman of the Department of Medicine in the College of Medicine of New York University and formerly professor and chairman of the Department of Pathology.³ Then, shortly after hearing about Dr. Thomas' discovery, we learned from medical research and teaching colleagues of an instance of *serendipity lost* on the very same kind of chance occurrence: unexpected floppiness in rabbits' ears after they had been injected intravenously with the proteolytic enzyme papain. This instance of serendipity lost had occurred in the course of research by Dr. Aaron Kellner, associate professor in the Department of Pathology of Cornell University Medical College and director of its central laboratories. This opportunity for *comparative* study seemed even more promising for our further understanding of

the serendipity pattern. Here were two comparable medical scientists, we reasoned, both carrying out investigations in the field of experimental pathology, affiliated with distinguished medical schools, and of approximately the same level of demonstrated research ability (so far as it was in our layman's capacity to judge). In the course of their research both men had had occasion to inject rabbits intravenously with papain, and both had observed the phenomenon of ear collapse following the injection.

In spite of these similarities in their professional backgrounds and although they had both accidentally encountered the same phenomenon, one of these scientists had gone on to make a discovery based on this chance occurrence, whereas the other had not. It seemed to us that a detailed comparison of Dr. Thomas' and Dr. Kellner's experiences with the floppy-eared rabbits offered a quasi-experimental opportunity to identify some of the factors that contribute to a positive experience with serendipity in research and some of the factors conducive to a negative experience with it.

We asked for and were generously granted intensive interviews with Dr. Thomas and Dr. Kellner.⁴ Each reported to us that they had experienced both "positive serendipity" and "negative serendipity" in their research. That is, each had made a number of serendipitous discoveries based on chance occurrences in their planned experiments, and on other occasions each had missed the significance of like occurrences that other researchers had later transformed into discoveries. Apparently, both positive and negative serendipity are common experiences for scientific researchers. Indeed, we shall see that one of the chief reasons why Dr. Kellner experienced serendipity lost with respect to the discovery that Dr. Thomas made was that he was experiencing serendipity gained

² For discussions of serendipity see Walter B. Cannon, *The Way of an Investigator* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1945), chap. vi, "Gains from Serendipity," pp. 68-78; and Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (rev. ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), pp. 103-8. Our colleagues, Robert K. Merton and Elinor G. Barber, are now engaged in an investigation and clarification of the variety of meanings of "chance" that are lumped under the notion of serendipity by different users of that term.

³ Lewis Thomas, "Reversible Collapse of Rabbit Ears after Intravenous Papain, and Prevention of Recovery by Cortisone," *Journal of Experimental Medicine*, CIV (1956), 245-52. This case first came to our attention through a report in the *New York Times*. The pictures printed in Dr. Thomas' original article and in the *Times* will indicate why we have called this "the case of the floppy-eared rabbits."

⁴ These interviews lasted about two hours each. They are another instance of the "tandem interviewing" described by Harry V. Kincaid and Margaret Bright, "Interviewing the Business Elite," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (1957), 304-11.

with respect to some other aspects of the very same experimental situation. Conversely, Dr. Thomas had reached a stalemate on some of his other research, and this gave him added incentive to pursue intensively the phenomenon of ear collapse. Partly as a consequence of these experiences, in what were similar experimental situations, the two researchers each saw something and missed something else.

On the basis of our focused interviews with these two scientists, we can describe some of the recurring elements in their experiences with serendipity.⁵ We think that these patterns may also be relevant to instances of serendipity experienced by other investigators.

SERENDIPITY GAINED

Dr. Thomas.—Observing the established norms for reporting scientific research, in his article in the *Journal of Experimental Medicine*, Dr. Thomas did not mention his experience with serendipity. In the manner typical of such reports he began his article with the statement, "For reasons not relevant to the present discussion rabbits were injected intravenously with a solution of crude papain." (By contrast, though not called by this term, serendipity was featured in the accounts of this research that appeared in the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*. "An accidental sidelight of one research project had the startling effect of wilting the ears of the rabbit," said the *Times* article. "This bizarre phenomenon, accidentally discovered . . ." was the way the *Herald Tribune* described the same phenomenon. The prominence accorded the "accidental" nature of the discovery in the press is related to the fact that these articles were written by journalists for a lay audience. The kind of interest in scientific research that is characteristic of science reporters and the audience for whom they write and their conceptions of the form in which information about research ought to be communicated differ from those of professional scientists).⁶

Although Dr. Thomas did not mention

serendipity in his article for the *Journal of Experimental Medicine*, in his interview he reported both his general acquaintance with the serendipity pattern ("Serendipity is a familiar term. . . I first heard about it in Dr. Cannon's class . . .") and his awareness of the chance occurrence of floppy-eared rabbits in his own research. Dr. Thomas first noticed the reversible collapse of rabbit ears after intravenous papain about seven years ago, when he was working on the effects of proteolytic enzymes as a class:

I was trying to explore the notion that the cardiac and blood vessel lesions in certain hypersensitivity states may be due to release of proteolytic enzymes. It's an attractive idea on which there's little evidence. And it's been picked up at some time or another by almost everyone working on hypersensitivity. For this investigation I used trypsin, because it was the most available enzyme around the laboratory, and I got nothing. We also happened to have papain; I don't know where it had come from; but because it was there, I tried it. I also tried a third enzyme, ficin. It comes from figs, and it's commonly used. It has catholic tastes and so it's quite useful in the laboratory. So I had these three enzymes. The other two didn't produce lesions. Nor did papain. But what the papain did was always produce these bizarre cosmetic changes. . . . It was one of the most uniform reactions I'd ever seen in biology. It always happened. And it looked as if something important must have happened to cause this reaction.

⁵ In this paper we shall concentrate on the instances of serendipity gained by Dr. Thomas and lost by Dr. Kellner and give somewhat less attention to elements of negative serendipity in Dr. Thomas' experiments and elements of positive serendipity in those of Dr. Kellner.

⁶ Further discussion of this point lies beyond the scope of this paper. But in a society like ours, in which science has become "front-page news," some of the characteristics and special problems of science reporting merit serious study. A recently published work on this topic that has come to our attention is entitled *When Doctors Meet Reporters* (New York: New York University Press, 1957). This is a discussion by science writers and physicians of the controversy between the press and the medical profession, compiled from the record of a series of conferences sponsored by the Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation.

Some of the elements of serendipitous discovery are clearly illustrated in this account by Dr. Thomas. The scientific researcher, while in pursuit of some other specific goals, accidentally ("we also happened to have papain . . .") produces an unusual, recurrent, and sometimes striking ("bizarre") effect. Only the element of creative imagination, which is necessary to complete an instance of serendipity by supplying an explanation of the unusual effect, is not yet present. Indeed, the explanation was to elude Dr. Thomas, as it eluded Dr. Kellner, and probably others as well, for several years. This was not for lack of trying by Dr. Thomas. He immediately did seek an explanation:

I chased it like crazy. But I didn't do the right thing. . . . I did the expected things. I had sections cut, and I had them stained by all the techniques available at the time. And I studied what I believed to be the constituents of a rabbit's ear. I looked at all the sections, but I couldn't see anything the matter. The connective tissue was intact. There was no change in the amount of elastic tissue. There was no inflammation, no tissue damage. I expected to find a great deal, because I thought we had destroyed something.

Dr. Thomas also studied the cartilage of the rabbit's ear, and judged it to be "normal" (" . . . The cells were healthy-looking and there were nice nuclei. I decided there was no damage to the cartilage. And that was that . . ."). However, he admitted that at the time his consideration of the cartilage was routine and relatively casual, because he did not seriously entertain the idea that the phenomenon of ear collapse might be associated with changes in this tissue:

I hadn't thought of cartilage. You're not likely to, because it's not considered interesting. . . . I know my own idea has always been that cartilage is a quiet, inactive tissue.

Dr. Thomas' preconceptions about the methods appropriate for studying the ear-collapsing effect of papain, his expectation that it would probably be associated with damage in the connective or elastic tissues,

and the conviction he shared with colleagues that cartilage is "inert and relatively uninteresting"—these guided his initial inquiries into this phenomenon. But the same preconceptions, expectations, and convictions also blinded him to the physical and chemical changes in the ear cartilage matrix which, a number of years later, were to seem "obvious" to him as the alterations underlying the collapsing ears. Here again, another general aspect of the research process comes into the clear. Because the methods and assumptions on which a systematic investigation is built selectively focus the researcher's attention, to a certain extent they sometimes constrict his imagination and bias his observations.

Although he was "very chagrined" about his failure, Dr. Thomas finally had to turn away from his floppy-eared rabbits because he was "terribly busy working on another problem at the time," with which he was "making progress." Also, Dr. Thomas reported, "I had already used all the rabbits I could afford. So I was able to persuade myself to abandon this other research." The gratifications of research success elsewhere and the lack of adequate resources to continue with his rabbit experiments combined to make Dr. Thomas accept failure, at least temporarily. As is usually the case in the reporting of scientific research, these experiments and their negative outcome were not written up for professional journals. (There is too much failure of this sort in research to permit of its publication, except occasionally, even though it might be instructive for some other scientists in carrying out their research. Since there is no way of determining what might be instructive failures and since space in professional journals is at a premium, generally only accounts of successful experiments are submitted to such journals and published by them.)

Despite his decision to turn his attention to other, more productive research, Dr. Thomas did not completely forget the floppy-eared rabbits. His interest was kept alive by a number of things. As he explained,

the collapse of the rabbit ears and their subsequent reversal "was one of the most uniform reactions I'd ever seen in biology." The "unfailing regularity" with which it occurred is not often observed in scientific research. Thus the apparent invariance of this phenomenon never ceased to intrigue Dr. Thomas, who continued to feel that an important and powerful biological happening might be responsible. The effect of papain on rabbit ears had two additional qualities that helped to sustain Dr. Thomas' interest in it. The spectacle of rabbits with "ears collapsed limply at either side of the head, rather like the ears of spaniels,"⁷ was both dramatic and entertaining.

In the intervening years Dr. Thomas described this phenomenon to a number of colleagues in pathology, biochemistry, and clinical investigation, who were equally intrigued and of the opinion that a significant amount of demonstrable tissue damage must be associated with such a striking and uniform reaction. Dr. Thomas also reported that twice he "put the experiment on" for some of his more skeptical colleagues. ("They didn't believe me when I told them what happened. They didn't really believe that you can get that much change and not a trace of anything having happened when you look in the microscope.") As so often happens in science, an unsolved puzzle was kept in mind for eventual solution through informal exchanges between scientists, rather than through the formal medium of published communications.

A few years ago Dr. Thomas once again accidentally came upon the floppy-eared rabbits in the course of another investigation:

I was looking for a way . . . to reduce the level of fibrinogen in the blood of rabbits. I had been studying a form of fibrinoid which occurs inside blood vessels in the generalized Schwartzman reaction and which seems to be derived from fibrinogen. My working hypothesis was that if I depleted the fibrinogen and, as a result, fibrinoid did not occur, this would help. It had been reported that if you inject proteolytic

enzyme, this will deplete fibrinogen. So I tried to inhibit the Schwartzman reaction by injecting papain intravenously into the rabbits. It didn't work with respect to fibrinogen. . . . But the same damned thing happened again to the rabbits' ears!

This time, however, Dr. Thomas was to solve the puzzle of the collapsed rabbit ears and realize a complete instance of serendipitous discovery. He describes what subsequently happened:

I was teaching second-year medical students in pathology. We have these small seminars with them: two-hour sessions in the morning, twice a week, with six to eight students. These are seminars devoted to experimental pathology and the theoretical aspects of the mechanism of disease. The students have a chance to see what we, the faculty, are up to in the laboratory. I happened to have a session with the students at the same time that this thing with the rabbits' ears happened again. I thought it would be an entertaining thing to show them . . . a spectacular thing. The students were very interested in it. I explained to them that we couldn't really explain what the hell was going on here. I did this experiment on purpose for them, to see what they would think. . . . Besides which, I was in irons on my other experiments. There was not much doing on those. I was not being brilliant on these other problems. . . . Well, this time I did what I didn't do before. I simultaneously cut sections of the ears of rabbits after I'd given them papain *and* sections of normal ears. This is the part of the story I'm most ashamed of. It still makes me writhe to think of it. There was no damage to the tissue in the sense of a lesion. But what had taken place was a quantitative change in the matrix of the cartilage. The only way you could make sense of this change was simultaneously to compare sections taken from the ears of rabbits which had been injected with papain with comparable sections from the ears of rabbits of the same age and size which had not received papain. . . . Before this I had always been so struck by the enormity of the change that when I didn't see something obvious, I concluded there was nothing. . . . Also, I didn't have a lot of rabbits to work with before.

Judging from Dr. Thomas' account, it appears that a number of factors contributed

⁷ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

to his reported experimental success. First, his teaching duties played a creative role in this regard. They impelled him to run the experiment with papain again and kept his attention focused on its implications for basic science rather than on its potentialities for practical application. Dr. Thomas said that he used the experiment to "convey to students what experimental pathology is like." Second, because he had reached an impasse in some of his other research, Dr. Thomas had more time and further inclination to study the ear-collapsing effect of papain than he had had a few years earlier, when the progress he was making on other research helped to "persuade" him to "abandon" the problem of the floppy-eared rabbits. Third, Dr. Thomas had more laboratory resources at his command than previously, notably a larger supply of rabbits. (In this regard it is interesting to note that, according to Dr. Thomas' article in the *Journal of Experimental Medicine*, 250 rabbits, all told, were used in the experiments reported.) Finally, the fact that he now had more laboratory animals with which to work and that he wanted to present the phenomenon of reversible ear collapse to students in a way that would make it an effective teaching exercise led Dr. Thomas to modify his method for examining rabbit tissues. In his earlier experiments, Dr. Thomas had compared histological sections made of the ears of rabbits who had received an injection of papain with his own mental image of normal rabbit-ear tissue. This time, however, he actually made sections from the ear tissue of rabbits which did *not* receive papain, as well as from those which did, and simultaneously examined the two. As he reported, this comparison enabled him to see for the first time that "drastic" quantitative changes had occurred in the cartilaginous tissue obtained from the ears of the rabbits injected with papain. In the words of the *Journal* article,

The ear cartilage showed loss of a major portion of the intercellular matrix, and complete absence of basophilia from the small amount of remaining matrix. The cartilage cells appeared

somewhat larger, and rounder than normal, and lay in close contact with each other. . . . (The contrast between the normal ear cartilage and tissue obtained 4 hours after injection is illustrated in Figs. 3A and 3B of this article.)

Immediately thereafter, Dr. Thomas and his associates found that these changes occur not only in ear cartilage but in all other cartilaginous tissues as well.

How significant or useful Dr. Thomas' serendipitous discovery will be cannot yet be specified. The serendipity pattern characterizes small discoveries as well as great. Dr. Thomas and his associates are currently investigating some of the questions raised by the phenomenon of papain-collapsed ears and the alterations in cartilage now known to underlie it. In addition, Dr. Thomas reported that some of his "biochemist and clinical friends" have become interested enough in certain of his findings to "go to work with papain, too." Two of the major problems under study in Dr. Thomas' laboratory are biochemical: the one concerning the nature of the change in cartilage; the other, the nature of the factor in papain that causes collapse of rabbits' ears and lysis of cartilage matrix in all tissues. Attempts are also being made to identify the antibody that causes rabbits to become immune to the factor responsible for ear collapse after two weeks of injection. The way in which cortisone prolongs the reaction to papain and the possible effect that papain may have on the joints as well as the cartilage are also being considered. Though at the time he was interviewed Dr. Thomas could not predict whether his findings (to date) would prove "important" or not, there was some evidence to suggest that certain basic discoveries about the constituents and properties of cartilaginous tissue might be forthcoming and that the experiments thus far conducted might have "practical usefulness" for studies of the postulated role of cortisone in the metabolism of sulfated mucopolysaccharides and of the relationship between cartilage and the electrolyte imbalance associated with congestive heart failure.

In the research on reversible ear collapse that Dr. Thomas has conducted since his initial serendipitous discovery, the planned and the unplanned, the foreseen and the accidental, the logical and the lucky have continued to interact. For example, Dr. Thomas' discovery that cortisone prevents or greatly delays the "return of papain-collapsed ears to their normal shape and rigidity" came about as a result of a carefully planned experiment that he undertook to test the effect of cortisone on the reaction to papain. On the other hand, his discovery that "repeated injections of papain, over a period of two or three weeks, brings about immunity to the phenomenon of ear collapse" was an unanticipated consequence of the fact that he used the same rabbit to demonstrate the floppy ears to several different groups of medical students:

I was so completely sold on the uniformity of this thing that I used the same rabbit [for each seminar]. . . . The third time it didn't work. I was appalled by it. The students were there, and the rabbit's ears were still in place. . . . At first I thought that perhaps the technician had given him the wrong stuff. But then when I checked on that and gave the same stuff to the other rabbits and it *did* work I realized that the rabbit had become immune. This is a potentially hot finding. . . .

SERENDIPITY LOST

Dr. Kellner.—In our interview with Dr. Thomas we told him that we had heard about another medical scientist who had noticed the reversible collapse of rabbits' ears when he had injected them intravenously with papain. Dr. Thomas was not at all surprised. "That must be Kellner," he said. "He must have seen it. He was doomed to see it." Dr. Thomas was acquainted with the reports that Dr. Kellner and his associates had published on "Selective Necrosis of Cardiac and Skeletal Muscle Induced Experimentally by Means of Proteolytic Enzyme Solutions Given Intravenously" and on "Blood Coagulation Defect Induced in Rabbits by Papain Solutions Injected Intravenously."⁸ He took it

for granted that, in the course of these reported experiments which had entailed papain solution given intravenously to rabbits, a competent scientist like Dr. Kellner had also seen the resulting collapse of rabbits' ears, with its "unfailing regularity" and its "flamboyant" character. And, indeed, our interview with Dr. Kellner revealed that he had observed the floppiness, apparently at about the same time as Dr. Thomas:

We called them the floppy-eared rabbits. . . . Five or six years ago we published our first article on the work we were doing with papain; that was in 1951 and our definitive article was published in 1954. . . . We gave papain to the animals and we had done it thirty or forty times before we noticed these changes in the rabbits' ears.

Thus Dr. Kellner's observation of what he and his colleagues dubbed "the floppy-eared rabbits" represents, when taken together with Dr. Thomas' experience, an instance of independent multiple observation, which often occurs in science and frequently leads to independent multiple invention and discovery.

Once he had noticed the phenomenon of ear collapse, Dr. Kellner did what Dr. Thomas and any research scientist would have done in the presence of such an unexpected and striking regularity: he looked for an answer to the puzzle it represented. "I was a little curious about it at the time, and followed it up to the extent of making sections of the rabbits' ears." However, for one of those trivial reasons that sometimes affect the course of research—the obviously amusing quality of floppiness in rabbits' ears—Dr. Kellner did not take the phenomenon as seriously as he took other aspects

⁸ See, Aaron Kellner and Theodore Robertson, "Selective Necrosis of Cardiac and Skeletal Muscle Induced Experimentally by Means of Proteolytic Enzyme Solutions Given Intravenously," *Journal of Experimental Medicine*, XCIX (1954), 387-404; and Aaron Kellner, Theodore Robertson, and Howard O. Mott, "Blood Coagulation Defect Induced in Rabbits by Papain Solutions Injected Intravenously," abstract in *Federation Proceedings*, Vol. X (1951), No. 1.

of the experimental situation involving the injection of papain.

In effect, Dr. Kellner and his associates closed out their interest in the phenomenon of the reversible collapse of rabbits' ears following intravenous injection of papain by using it as an assay test for the potency and amount of papain to be injected. "Every laboratory technician we've had since 1951," he told us in the interview, "has known about these floppy ears because we've used them to assay papain, to tell us if it's potent and how potent." If the injected rabbit died from the dose of papain he received, the researchers knew that the papain injection was too potent; if there was no change in the rabbit's ears, the papain was not potent enough, but "if the rabbit lived and his ears drooped, it was just right." Although "we knew all about it, and used it that way . . . as a rule of thumb," Dr. Kellner commented, "I didn't write it up." Nor did he ever have "any intention of publishing it as a method of assaying papain." He knew that an applied technological discovery of this sort would not be suitable for publication in the basic science-oriented professional journals to which he and his colleagues submit reports of experimental work.

However, two factors apparently were much more important in leading Dr. Kellner away from investigating this phenomenon. First, like Dr. Thomas, Dr. Kellner thought of cartilage as relatively inert tissue. Second, because of his pre-established special research interests, Dr. Kellner's attention was predominantly trained on muscle tissue:

Since I was primarily interested in research questions having to do with the muscles of the heart, I was thinking in terms of muscle. That blinded me, so that changes in the cartilage didn't occur to me as a possibility. I was looking for muscles in the sections, and I never dreamed it was cartilage.

Like Dr. Thomas at the beginning of his research and like all scientists at some

stages in their research, Dr. Kellner was "misled" by his preconceptions.

However, as we already know, in keeping with his special research interests, Dr. Kellner noticed and intensively followed up two other serendipitous results that occur when papain is injected intravenously into rabbits: focal necrosis of cardiac and skeletal muscle and a blood coagulation defect, which in certain respects resembles that of hemophilia.⁹

It was the selective necrosis of cardiac and skeletal muscle that Dr. Kellner studied with the greatest degree of seriousness and interest. Dr. Kellner told us that he is "particularly interested in cardio-vascular disease," and so the lesions in the myocardium was the chance observation that he particularly "chose to follow . . . the one closest to me." Not only did Dr. Kellner himself have a special interest in the necrosis of cardiac muscle, but also his "laboratory and the people associated with me," he said, provided "the physical and intellectual tools to cope with this phenomenon." Dr. Kellner and his colleagues also did a certain amount of "work tracking down the cause of the blood coagulation defect"; but, because this line of inquiry "led [them] far afield" from investigative work in which they were especially interested and competent, they eventually "let that go" as they had let go the phenomenon of floppiness in rabbits' ears. Dr. Kellner indicated in his interview that the potential usefulness of his work with the selective necrosis of cardiac and skeletal muscle cannot yet be precisely ascertained. However, in his article in the *Journal of Experimental Medicine* he suggested that this serendipitous finding "has interesting implications for the pathogenesis of the morphological changes in rheumatic fever, periarthritis nodosa, and other hypersensitivity states."

Thus Dr. Kellner did not have the ex-

⁹ See Kellner and Robertson, *op. cit.*, and Kellner, Robertson, and Mott, *op. cit.*

perience of serendipity gained with respect to the significance of floppiness in rabbits' ears after intravenous injection of papain for a variety of reasons, some trivial apparently, others important. The most important reasons, it seems, were his research preconceptions and the occurrence of other serendipitous phenomena in the same experimental situation.

In summary, although the ultimate outcome of their respective laboratory encounters with floppiness in rabbits' ears was quite different, there are some interesting similarities between the serendipity-gained experience of Dr. Thomas and the serendipity-lost experience of Dr. Kellner. Initially, the attention of both men was caught by the striking uniformity with which the collapse of rabbit ears occurred after intravenous papain and by the "bizarre," entertaining qualities of this cosmetic effect. In their subsequent investigations of this phenomenon, both were to some extent misled by certain of their interests and preconceptions. Lack of progress in accounting for ear collapse, combined with success in other research in which they were engaged at the time, eventually led both Dr. Thomas and Dr. Kellner to discontinue their work with the floppy-eared rabbits.

However, there were also some significant differences in the two experiences. Dr. Thomas seems to have been more impressed with the regularity of this particular phenomenon than Dr. Kellner and somewhat less amused by it. Unlike Dr. Kellner, Dr. Thomas never lost interest in the floppy-eared rabbits. When he came upon this reaction again at a time when he was "blocked" on other research, he began actively to reconsider the problem of what might have caused it. Eventual success was more likely to result from this continuing concern on Dr. Thomas' part. And Dr. Kellner, of course, was drawn off in other research directions by seeing other serendipitous phenomena in the same situation and by his success in following up those other leads.

These differences between Dr. Thomas and Dr. Kellner seem to account at least in part for the serendipity-gained outcome of the case of the floppy-eared rabbits for the one, and the serendipity-lost outcome for the other.

Experiences with both serendipity gained and serendipity lost are probably frequent occurrences for many scientific researchers. For, as Dr. Kellner pointed out in our interview with him, scientific investigations often entail "doing something that no one has done before, [so] you don't always know how to do it or exactly what to do":

Should you boil or freeze, filter or centrifuge? These are the kinds of crossroads you come to all the time. . . . It's always possible to do four, five, or six things, and you have to choose between them. . . . How do you decide?

In this comparative study of one instance of serendipity gained and serendipity lost, we have tried to make inferences about some of the factors that led one investigator down the path to a successful and potentially important discovery and another to follow a somewhat different, though eventually perhaps a no less fruitful, trail of research. A large enough series of such case studies could suggest how often and in what ways these factors (and others that might prove relevant) influence the paths that open up to investigators in the course of their research, the choices they make between them, and the experimental findings that result from such choices. Case studies of this kind might also contribute a good deal to the detailed, systematic study of "the ways in which scientists actually . . . think, feel and act," which Robert K. Merton says could perhaps teach us more "in a comparatively few years, about the psychology and sociology of science than in all the years that have gone before."¹⁰

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¹⁰ See his Foreword to *Science and the Social Order* by Bernard Barber, p. xxii.

THE FORMS OF CONDUCT

TOM BURNS

ABSTRACT

This is a preliminary statement of a set of categories intended for the sociological analysis of conduct in diachronic terms. Conduct is held to be a continuous activity, broken down perceptually into acts. Social acts are analyzable according to the situation to which they refer and the way in which actors attempt to exert control over others. Four forms of social act are distinguished, differing according to their degree of obliquity from direct control. Acts are also distinguished according to their level of organization, ranging from spontaneous to sophisticated. Sophisticated acts involve instrumental use of routine action. Social change occurs when routine substitutes fail in their purpose of control.

The analysis of the social connotations of human existence according to the ideas set out here represents social organization as residing in behavior and in a state of continual change except where behavior is rendered stable by skills, institutions, roles, and other routines. This adds up to saying that society does not exist—that what exists is social process which is either productive of change or repetitive.

There is, of course, nothing new in saying that society does not exist. It has always been recognized that concepts like "society," "structure," and "relationships" are abstractions from an observed reality, that is, behavior. What is suggested here is that such terms are not in fact helpful abstractions; they steer thinking about social behavior into concepts of static order rather than into concepts which reflect social process.

It is usually held that the study of social behavior must begin with an analysis of the "state of the system at a given moment" and then move forward to the "proper goal," which is analysis of the processes of action. But this, in fact, is what cannot be done if the theoretic system in the first place hypostatizes all the potential forces and attributes which might be discovered at a given moment of a society's history if it were frozen into immobility and anatomized.

Any attempted theoretical interpretation of social behavior, furthermore, must be devised in terms other than those of the en-

tities which "common-sense" sociology is concerned with: structures, relationships, groups, community, society. These terms, along with many others, are imported directly from the language of common usage, which is largely a means of communicating information about conduct, our own conduct and others'. They are part of the way in which persons deal with others and, as such, are part of the object of study, not, I suggest, of its apparatus.¹ Since, as I understand it, the way in which persons deal with others always consists in an attempt to control them, then to use the terminology which is involved in that kind of traffic is to surrender any chance of describing it. What is necessary, at the very least, is to take a step analogous to that taken by Freudian psychology, which invented a number of terms to describe the inner situation of individuals, although there had been, and still is, a fully adequate currency of terms used by individuals to describe their own and others' inner situations whenever they needed, *for their own purposes*, to attempt such description. It is hopeless to try to develop an adequate, reasonably objective means of description out of such terms by tidying up their edges or translating them into a jargon; all adults try continually to refine

¹ The criticism of the exploitation of common-usage sociology in theories of social structure is stated more elaborately in Tom Burns, "The Idea of Structure in Sociology," a paper due to appear in *Human Relations*.

common usage terms in much the same way so as to make them fit their need to control their own situations.

Control may be evinced as coercion, regulation, or suggestion, but these are only the more explicit forms of social action or conduct. The essential feature of control is that it limits the possibilities of action for the next agent, whether self or other. The first consequence of this viewpoint is that the agent is involved in a process. No social act is self-starting; when we act, we deal with a situation set up for us by the actions of others and ourselves in the past, and the result is another situation in which we and the others will have to act further. When we act, we aim so to control that future situation that the next actor will be led more easily to act in the way we want.

CONDUCT

By "conduct" I mean the whole range of human action which is experienced by each person in his own behavior and which he perceives as organized in two ways: in the sequences of behavior exhibited by others and, synchronically, in social institutions. These two ways of perceiving conduct also distinguish two aspects of the objects with which much of conduct is concerned: artifacts and symbols. The diachronic perspective of action is here held to be logically prior to the other.

We begin, then, with what people say and do as happening in time. We ordinarily perceive conduct displayed by ourselves and others not as a continuing sequence but in terms of units—acts. It is this perceptual discrimination of units, indeed, which permits us to organize conduct in synchronic terms as well as diachronic and to "place" action, when it is social, according to its institutional character. An act, in common usage and for the purposes of the present analysis, may be at the lowest limit of observable movement (e.g., a nuance of accent, a "barely perceptible" smile) or may consist of a considerable complex of activities, comprising within itself multitudes of acts of

lesser magnitude and a number of persons (e.g., a theatrical performance), just as an "article"—a desk—may comprise a number of constituent "articles," from legs, drawers, etc., down to primordial physical particles, according to the level of organization relevant to a particular occasion of perceiving the table. For our purposes, acts of whatever scale are identical in formal character.

SOCIAL ACTS

We have, in discriminating acts from action, deserted the undeniable "reality" of experience and entered a world of nominal entities. Getting one's hair cut or eating in a restaurant exist as social acts by reason of their bearing on other people's action and vice versa, a bearing which exists only as a "construction" put upon these acts. This construction identifies an act as social in two ways: by its purpose and by its mode.

Both these terms call for explanation, but this will be easier if it is deferred until we come to consider the nature of the first two forms of conduct. For the time being it is enough to regard "mode" as the more familiar "way in which a person defines a situation" and "purpose" as the attempt to control others. A social act, in formal terms, is a change effected by a person in a part of his total situation which is also part of the total situation of another. The purpose of a social act is to transform a relevant sector of the situation of the person in such a way that the same sector becomes the relevant part of the situation in which the other acts. More generally, the purpose is to interpret for the other the situation in which he is to act. The mode is the frame of social reference of the social act, the sector of his situation on which a person acts which he denotes by acting and which he thus interprets for the other. Social action, as it is conceived in the present context, means the attempt to control others' action by interpreting for them the situation and norms according to which they act.

From the point of view of the actor all social action may be assessed in comparative

terms of success and failure; the success of an act is equivalent to the extent to which the action of the next agent is controlled. Thus, although a sector of the situation affected by the action must be common to two or more persons if action is to be social action, success depends on the *extent* to which the situation acted on is common to successive actors. The single act is carried out by a single actor, but the mark of its effectiveness depends on what the next actor's act is. The end of a single act, that is, is not reached until the completion of a "next," and, in some sense, it is never reached.

We are, therefore, concerned not with the perpetuum of conduct itself but with a second order: the "perceived objects" into which the stream of activity is distinguished in our awareness of it. Of these perceived objects, the class of acts to which this analysis refers is social acts. It may be said, however, that another major class of acts—those directed toward controlling the material environment—share many analytical attributes with social acts. Among these is the possibility of distinguishing such acts, according to degree of success or failure, as in the case of social acts.

Success and failure are fundamental to the consideration and analysis of social change. It may be mentioned here, since there will be no opportunity to develop the idea later, that the course of change in the relationship of man to the material environment represented in technical progress derives its motive power from the same general source as social change in general, that is, from the failure to exert sufficient control over the outside world through the medium of substitute modes of action (skills and tools). This shared characteristic of both classes of act underlies the interaction of technical progress and social change.

THE FORMS OF INTERPRETATIVE CONTROL

Social action itself, I have suggested, consists of attempts to control the human environment. These attempts are of various

orders of complexity and sophistication and of varying degrees of obliquity from direct enforcement. For the most part, the social action to be discussed should be understood as relatively uncomplicated ("spontaneous") or free from the employment of routine substitutes for spontaneous action, such as skilled or institutionalized performances. These are dealt with later under the heading "Routine Substitutes."

The differences introduced by control, attempted in direct or indirect ways, serve to distinguish the forms of conduct. The distinctions refer to the shift in balance, so far as analysis is concerned, from efforts devoted mainly to interpreting the situation for another to act in to controlling another's future action in the situation as interpreted. The use of the term "interpretative control" instead of "conduct" is intended to keep in mind this relation between the forms of conduct.

I distinguish four varieties of conduct: the reciprocal, the interplay, the instrumental, and the rhetorical. The first relates more to "defining the situation," with control latent in the successful establishment of the normative span provided for the other. The last relates more to controlling the next action of the other, with the normative span of that next action implicit in the successful establishment of control. The other two lie between these two extreme forms.

RECIPROCAL

The simplest social process I can think of which exhibits all the marks of conduct enumerated is a performance I used to go through with my youngest daughter on the occasions when, aged about one, she was brought down in the evening for her last meal. There was usually an interlude in which we conversed. This was a simple matter. I swayed forward and said "Aah," and she then did the same. The whole thing was accompanied by smiles and generally demonstrated affection and interest. The point is that my act was directed toward evoking a response with precisely the same norma-

tive span from her, and her act was directed toward evoking a response in the same normative span from me. It was, in fact, almost purely reciprocal and may be considered as an archetypal instance of reciprocal conduct. The form at this primary level covers a rather small range of social action—the exchange of greetings, of remarks about the weather, etc.—the purpose of which is to obtain the reaffirmation by the other (or others) of the arena of action and the norms of conduct in it demonstrated by the actor. The function of an act in the reciprocal form may be read as the promotion of consensus, since the form of the act is constituted in order to create an all-round equivalence between the act and its successor. In the instance of myself and my daughter, the act was usually effective in that, when I began, she responded in the same way.

Success in interpretative action has an emotional concomitant which, although not an intrinsic factor in the conceptual structure of interpretative action, is yet an indication of certain elements which are intrinsic. The euphoria which attaches to the effective performance of a social act is quite specific. In the interchange of reciprocal acts between myself and my daughter, the pleasure I derived came from the fact that I instigated her mode of act—that she was employing a mode equivalent to the one I began with. Euphoria derived from the successful instigation of the action of another. But my daughter also clearly derived pleasure from the series of acts—it went on for some time, this business—in that she was, equally, instigating my acts. So euphoria can be derived by more than one actor in a series of acts; what is necessary is that the form of action should be reciprocal.

THE MODE OF THE ACT

In this form the successful performance of the act entails defining the situation for the other in three respects. First, it delimits what, out of his total material environment, he will regard as the setting for action: it “sets the scene” by deciding what the other

will attend to and what he will disregard. In the episode I have cited, the setting for action was myself and the kinds of physical activity my daughter was capable of exploiting. In successfully establishing this setting, it should be noted, a very large range of possibilities and actually perceived objects was treated as utterly irrelevant. Second, my act invoked an array of normative elements: those applicable to the display of affectionate interest in the other. Again, selection is involved, a vast range of normative elements invokable by even a twelve-month-old child being suppressed, and the few invoked by my act being accepted as appropriate. Third, the situation was defined in terms of a communicated expectancy: my act was also a request for a response, as was her responding act. The definition of setting, normative elements, and response in this way we shall call the *mode* of the act; the part of the physical environment, the particular array of normative elements invoked, and the kind of response requested we shall call the normative span, or, using a less clumsy term, the dimension, of the mode.

THE DIMENSION OF THE MODE

We may speak of the “dimension” of the mode, despite the threefold definition of setting, of norms, and of response included in the term, because all three are allied; they are different perspectives of control as realized in the one social act.

The link between act and setting is so much part of ordinary experience that it is a familiar literary convention. In literature, scene is often used to symbolize action or to provide metaphoric resonance; it may also become fused with the diplomatic device of appointing or contriving encounters in places where the total visible inclosure and furniture will “accord with” the intention of the initiating actor. The decayed mansion of *Baby Doll* amplifies the basic tonalities in the conduct of its inhabitants; the elegant apartments of Noel Coward’s comedies activate a precise array of sophisti-

cated responses. What we are concerned with here is the more fundamental compatibility of act and scene. For, although, as Kenneth Burke has been at some pains to point out, the dramatic scenery often reflects the action it contains, there are other relationships. For example, the "scenery" of *Look Back in Anger* is offstage in the depressing stupor of Sunday afternoon in an English provincial town. Also, it only needs Pirandello to start exploiting dramatically the stage convention itself for us to perceive that scene—the "container" of action, as Burke calls it—is really contained by action. And cinema and television cameras are able to represent mechanically the dynamics of social definition of setting by continual expansions and contractions of the physical environment invoked by interaction. Depending on the purpose, the span of physical environment defined as the setting of a particular act can vary from physiological minutiae to the whole cosmos.

The span of regulatory norms invoked in action is subject to the same kind of manipulation in the service of intent or purpose. This proposition is self-evident almost to the point of being tautological. It has some significance in the present context, but this, together with the relationship between definition of norms and definition of response, is perhaps best left to appear from a further exposition of the first two forms of conduct.

So far we have considered no more than very primitive forms of conduct in the reciprocal form. A reciprocal response in precisely the same dimensions of mode as that of the action which initiated it demonstrates absolute control. In most cases, however—in greetings, etc.—the actions of the other over which control is exerted are trivial.

The essential element in the reciprocal form is the alternate instigation of the mode to which conformity in the response is looked for. Following upon conformity, of course, the other may instigate action in another dimension, looking again for a response in that dimension. The reciprocal

form in this case assumes the sequence $a \rightarrow ab \rightarrow bc \rightarrow cd$. But it is characteristic of the form that each successive replacement of a mode requires a narrower dimension. Intimacy develops in the smaller world which is set up for action with each successive shrinkage.

INTERPLAY

It is the instigation of the mode to which the other conforms to which is attached the euphoria of successful control. This was understood explicitly enough among the social groups for which etiquette was written down. In all cases the initiation of the mode was a privilege accorded to higher status or rank. At top etiquette level in Britain, for instance, it is one of the rules of etiquette that, in speaking with members of the royal family, the inferior leaves it to them to originate topics of conversation and never introduces any topic of his own. Also, the sole exception to the rule of a hostess (usually accorded top rank in the company present) shaking hands with all her guests is when the latter are of royal blood, in which case the hostess waits for the royal guest to hold out his or her hand before she extends her own. The matter used to be made even more definite than this. It was expected that a man always wait for acknowledgment on the part of those male acquaintances who were his superiors in age or position. This did not mean that he was to look away from them but that, on the contrary, he had clearly to show by his manner that he was expecting some sign of recognition and was ready to reply to it. This may no longer hold for clubland, but it certainly does for those occasions when an employee meets his superior outside the immediate milieu of work. He must, that is to say, not only await the initiation of the mode of action by his superior but demonstrate his readiness to conform to the mode when it is initiated.

There are two points to be noted here. The purpose of an act is to set the stage for the next actor in such a way that he will

choose to act in the same mode. If, in fact, he does not respond in the same mode but substitutes a new one (i.e., if $a > b$), then the initial act appears to have failed in control.

In the milieus of sociable occasions, which are devices for the promotion of consensus through reciprocal interaction, the mode is usually set by the host. Failure of control would usually mean that the initial mode set by an actor had been replaced by one of wider dimensions (i.e., one applicable to a wider milieu and thus at a lower pitch of intimacy). It might be, however, that the mode was replaced immediately by one of narrower dimensions, denoting more intimacy and a smaller milieu. This would equally denote failure of the first act. Intimacy proper, acknowledged by both sides, can only develop in steps by the reciprocal series $a > ab > bc$. The immediate translation of a mode into one of greater intimacy may be a solecism more serious than translation into a wider, more "distant" mode. In sophisticated groups and small communities the dimension of the mode is defined with great precision.

The discussion has already slipped into treating of acts which are in fact not reciprocal in the sense of the almost neutralized exchange of greetings or the steplike development of intimacy. Whenever the initial mode is rejected and replaced by the respondent, a form of action more complex than the reciprocal form is set up. This is the *interplay* form; it covers a rather wider range of social action, and the modes associated with it are usually more manifold, if not more highly differentiated. The obvious sorts of action include certain economic activities, especially commercial bargaining and market operations, debate, and a large assortment of conduct commonly associated with the direct effort to improve or maintain wealth, power, or status. All activities which can be seen as the attempt to secure a larger share of a finite number of rights and privileges available in a society fall under this heading. Interplay, in short, may

be regarded as conduct appropriate to zero-sum games.

CONTROL

In all forms of interpretative action the purpose is to modify the total situation of the actor in such a way that it is easier than otherwise for others who figure in that situation to act in the same mode, that is, to accept the changed part of the first actor's situation as the section of his own environment relevant to action and to accept the same modal dimension. Thus the purpose of social action is always, in some measure, control.

Whether control is evinced as coercion, manipulation, or regulation, the essential connotation is the limiting of possibilities for action developed in the environment, including others. What is in mind here is equivalent to Whitehead's reflection on the interaction of gross entities ("societies"): "All societies require interplay with their environment; and in the case of living societies [organisms] this interplay takes the form of robbery. The living society may, or may not, be a higher type of organism than the food which it disintegrates. But whether or no it be for the general good, life is robbery."² The mildly Hobbesian tone of writing will not, I hope, obscure the essential sociological as well as biological truth of Whitehead's words. Control in the sense either of "robbery" or of "dominance," to use the term favored by Lloyd Morgan and Sherrington, has a long and respectable history as a central article of biological thinking.

We have already seen that control by one actor does not exclude the possibility of the next actor's also effecting control in his turn. When two people knock a ball backward and forward across the net before a game of tennis, they are engaging in reciprocal action. The mode used to control the other person's act is directed precisely toward enabling him to act so as to enable the first player to act, and so on.

² *Process and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 146.

When the game proper begins, however, the relationship of the factors of mode and control alters. The end of the act, the situation one designs for the opponent to act in, is one which will forbid a reciprocal control. The mode of act employed, therefore, is one which will make for failure in the respondent's attempt to employ a mode resulting in control.

In the interplay form, control, which in other forms is more or less incidental to the enjoyment of the possibilities it gains, is manifest more or less crudely as a specific end, and the mode employed is always one which is clearly the most difficult for the next actor to replace with one which will achieve his purpose of control.

Directly we are removed from the simplest form of action (i.e., reciprocal), complex forms are made possible; that is to say, the same series of acts can appear to display both reciprocal and interplay forms. In games, for example, not every single act is a *coup de grâce*. Very often a series of acts will be necessary before the final disintegration of an opponent's potentialities for control. This involves a series of exchanges which have the appearance of a reciprocal interchange but which are, in fact, in the interplay form. This is one of the ways in which the incompleteness of the single act manifests itself. Description is not possible until its consequences have been played out in subsequent acts. In chess, for example, a series of moves of one player can be so designed as to allow the opponent to make a response in the same mode and thus control to some extent the section of his environment to which the first player must respond, but the control the opponent achieves is increasingly limited until it eventually disintegrates. In this case, the mode is established by the first player, and, since interchange occurs in the same mode, it has the character of reciprocal action. Since, however, over the whole series of exchanges, there is an increase in the control exerted by the first player and an increasing determination of the way in which the opponent can respond, it has an interplay char-

acter too. The archetypal form of this type of mixed action is the game of chess, but it is also manifested in certain forms of debate, bargaining, and social maneuvering.

INSTRUMENTAL

Consideration of this serial form of interplay, which is, as I have said, really an *overlay* of the interplay and reciprocal forms, brings us to a third form for which the most appropriate name I can think of is "instrumental." Acts in this form, and the control which results from them, form a series, but the mode of each act in the series changes in accordance with an ultimate requirement. In the interplay form this ultimate requirement is usually a *coup de grâce*; in the instrumental form it is the production of a utility. We are here using the word in the full sense which is given it in classical economics, that is, any good, article, or service which yields satisfaction. In our society this form relates most clearly to all types of economic production but also applies to a number of other sorts of co-operative and contributive acts.

In this form, even more clearly than in interplay, the mode of each single act is related causally to the ultimate requirement. But very often one actor in a series of instrumental acts may be quite unaware of the end to which his actions have been designed to contribute. This is, for example, often true in factories, where workers may be unaware of the significance their own particular job has in the production system; in certain armament factories, indeed, management insures that individual workers are unacquainted with the end product. This means no more than that social action may have its outcome prescribed by authority and so be subject to the fourth, rhetorical form of interpretative action. In becoming subject also to wider modes, action in this form is particularly susceptible to routinization.

If we start with a view of a factory as a single functioning organism comprising human activities, machines, building, power, and communications, then it may be regard-

ed in action as a system of interpretation. Put at its crudest, the factory receives at one point orders, in the form of letters, telephone messages, scheduled instructions: a communication in language of some sort. From this point, the order goes through a series of mutations; in an engineering plant, for example, it is translated into a design and a specification; the design is translated into a number of orders for parts and materials; at that stage the subsidiary orders are translated into actual bits of material in the stores; other bits of material are translated in the machine shop from crude blocks of material into components; in the assembly room stacks of separate parts are translated into a number of finished articles; and so on, until the final stage of packing and dispatch.

At this level of interpretation no differentiation is made between the operations performed by machines and those performed by workers. In this, of course, the point of view agrees with that of the engineer; there is throughout industry a continual remodeling of manual operations in terms of the machine.

An account of a particular factory may serve to illustrate the significance and the limits of the interpretative series of acts in the instrumental form at a technological level. The example chosen is of a small rayon-spinning plant. Process industries lend themselves easily to treatment in this way, but other, more complex manufacturing procedures differ only in complexity. (And it is now usual to speak of the development of serial operations under automatic control in industry at large as an approximation to process industries.)

The production process proper starts with the intake of raw material into the stores. The principal materials are cellulose, carbon bisulfide, and sulfuric acid. The first stage is the arrangement of the stored cellulose into batches of uniform weight. This is done by operatives with no mechanical aids apart from a weighing machine and a hand trolley. Although this stage can be referred

to as a single interpretative step in the series, it obviously can be broken down into a larger number of detailed movements; the essential point for us is that each separate movement bears an interpretative significance, even to the transport of a batch from the platform of the weighing machine to the place by the end door where its arrival denotes its readiness for the next stage. This involves hand-carting to a vat of caustic solution in which the batch is steeped for a period; at the end of this time the cellulose is pressed between plates by a hydraulic ram, then carted and fed into mechanical kneeders. The shredded cellulose is stored for two or three days in mercerising rooms in order to insure a completely homogeneous moisture content and to prepare for the next chemical process, which is the mixing with carbon bisulfide in mechanical churns. After churning, the product—cellulose xanthate—is dropped through chutes into mixers, in which the compound is dissolved in a solution of caustic soda and mixed by beating. The viscose is stored under vacuum to remove bubbles, filtered, and then stored again in charge tanks.

All stages up to this are preparative. The next stage is central to the whole process: It consists in pumping the viscose through a multiple jet into a bath of sulfuric acid, from which it emerges as solid fibers. These are drawn up over a wheel, twisted to form a thread, and passed down into a spinning pot, in which it is built up into cylindrical cakes. The finishing processes consist of washing the cake with neutralizing solutions and water, drying it in heated lockers, inspecting, and so on to weighing and dispatch.

Nothing could illustrate more neatly the conceptual image of interpretation than the process of chemical change which occurs at several points in the rayon factory; in fact, it gives the concept added precision in that interpretation is revealed as purposive change. But watching the conversion of a static change of viscose into hundreds of hair-fine spurts, the conversion of filaments into thread, and the single line of thread

into a solid cake some pounds in weight, makes it apparent that purposive changes of significance occur in the position, size, shape, speed, and direction of movement of material as well as in its chemical composition and form.

The series of actions directed toward these ends is all of essentially the same character; that is to say, all such action in the factory is engaged in transforming the relevant section of the environment of the agent in some specified way, after which it becomes the relevant part of the environment of another agent, etc. Interpretative action is differentiated by its complexity; some requires more skill or knowledge than others.

All interpretative action has an interpretative content which is directly proportional to the number of possible outcomes of it. At the lowest end of the scale is true repetitive action, in which what is done has only one possible outcome and that involves the restoration of the original environment of the agent; for example, turning a fixed wheel once. True repetitive action (as against the repetitive use of routinized acts in sophisticated conduct) is hardly ever encountered. The interpretative content of action (e.g., the value of the contribution to the total productive process when we are considering the instrumental form) rises with the number of possible outcomes from which the required outcome is selected. Skill, knowledge, and competence are graded according to the number of possible outcomes from which the agent has to select, and interpretative content is related to the number of outcomes from which selection is made. Successful selection, adequate interpretative action in the instrumental form, is action which produces an environment in which the next interpretative action may be carried out with success.

So far we have included in the system no more than certain manual and mechanical efforts and chemical processes. At the technological level there are also a number of actions which are not themselves part of the processes of change, as we have so far noted

them, but are essential to their proper performance. The spinning machine, for example, is automatic, but a number of workers are present renewing broken threads, removing completed cakes, and replacing empty pots, an operation which involves stopping and starting the machine. In the mercerising room, heat and humidity are controlled by thermostatic and other apparatus, which also keeps a record. A group of workers is employed to inspect these and other temperature and humidity records and to report fluctuations outside a certain latitude. In addition, there are certain routine sequences of actions proceeding at regular intervals. For example, the baths of sulfuric acid in the spinning room are sampled every hour. The sample is taken to the laboratory and analyzed. Any fluctuation beyond certain limits is noted, and instructions are delivered to the foreman in charge of the "acid house" to increase or decrease the input of sulfuric acid.

This system involves a number of persons at different points in the factory; insofar as these persons interact with each other, they will not necessarily act in the instrumental form. Commonly, their interaction will take the form of instruction and demonstration, question and answer, etc. Question and answer presents a special case which for the moment may be left aside. The other types of act lie within the fourth and final form of interpretative action, to which may be applied, again in the absence of any more appropriate word which remains without a special technical earmark, the term "rhetorical."

RHETORICAL

The rhetorical form covers all acts whose control purpose relates to the experiential sector of the social situation of the next actor; that is, it relates to the communication of information or experience. Teaching, commanding, the socialization of art through exhibition, publication, and performance, demonstration, entertainment, and so forth are comprehended within this form. The

purpose of the interpretative act when it is in the rhetorical form is to insert a new element into the situation of an audience so that it will act in accordance with the mode designated by the actor.

In the factory the rhetorical form is directed to the establishment of explicit modes of action by the respondent actors. The job of the "efficiency man" in the spinning room is to approximate the process of transforming raw viscose into yarn as closely as possible to complete effectiveness. The other control operations mentioned have the purpose of keeping the processing changes and the conditions affecting those changes within a range of limits and close to a series of constants. There is, in fact, a collection of permitted tolerances bound together and referred to as "Limits and Constants" which is in the hands of every head of department. Most of the skilled work in the factory and a good deal of the work of foremen and heads of departments is the control of processes so that they act according to the modal dimensions made explicit in this way.

Systematic control of this order can be regarded as a series of circuits. Some are extremely short and entirely mechanical, as when a deviation from a specific temperature is corrected by a thermostat acting on the supply of steam; some can be short and operated by a single worker, as when a clogged jet is replaced and the thread taken up and guided along its path into the spinning pot; some can be fairly complicated and involve a number of men and operations, as in the case of the routine laboratory tests.

The control of the productive process does not stop at the level of routine. We described the patterns of control as circuits. Outside the simplest one-man and routine controls, these circuits are complicated and non-routine, or at least partly so. The observations and records on which this higher control depends are carried out and collected in a routine manner, but the action resulting from their interpretation is not routine. Control of this order is usually

called "executive"; it involves the heads of departments and the top management severally and collectively.

Technological control procedures at the "executive" level are necessarily complex, and this is not the place to give a detailed survey of them. In the rayon factory the most elaborate of these procedures are those which relate the production process to sales requirements. At the outset of this description the receipt of orders was placed at the beginning of the whole production process as the logical precedent to it. So it is, but, since the whole production process takes anywhere up to eight or nine days, contingencies are continually arising which make it necessary, first, to alter the production process and consequently the amount or nature of the product and, second, to restore production to the norm from which it departed. For example, the length of time viscose stays in storage before spinning affects its quality. Other conditions also affect quality but are linked to the period of storage. Tests of quality are continually made; and, if the storage period seems likely to become excessive, the usage of viscose is speeded up by thickening the denier of yarn (i.e., the weight per yard); this means that heavier deniers than those ordered by the sales department are produced for a time, and adjustments have to be made either in the spinning room later, in the earlier parts of the process, or to sales action itself. Most of the works manager's time is spent in reconciling actual production with maximum potential and with required production—three variables each of which is recorded elaborately in logs, production forecasts and weekly programs, and reconciliation charts.

At the technological level the factory may be regarded as a functioning organism with all action occurring in the instrumental form and rhetorical form and directed to the maintenance of modes essential to that functioning. The outcome of action is quite explicit: it is the production of a certain range of articles in amounts, design, specification, and quality demanded of the factory by

outside society and within certain limits of time and cost.

Managerial conduct in this variety of settings is directed toward altering the normative span of other conduct by machines and operatives in such a way that action in it conforms to the purpose of the first actor.

AUTHORITY AND THE ORGANIZED CONTEXT OF ACTION

The rhetorical form in the instances we have so far considered applies to social action which is commonly regarded as occurring within the context of authority. By this is meant that, in order for one person to control another in this way, there must be either some coercive power which may be invoked by the controller or a surrender of control over his own action by the controlled. In the last resort, of course, these are not true alternatives, since coercion is directed toward the surrender of control by others. In most situations such surrender is made either as part of an exchange of benefits or as the outcome of interaction in the form of interplay. The control exercised by a manager is effective because others—subordinates or equals—have given their assent to having their action so controlled.

Assent in authority is always relevant to action in these kinds of situations. Put the other way, authority is said to be legitimate, or sanctioned, when a specific set of circumstances obtain. These circumstances relate not to the "setting" itself or to the mode as we have explained it earlier but to the context of the mode. In describing what was meant by setting, it was pointed out that defining the setting involved excluding a fraction—almost always a very large fraction—of the possibilities for action provided by the physical environment and the range of actions of which the parties are physically capable. There always remain possible other actions which invoke a wider mode and which define a larger fraction of the physical environment as the setting. It is this, after all, which permits the development of conduct along interplay lines.

Acts in the instrumental form have a context prescribed for them beyond that of their own setting and mode. This context is the interpretative series of which they form part. All other acts in the series, before and after, are directed toward control of the next. It was said earlier that the success or failure of an act was not decided until the completion of the next and, in some sense, was never decided. Ordinarily, in other forms, we may put an arbitrary term to the succession of acts. But this condition of conduct obtains with particular force in the instrumental form, for, in any complex series, the possibility of an single actor's knowing completely and directly the eventual success of his own act is remote. It is therefore necessary to arrange for reports of the eventual outcome of the series to which he contributed to reach him so that he may adjust his conduct, if necessary, to insure greater success. This reporting takes place in the rhetorical form, being an attempt to alter the mode of another's action, so that he extends, suppresses, or rearranges the elements which make up setting, normative span, and purpose. Often "reporting" takes the form of instructions. In any case the dimension of the mode employed by the "reporter" himself embraces a much wider setting and normative span than the respondent's act. If control in the rhetorical form is to be effective, the wider mode of the initiator's act must be acknowledged by the respondent as an effective extension—container—of his own mode, in the same way as obtained for control established in the interplay form. This acknowledgment constitutes assent in authority.

It will be apparent that the only kind of authority involved here is the "natural authority" of political theorists. Other kinds of dominance of one person by another, requiring the invocation of superior physical force or threats, superiority in argument, or in acquaintance with institutional forms, belong to action in the form of interplay. Just as interplay control may become routinized—as is often the case between parents or

teachers and children—so control through the rhetorical form may become locked in institutionalized behavior. Insofar as it does, however, it becomes incidental to other interpretative series, which may be in other forms of conduct. Rhetorical control and the modes used in it are in frequent danger of decaying into interplay, as any teacher or supervisor knows. In a large number of situations in working organizations, the two forms are observably in a kind of dynamic balance, one against the other. An observation from the spinning room of the rayon plant may illustrate this.

It takes a certain length of time for a cake of yarn to build up in the spinning pot. The periods vary, but, if one wants to produce cakes of yarn fairly uniform in weight, the length of time one set of cakes is running should not differ too much from the length of time other sets of the same denier are running. Starting and stopping times are therefore carefully programed, but ten minutes are allowed for contingencies. Factory regulations forbid men to spend more than two hours consecutively in the spinning room; there must then be a ten-minute break spent outside in the open. Starting and stopping is done normally by gangs working along the banks of machines. It was, so far as I could see, consistent practice to stop nearly ten minutes earlier than the program time before the break and to start nearly ten minutes later; the morning or afternoon break could then extend to roughly half an hour. To achieve this, the productive process was served and served effectively.

The situation clearly involves two series of interpretative acts. One is the technological series with its own system of controls; the other relates to the same actions but with a separate purpose over and above the purely technological controls.

This second purpose, although operating through the productive process, is related to a quite different action series. In this new light the actions of controlling the productive process take on the character almost of true repetitive action; the actions tend to

reconstitute the relevant sector of the environment of the agent: what is altered is the time. So that the interpretative content of this system of action is related to a quite different range of outcomes, that is, the length of break and what can be done in the break.³

ROUTINE SUBSTITUTES

Action in one interpretative series may become a repetitive routine and as such form part of the setting of acts in another series. Routine is usually thought of as "blind." Its control purpose is either taken for granted or lost sight of; so long as it remains routine, it is impossible to say which construction is appropriate or, indeed, whether the assumed control purpose is still being fulfilled or not. The important point, however, is that routines occur as part of the setting of other interpretative acts. By routine, we mean repetitive action; it resembles the cycling performances of machinery. So far as the actor's conduct is concerned, routine action in the instrumental mode becomes for him no more than a process of remaking the setting in which he acts and which therefore calls for a repetition of that act. This series of acts, thus formally stabilized, becomes itself part of the neutral external setting for interpretative action. Routines may thus be perceived as substitutes for interpretative action in the full sense and as substitutes for major sectors of the actor's setting which would otherwise need invoking. All work is largely routine; that is, it is directed toward reconstituting part of the setting which is necessary for the actor in his endeavor to control more and more fully his total environment. Part of this endeavor, of course, may be directed toward enlarging the part of his setting which can be replaced by routines in this way: the wider and more complex the mode, the less easy it is to routinize,

³ It will be remembered that there is an intrinsic relationship between the individual act and its successor beyond the scoring of its relative success or failure; it is not fully identifiable or describable until the next act which it attempts to "control" is in process.

however, and many work routines reconstitute the setting of the actor only after a long cycle of action.⁴

Work routines are one of four kinds of routine substitute. The others are social relationships, roles, and symbols. In all four cases we note, in speaking of them as routine substitutes, two functions. First, in employing them, an actor is reconstituting the part of his setting for which they are the invoking acts, in order to act within a setting of much greater dimensions but directly relevant to his own purposes of control.⁵ Second, routine substitutes are economies; they relieve actors of the need always to relate action to a mode, in all its dimensions of setting, normative span, and intention or purpose, in order to achieve effective conduct. Symbols and symbolic behavior are routine substitutes for action fully demonstrating the mode invoked. They provide respondents with shorthand expressions of the range of normative elements implied in action. We do, in fact, perpetually extend the modal reference of our behavior by the use of symbols (clothing, accessories, furniture, decoration, space, words, etc.) and signs (gestures, elliptical or esoteric utterances, histrionic performances of well-publicized roles, and "telltale" inflections of behavior), so much so that there has been a tendency to make an absolute distinction between this kind of behavior and the business of living by calling it "expressive," and the latter "instrumental."

⁴ This fact forms the basis of Jacques's attempt to relate status and earnings in work to the time span of independent decision (Elliott Jacques, *The Measurement of Responsibility* [London: Tavistock Press, 1956]).

⁵ This seems to me to provide one possible answer to the view, in Freudian social philosophy (lately reformulated by Riesman with a fresh terminology and frame of reference), of conduct in modern society as characterized increasingly by alienation ("other-directedness"). While routine, in the sense used here, is increasingly prevalent, it is yet not clear whether it constitutes evidence of a new "personality factor" or of a synthesizing trend which enables individuals to act in regard to wider and wider modes.

In his day-to-day behavior an individual will tend to adopt the same or a very similar mode for a number of actions which he performs in a range of social situations; again, the purpose is economy of effort and action directed to a purpose transcending the routine. When a mode becomes routinized in this way, we recognize it as a role. In fact, a great number of the modes used are routinized into roles.

It is through the use of routine substitutes that stability enters into social life. It does so because such routines are essential economies of effort for people attempting to create ever better terms for themselves to live on out of their physical and social environment. Without such economies, highly organized society would be impossible. But, as enduring elements in the manifold situations of ordinary living, they are constantly in danger of being employed improperly, of representing a mode inadequate or inappropriate for the degree of control attempted. When this occurs, control fails, and the routine substitute is seen for what it is: a skill becomes out of date, authority is treated as unsanctioned, the *Gesellschaft*-type action as inhuman, the role as a bluff or a falsification, the symbol as empty.

THE SITUATIONAL INTERROGATIVE

Success is measured by the extent to which control is demonstrated by the next act—that performed by the responding actor. Success carries with it euphoria; failure, correspondingly, produces dysphoria.

The question arises of how it is possible for feelings of pleasure to be connected with acting in conformity with a mode initiated by another. That euphoria does result in such instances is well known, and it occurs in all the four forms of the act enumerated in this paper. One can, for example, get a good deal of pleasure out of playing, and being beaten by, a better tennis player or a better chess player. The consumer gets pleasure out of the consumption of the utilities which result from instrumental action. The audience can derive pleasure from the

performance of a play or of music. The member of an institution or association can derive pleasure from the mere fact of his obtaining membership. Such pleasure is as much social as the pleasure resulting from the sort of control already discussed. How can it be related to the exercise of control through interpretative action?

In dealing with the rhetorical form of action, the particular construction of question and answer was left for later consideration. This is where question and answer come in. A student taking an examination is aware that he is trying to carry out an act of interpretation which will control the further action of the examiner in the way that he—the examinee—wishes. Success or failure will depend on the mode he selects and the skill with which he performs in that mode. But the examiner has set down the conditions to which that act of interpretation must conform, well or badly. The examiner, therefore, exercises control merely by posing a question and thus implying directly and indirectly a considerable array of conditions. Such questions may be, and often are, tacit. The presence of an audience in a theater, of a public at an exhibition, of readers of a book, is the tacit expression of expectancy, of a demand; and that expression implies a whole array of conditions that the actor, the painter, the writer, sets himself to fulfil. Tacit interrogation is also present in the third form, of instrumental action, in which acts are directed toward the ultimate production of a utility; in relation to action which is specifically economic, tacit interrogation is called "consumer demand."

Interrogative control is also present in interplay more frequently than we should immediately suspect. In the case of the etiquette character cited earlier there is discernible an element of demand, and, therefore, of control, in the sense of imposing the conditions for action of some sort, in the demonstration "by his manner that he is expecting some sign of recognition and is ready to reply to it." Pleasure can be derived from receiving even the slightest sign of rec-

ognition from a person of higher status, the pleasure deriving from the acceptance, by a gesture or word, of the demand; the conditions for action are in such a case implicit in the mere presence of the person of lower status.

SOCIAL CHANGE

Reverting to the single act, we can now see it as a point not of departure but in a time series. It is a response to what we have called tacit or explicit interrogatory control, and it is an attempt to control the future social action of others. With respect to the first, its success is measured by the extent to which the mode conforms with conditions laid down and, with respect to the second, to the extent to which it gains conformity from the next actor.

One consequence of the view I have tried to expound is that it becomes necessary to explain our common-sense experience of stability in conduct, and in institutional derivatives, as well as to account for social change, again as it is commonly understood. Both kinds of experience have to do with routine substitutes.

The development of routines in conduct produces economies of effort which enable individuals to act according to modes of far wider dimensions than would be possible if all action were spontaneous. Learning work routines or skills enables an operative to treat his working actions as cyclical performances which are themselves encapsulated in a more extensively organized mode; they are included with other elements of the physical and social setting of the job to serve as the normative span for action which may be directed to control of another, or of others (e.g., in endless interplay conflict with management), or in the development of reciprocal or interplay sociabilities with other workers, in instrumental sequences designed to improve earnings, or to gain other benefits. Routine substitutes, in terms of the analysis of conduct, are always fractional activities, parts of a wider dimension of the mode of action in another interpretative sys-

tem. They are therefore also the means whereby wide syntheses of setting and normative elements may be achieved and more extensive control established over his social environment by the individual. A similar function to that of work routines and skills is performed by cliché pronouncements, roles, social relationships, and institutions.

It was earlier suggested that, in terms of the higher syntheses of action, routine substitutes serve to replicate their part of the setting through a mechanical cycle of action. What we recognize as social change occurs through the actual failure of routine substitutes to replicate the parts of an individual's setting to which they refer. When this happens, it was said, the routine substitute is seen for what it is. Action has to revert to spontaneity, and the dimensions of the mode decided afresh according to the specific control purpose of the act for which the routine had been substituted and according to the actual setting and normative span.

This generalization is most obviously applicable to technology in modern Western society. Technical development relates to the successive replacements of routine substitutes which have failed, or look like failing, to effect control in the prosecution of the endless interplay conduct of commercial enterprises or of sovereign nations. The phase of reversion to spontaneous levels of conduct occurs in research activities directed toward the design of new and better routine substitutes arrived at from interpretative series of actions in instrumental and rhetorical forms. These series, at spontaneous level, are carried out in the social milieus of technology, which, as has been pointed out in the recent literature, are systems of communication. Scientific progress may be regarded as a perpetual interaction, in the

interplay form, between the individual scientist and others, the others often being present only in the form of accepted texts of theories and reported observations. In what is commonly called "social life," one may also observe failure of control and the breakdown of routine substitutes in, say, the interaction of persons of different color and the consequent reversions to more spontaneous action in the United States, South Africa, North Africa, Indonesia, and elsewhere. The routine substitutes which have served as roles within the family have also undergone disintegrative-reintegrative changes as they have broken down in the service of sophisticated action directed toward the control of others, whether parents, children, spouse, or siblings.

The position we reach, therefore, is that change is the normal condition of social action, in its primal condition of spontaneity, since all conduct must to some extent fall short of its attempt at perfect control of others. Stability occurs because more enduring or more effective control is possible only through the further organization of modes of action by routine. Action at this higher level may also fail, however. When it does so because of the inadequacy of routine substitutes to effect control in their own sphere, the failure obliges reversion to spontaneous action in the mode previously occupied by routines. This disrupts the higher organization of action achieved through the routines. A new higher organization *may* thereafter be rebuilt out of new routine substitutes.

Social stability and social change, therefore, are concomitants of the creation and failure of routine substitutes for spontaneous conduct.

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THE URBAN-RURAL DICHOTOMY: CONCEPTS AND USES¹

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ABSTRACT

The demographic distinction between urban and rural in terms of residential population has limited value. With increased local mobility, social and economic space no longer coincides with residence. For economic purposes employment is the relevant criterion. Concentrations of employment are urban places. Types of employment determine the character of settlements, and the amount of nucleated employment measures their economic size. No such simple index exists for sociocultural purposes. Two criteria are examined; the folk-urban continuum is rejected, and the social network map is found valuable as a structural framework, whose content must be adapted to the particular cultural milieu.

✓ The distinction between urban and rural populations is entrenched in most census reports and in many and varied demographic series. Vital statistics and economic and sociological data in great profusion have been compiled which distinguish between urban and rural components. The urban-rural dichotomy is often used as a crude yardstick for international socioeconomic comparisons and as a rough measure of the socioeconomic evolution of each country. All these series assume that the distinction between urban and rural population is relevant and significant for the social sciences. This assumption is not questioned. But the further assumption that the proper criterion of "urban" and "rural" is the size of the community measured in terms of resident population is less sound and will be further considered.

ECONOMIC CONCEPTS

✓ The definition of urban localities in terms of the size of the residential nucleation alone sufficed in the past, so far as the cities and larger towns were concerned. The census criterion of place of residence coincided fairly well with the significant economic criterion of locus of employment; and the number of residents served as a fair index to the occupational structure of the labor force, the structure of income-yielding assets, and the institutional organization of economic activity.

The coincidence of community size and

¹ The writer has benefited on many points from discussions with Walter P. Hollman.

economic structure ended with industrialization and the development of cheap means of long-distance transport. A large proportion of the labor force in any city or sizable town can still be allocated closely by industry and occupation on the basis of town size, with adjustments for per capita income and for population outside the town but within its trade area. This is the passive or residentiary component of trade, services, and industry.² But an important portion of the economic activity in most cities is now based on distant markets and therefore is not a function of the size of the town in which it is located. On the contrary, such autonomous economic activity may itself be a major determinant of the size of the town.

The revolution in local transport came later than the railroad and steamship revolutions. Relatively undeveloped countries, long ago connected by steamship or rail line to the advanced industrial nations, to this day lack the basic conditions for rapid mass transport on a local basis. In them,

² The "residiary" component is estimated by Florence to be one-third of industrial employment in Great Britain. The term "residiary" refers to the sixteen areas in which Britain is divided for production census purposes. The "passive" component estimated by Vining for the United States amounts to 70 per cent but refers to intrastate markets (see Philip Sargant Florence and A. J. Wensley, "Recent Industrial Concentration, Especially in the Midlands," *Review of Economic Studies*, VII [1939-40], 139-58; and Rutledge Vining, "Location of Industry and Regional Patterns of Business Cycle Behavior," *Econometrica*, XIV [1946], 37-68).

place of residence and place of employment may still coincide. But in advanced countries employment is much more nucleated than residence; the two areas often fail to overlap. Urban population statistics therefore generally underestimate urban population defined in terms of urban location of employment or urban occupational categories (including dependents with the total economically active population).

The foregoing remarks must be limited to sizable towns and cities. For small towns it cannot be assumed that the functions of residents are urban or that the locus of their employment is in the urban area. The methodological problem is not an overlapping of urban and rural economic spaces at the town border or the "impacted" farm in the midst of suburban residential areas. The farm worker may live in the very heart of the small town. Division of residential space is not an adequate breakdown by economic function.

Spatial boundaries prove inadequate in some cases even for large cities. Several cities of co-ordinate status and similar size may be so close together that they draw extensively on each other's labor supply. When the various cities do not coalesce but form a discontinuous conurbation inclosing large areas of agricultural land and important elements of rural population, in effect urban and rural space coexist, the former being superimposed on the latter, with varying degrees of enmeshment. Adding to the complication of space which is both part of an urban labor market and agricultural in use is the double-duty labor force, with many individuals both urban and rural in employment.³

Local density of resident population is not a reliable measure of urban function. Areas of very intensive agricultural cultivation in the Far East and possibly in the Netherlands have population densities equal to those of many small towns in the United States. Furthermore, there are areas which

in terms of function are clearly urban, such as industrial concentrations, ports, railroad freight yards, warehousing facilities, air bases, and which, in terms of density of resident population, may resemble deserts more closely than town residential districts. The great diversity of settlement types is a source of considerable conflict between the demographic and the economic conceptions of urban areas.

In a densely populated agricultural country with nucleated agricultural settlement, an increase in agricultural population may appear statistically as a rise in the urban population and in the urban-rural ratio. This may happen if the growth of agricultural population living in farm settlements with a population in excess of the arbitrary minimum required for urban classification is a greater percentage of total growth than urban population is a percentage of total population. It may happen even without growth in these statistical towns, provided that a sufficient number of agricultural settlements become large enough to be transferred from a rural to an urban classification. The lower the urban-rural ratio, the more likely is an anomaly of this kind to occur. Conversely, suburbanization without any town-country movement in terms of function or place of employment (or even accompanied by a movement of population from farms to suburbs) may show up as a fall in the urban share of total population.

Just as there are statistical towns which serve only as residences for farm families, so there are many settlements too small to be listed as towns which are mainly urban in function and which are centers of urban employment for their residents and for residents of the surrounding area.⁴ (This is particularly true in advanced countries with low rural population density.) Increases in their population add to the total rural pop-

³ Robert E. Dickinson, "The Geography of Commuting: The Netherlands and Belgium," *Geographical Review*, XLVII (1957), 521-38.

⁴ See, for instance, V. H. Whitney, "Economic Differences among Rural Centers," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 50 ff.; and J. A. Kolb, *Interdependence in Town and Country Relations in Rural Society* (University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bull. 172 [December, 1950]).

ulation and may reduce the urban-rural ratio, even though such increases may be the result of migration from nearby farms, with an accompanying shift from agricultural to commercial or industrial activity.

In assessing the urban-rural ratio as a measure of economic function, some consideration should be given to household industry. The peasant household is a beehive of manufacturing activity. Much time is spent in work unrelated to agriculture. The farmer, on the other hand, is a specialist, concentrating largely on a single crop, dependent on a market for his output, and relying on outside sources of supply for most of his consumer goods and his capital equipment. The extent to which small towns provide their own food requirements varies greatly, and, on the whole, inversely with income and stage of economic development. The urban-rural ratio therefore exaggerates the differences between advanced and backward countries in the functional distribution of their labor forces and in agricultural labor productivity.

(The functional distinction between urban and rural areas is the distinction between spatially extensive industries and occupations, mainly agriculture, and spatially intensive industries and occupations. The dividing line is subject to change, although the boundary area between intensive and extensive land uses seems relatively uncrowded because of large technological and cultural discontinuities. The day may not be far off when some agricultural specialties will become so space-intensive that in function and even in location they may properly be regarded as urban.⁵)

The functions of small settlements have altered considerably in recent decades. Improved local transportation and better opportunities to use it have raised considerably the minimum size of the organization and of the town required to perform many trading, service, and manufacturing functions. The market town of the late Middle Ages remains often today only as an aggregation of houses.⁶ Function and size are not therefore interchangeable criteria; the

relation changes significantly over time and varies greatly between nations.

It is suggested that, for economic analysis, urban functions—and not the number of residents—serve to identify an urban settlement and that total urban employment serves to measure its economic size, with the structure of functions and occupations as an indication of qualitative differences between towns as economic entities. This is not a new suggestion. The pattern of employment has been used in numerous studies as a yardstick for measuring and differentiating towns by function.⁷ It is proposed that the use of the employment pattern be extended to distinguish between urban and rural functions. Total employment in urban functions is an insufficient criterion for defining urban settlements if their size is defined in terms of resident population. A minimum percentage of the resident population must be engaged in urban functions to give the settlement a mainly urban character.⁸ Arbitrary decisions must still be

⁵ See J. H. Thompson, "Urban Agriculture in Southern Japan," *Economic Geography*, XXXIII (1957), 224–37. The growing of flowers in hothouses may be mentioned as an example of urban agriculture.

⁶ Raistrick; in a study of villages in the Yorkshire Dales based on the poll-tax returns of 1379, finds three functional types: rural, artisan, and market villages. Typical market and artisan villages are of the same order of magnitude as the rural villages. On the basis of their labor force, they must have been very small—less than two hundred inhabitants (A. Raistrick, "Fourteenth Century Regional Survey," *Sociological Review*, XXI [1929], 241–49).

⁷ E.g., W. F. Ogburn, *Social Characteristics of Cities* (Chicago: International City Managers Association, 1937), chap. ix; Robert E. Dickinson, "The Distribution and Functions of the Smaller Urban Settlements of East Anglia," *Geography*, XVII (1932), 19–31; A. E. Smailes, "The Urban Hierarchy in England and Wales," *Geography*, XXIX (1944), 41–51.

⁸ Lewis W. Jones ("The Hinterland Reconsidered," *American Sociological Review*, XX [1955], 40–44) uses the criteria of a population density of one hundred inhabitants per square mile and two-thirds of employment in agriculture and extractive industries as the dividing line between urban and rural hinterlands in Alabama. Raistrick (*op. cit.*) found that in fourteenth-century England agricul-

made, e.g., on the minimum-sized labor force identifying an employment center as urban and on the proportion of residents engaged in urban functions. But at least decisions are made on relevant criteria. Since the proportion of residents working in an urban settlement declines toward the urban periphery, it is possible to draw the urban border in the zone where the resident labor force is attracted in equal numbers inward, to employment in the urban settlement, and outward, to employment elsewhere. If employment elsewhere is mainly in agriculture, the borders separate urban and rural space; if mainly in other urban centers, then the border is between adjacent urban settlements.

The trade- and service-area concept is not suitable for defining urban settlements or for rating them along a size scale. It covers only a part of the functions and of the employment of an urban area. The trade and service principle is spatially vaguer than employment. Many concentric trade and service areas varying greatly in radius can be distinguished either in terms of types of goods and services (convenience and shopping goods, for instance) or in terms of kinds of people (by customer income groups). Each customer has a number of different shopping radii and two points of origin: place of residence and place of employment. The trade area may be hollow or discontinuous where farm and village populations live on a local subsistence basis, whereas the larger towns imbedded in the countryside some distance apart are closely interconnected by mutual exchanges.

Employment, on the other hand, is a comprehensive measure of all urban economic functions. It is, furthermore, highly nucleated, so that the nearest centers of employ-

ment are spatially disjunct. For some purposes the addition of those deriving their livelihood from sources other than their own labor, and of all dependents, may provide a better measure.

SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

The sociologist is also dissatisfied with demographic concepts of urbanism, including the size criterion of resident population and the area limit of resident population density. He finds numbers alone a poor index for his needs. But the data most relevant to the economist do not suit him: urban economic function as the hallmark of an urban settlement and total employment as the measure of its size.

The isolated farm homestead in the Middle West, perhaps a mile from the nearest similar homestead, may seem at first sight to be the epitome of rural isolation. But it is far more a part of urban society in outlook, in contact, and in background and behavior than a household in an eastern European peasant village. The obverse is common enough: large towns in underdeveloped countries, most of whose population, in all sociocultural respects, is scarcely distinguishable from backwoods villagers and, in no respect, comparable to the city man as we know him. There are even cases of peasant villages emigrating en masse and settling down as a unit in Manhattan, preserving their sociocultural characteristics for a generation. Examples of this kind are clearly transitional cases of adjustment lag. The same is true, although less clearly so, of the peasant populations of Sofia or Saigon.

A definition which calls a large peasant settlement "urban" and a small mining town or a midwestern wheat farmer "rural" is clearly inappropriate for sociology. In general, urban outlook and urban settlement are highly correlated within an otherwise homogeneous environment. But in comparing different societies it is unwise to expect an invariant relation between settlement size and urban character. The logical sequence from settlement size to societal

tural workers outnumbered craftsmen and traders by less than two to one in a typical market village and hardly at all in artisan villages. Dickinson (*op. cit.*, p. 22) suggests two criteria for urban status in East Anglia for 1831: a minimum of one hundred males engaged in retail trade, handicrafts, and commerce and one-third of total workers engaged in non-agricultural pursuits.

structure is not a causal one. To the extent that a causal relation obtains, historically larger settlement size seems to have been the result of the prior development of urban functions, institutions, and outlook.

Significant changes in the structure and functioning of a population aggregate begin for the sociologist with the transition from the single farmstead to the hamlet. The relevant change is from a kinship group to a larger and looser social group; the change from dispersed to nucleated residence patterns is incidental. In the case of the mid-western farmer, residential isolation does not restrict daily society to the kin group. Long before the statistical town size is attained, the hamlet itself changes its nature, as a micro-society, from a basically unstructured face-to-face grouping into a larger village divided into neighborhoods, with significant gradations in social distance and even a few strangers. The size of the small settlement is certainly less important for its participation in urban life and outlook than its location relative to large towns and cities.

The infinite variety of culture does not lend itself to easy classification in clear-cut types. It can be ordered into a limited number of species only schematically. For the urban-rural dichotomy we may substitute, as a first approximation to a sociocultural taxonomy, the folk-urban continuum.⁹ The device is not particularly satisfactory, for it does not describe a continuum after all but, at most, a spectrum; the number of different kinds of society is limited and the variations discrete rather than continuous.¹⁰

⁹ The classic exposition is to be found in the works of Robert Redfield, particularly his "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (1947), 293-308. The scope of the terms varies. One meaning is folk-primitive and urban-secular, denoting a polarity. The term "folk-urban" has more often been used in a second meaning, representing a dichotomy of the sociocultural continuum. The first meaning has the advantage of being a compromise between warring typologies (viz. Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Societies," *Social Forces*, XXVIII [1950], 361-76) and of meeting many of the criticisms aimed at the second and broader interpretation as an all-inclusive dichotomy.

In fact, almost every society under observation is in transition. The urban-secular societies are intrinsically dynamic. All other societies are experiencing the impact of urban-industrial civilization and, in consequence, are mixed rather than pure ideal types.

One limitation of the folk-urban spectrum as a sociocultural yardstick is its local applicability. In any region it is unlikely that more than a small segment of this spectrum will be adequately represented. In the United States even the isolated midwestern farmhouse is a modified urban environment. In many other countries the reverse is true; even the larger cities are peopled with members of a folk society only little modified by the urban environment.¹¹ The length of our yardstick is likely to prove excessive and the units too large.

Another and more serious limitation is dimensional. The folk-primitive culture and the urban-secular culture are qualitatively different; they are not extremes along a quantitative dimension, nor are they the only distinct species of society. A feudal society ideal type has been described which shares many traits with each but which is definitely not primitive or urban or secular.¹² It is not a transitional form, nor yet perhaps a necessary intermediate one; it is stable and enduring. These three species—folk, feudal, and urban—may not exhaust the range

¹⁰ The clustering of characteristics into a limited number of discrete and discontinuous culture types is compatible with, and even requires, the existence of a number of intermediate stages, as we may learn from the study of biological species. Such stages are transitional and generally unstable; a constructed typology is properly limited to systems which are stable (at least while in isolation).

¹¹ William Bascom, "Urbanization among the Yoruba," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (1955), 446-54; Oscar Lewis, "Urbanization without Breakdown," *Scientific Monthly*, LXXV (1952), 31-41.

¹² Gideon Sjoberg, "Folk and 'Feudal' Societies," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1952), 231-39; Rushton Coulborn (ed.), *Feudalism in History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), "Conclusion," pp. 364-95. Many of the examples of societies which do not fit the folk-urban dichotomy and which have been used as objections to it fall neatly into the feudal category.

of reality. It is not possible to distinguish three or more types of society in terms of characteristics in which the types are opposed, as it is possible with folk-primitive and urban-secular cultures alone. The folk-urban spectrum is better suited for cross-cultural comparisons, necessarily qualitative, than for intracultural discrimination.

Within the area of dominance of a particular culture type there remain cultural differences statistically measurable and of considerable sociological significance. These, by and large, are correlated with town size and, in the countryside, with settlement types. Only within a given culture type are quantitative comparisons possible; they can measure internal gradations. The isolated midwestern household is less urban than a metropolitan household; but it is not in any degree a feudal or peasant household; certainly, it is not part of a folk or primitive society. Quantitative comparisons between cultures, on the other hand, are not measures; they serve only as cross-cultural homologies.

Gradations in one culture cannot very well be measured by yardsticks and units appropriate for another culture. From the long vistas of social anthropology, all feudal cultures are alike; folk-primitive societies, too, are identical in general features, although infinitely varied in particulars. The same will undoubtedly be said of all urban-industrial cultures. But, from the more restricted viewpoint of recorded history, various feudal cultures and various urban cultures exhibit pronounced differences. It may be appropriate, therefore, in making sociocultural discriminations within a culture, to consider historical typologies of culture, of which the most elaborated is to be found in Spengler's *Decline of the West*, or even the more restricted studies of "national character," as sources of appropriate yardsticks. In spite of their impressionistic approach, they offer a wealth of testable propositions, some of which may provide suitable intracultural scales.

An entirely different approach to sociocultural classification is the social network map,

which shows the location of specified types of sociocultural contacts and the routes traveled from place of residence to place of contact. Such a map facilitates the exact measurement of the spatial concentration of various types of social activity, the definition of the areas from which these activities draw participants, and the discovery of the pattern of spatial interaction of residents in any given area.¹³

A network map of a settlement should tell us, first, the types of activities in which the settlement is self-sustaining and self-contained and the types for which it relies on other settlements. Second, the map should tell us in which activities the settlement is a unit and in which a plurality and permit us to identify smaller, unitary groups within the settlement, whether or not they are spatially disjunct. Further, the network map should tell us of the degree of social and cultural integration of town and country.

The urbanization of any population group may be partially expressed for any social dimension in terms of the percentage of contacts made in urban settlements. An index of urbanization for a representative spectrum of such dimensions should take into account not only the percentage of contacts in urban areas but the number of contacts itself, which may be an equally significant variable. It may be possible, by studying many networks in diverse regions, to arrive at numerical equivalents of sociocultural gradations in terms of settlement size. The critical sizes, if any, will be approximately the same only in a given region. The determinants of such a region are many but must certainly include objective indexes such as rural population density, specialization and commercialization of agriculture, per capita farm income, nature of land-

¹³ The series of studies on Walworth County, Wisconsin, remain the models for this approach. See C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* (University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bull. 34 [May, 1915]); J. A. Kolb and R. A. Polson, *Trends in Town-Country Relations* (University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bull. 117 [September, 1933]); and Kolb, *op. cit.*

holdings, and local private transportation facilities.

An essential characteristic of the folk group is its social and usually its physical isolation. These are objective variables which are readily measured. In an articulated society, there should be marked breaks in the frequency distribution of contacts corresponding to structural and functional groupings. These breaks we expect to find in a feudal culture, with its sharp cleavage between upper and lower classes and marked horizontal, as well as vertical, stratifications. They are much less prominent—no more than seams—in urban secular society. Nucleations of sociocultural contacts serve to identify well-integrated groups. If these groups are arranged in spatial order, we have neighborhoods or villages or towns. The distinction between neighborhood and village turns upon the extent of outside contact. Both are distinguished from the town by their much more limited variety of contacts. An objectively measurable distinction between the town, on the one hand, and the village and neighborhood, on the other, is the tributary area.¹⁴ The town has a tributary area not only in trade and commercial services but also in education, entertainment, information and culture, and social life. Strictly speaking, the rural village and the neighborhood have no hinterland.

The simplest but crudest distinction between urban and rural settlements is the percentage of residents whose employment is non-agricultural. A more refined yardstick would have to catalogue the cultural, social, and recreational facilities and organizations found in the village or town, not all reflected in employment totals and none differentiated thereby, in addition to shopping and marketing facilities, services, and manufacturing activities. The list of

relevant items is long, and the dividing lines arbitrary but useful. This qualitative yardstick tells us of the sociological character of the settlement but not of the life and outlook of the surrounding population, of its place along the urban-rural continuum. Any institutional profile is only an incomplete summary of sociocultural life.

The main qualitative element in the network and profile approaches to social structure lies in the selection of the types of contact to be measured, some of which must be permitted to vary from subculture to subculture if the network approach is to achieve maximum relevance in every region where it is applied. Settlements can be graded in terms of the number of different kinds of significant sociocultural activity for which they serve as foci. This gradation is useful for towns and cities. For small settlements (with few institutionalized social or cultural facilities and yet significant differences in the sociological character of their residents) an institutional profile is inadequate shorthand; the intricate network of individual trips and other sociocultural contacts must be traced and catalogued.

The social network map, no less than the institutional profile, measures overt behavior. As a technique it is particularly valuable within a culture, where variation in the meaning of observed acts is at a minimum. The same overt behavior, however, may have radically different significance in different cultures. Ultimately, the urban-rural distinction is not one of social networks or of institutional profiles but of individual outlook.

Objective indexes bear only indirectly on the core of interest, suggesting human values and attitudes, hinting at the inner meaning of outward behavior but not measuring. Demographic concepts of urban and rural fail because they apply the same rules of numbers to advanced and backward countries, to farmers and peasants, to villagers and townsmen.

¹⁴ Smailes, *op. cit.*, p. 41. A highly specialized settlement such as a mining town may lack a hinterland, but its close contact with other towns and regions and its exclusive dependence on outside markets set it apart from rural villages. There are some settlements, such as fishing villages, which are peasant societies, in sociological terms, although they have some of the economic character of towns.

INTERVIEWING A LEGAL ELITE: THE WALL STREET LAWYER¹

ERWIN O. SMIGEL

ABSTRACT

Interviewing an elite poses many problems and offers further insight into the interview situation. The specific challenges in these interviews are: (1) the respondents' skill as interviewers; (2) their specialized functions; (3) the time pressures under which they work; and (4) their reluctance to be interviewed. Methods employed to overcome the forces potentially detrimental to the interview are discussed.

This paper was prepared on the premise that it is important to build a body of knowledge based on the experiences of the interviewer. The systematic recording of those experiences will lead eventually, it is hoped, to a greater understanding of the interview as well as to a refinement of interviewing techniques. Since this report deals with the experiences gained in interviewing a legal elite, it may prove particularly helpful in dealing with other elites.²

Most of the problems encountered, and the techniques used to overcome them, differ from the usual interview only in terms of degree. This difference, however, constitutes a special challenge. To interview an especially sophisticated and articulate elite who are themselves highly skilled interviewers heightens the difficulty of the interview and calls either for special techniques or for adjustments of old techniques. I have been interviewing such an elite—the Wall Street lawyers associated with law firms of fifty or more lawyers—in an effort to determine the social structure of “giant” firms and how their size and organization affects the men who work for them. Over two hundred lawyers were interviewed. These interviews were semistructured and lasted an average of two hours.

¹ Revision of a paper read at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society, August, 1957.

² See David Riesman, “Orbits of Tolerance, Interviewers, and Elites,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XX (Spring, 1956), 49–73; and Harry V. Kincaid and Margaret Bright, “Interviewing the Business Elite,” *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (November, 1957), 304–11.

Large Wall Street law firms mainly employ graduates from “the best law schools,”³ and they try to select men with the highest academic standing. In one of the law firms studied, fifty of the seventy-five associates (lawyers on salary) had been on the law review.⁴ In addition to being unusually bright, the lawyers chosen by the large law firms are impressively poised, well mannered, and personable. The process of selection which weeds out competitors in college, in law school, and in the initial hiring continues in the law firms. Generally, only the most fit survive.

These men, then, constitute an elite. This fact conditions the entire interview and is integral to its more specific challenges—the respondents' own skill as interviewers, their specialization, their reluctance to be interviewed, and the time pressures under which they work. Each type of difficulty and how it was handled will be considered separately.

INTERVIEWING THE INTERVIEWERS

Some of these lawyers were experts in the techniques of courtroom cross-examination, but of far greater significance for the present discussion was their experience in interviewing clients. Here, forceful cross-examination gives way to suggestion and the use of persuasive charm. A researcher approaching these men on their home ground must be

³ These large firms hire mainly from Harvard, Yale, and Columbia.

⁴ Law students who work on the law review are generally scholastically at the top of their classes.

wary lest he become the respondent and the lawyer the interviewer! To meet this possibility, it became the author's practice to refuse the soft chair usually offered, to ask the first question, to avoid the respondent's direct questions, and to interest him in the project as early as possible.

That the respondents were skilled interviewers necessitated caution in the use of methods and techniques which might be construed as tricks, lest they boomerang (e.g., the employment of false statements designed to arouse the respondent). It was dangerous, difficult, and unnecessary to try to fool these people; it was much wiser to seek their aid.

In one respect, however, the respondents' knowledge of interviewing and the tendency of some of them to think in terms of courtroom procedure—which is designed to eliminate the irrelevant—was helpful. If they tried to control the interview, they could be appealed to on the ground that the information they offered did not meet the needs of the problem. In fact, many of them spontaneously suggested, before the interrogation began, that, if they should wander from the subject, they be stopped and asked questions designed to bring them back to the heart of the matter.

SPECIALIZED FUNCTIONS OF LAWYERS

Adaptation was required on the researcher's part to meet the sharp differences among lawyers connected with their specialized functions. Senior partners in large law firms are accustomed to dealing with policy questions; younger lawyers are trained to deal with the details. This occupational differentiation calls for diverse interviewing approaches.

Senior partners who were interested in the project, for example, did not require as many questions to elicit the desired information as did younger partners or associates. Trained to make policy, to deal with general problems, the senior members answered broadly and boldly. Picking them up on minor details or interrupting their train of thought with innumerable questions cur-

tails the interview. However, if these men were properly briefed at the outset and not interrupted, they tended to ask and answer the relevant questions themselves. Toward the close of the interview, if their interest in the project had been maintained or increased, one could then ask for specific details and also for the answers to one of the broader questions that they might have missed. Interested senior partners were most fruitfully approached with the initial use of broad stimulating questions, not detailed ones.

With younger lawyers, the process was reversed. The detailed background queries were welcomed, and they served both as a "warm-up period" and as a means of generating interest. Such an approach fits in with the kind of detail work they do at the beginning of their employment with a large law firm.

Modification of interview techniques also had to be made on the basis of a lawyer's area of specialization. For example, a different approach might be needed when talking to a litigator than when questioning a tax specialist. Generally, however, these adjustments were not so sharp as those used to deal with the differences found between a young associate and a senior partner.

RELUCTANCE TO BE INTERVIEWED

The lawyer's reluctance to be interviewed is due in part to the canon of professional ethics which assures complete secrecy of clients' matters; in part, to the fact that these lawyers belong to large organizations; and, in part, especially among the older lawyers, to a conservatism which includes some doubts concerning the rights and qualifications of social scientists to "probe into the secrets" of the legal profession. In addition, a combination of the following four external forces aggravated the lawyers' distrust of the outsider.

1. *Professional ethics.*—One of the reasons most often given for not granting an interview was that the client-lawyer relationship was "privileged." This ethical canon is buttressed by the conservatism of the Wall Street lawyer and by his desire for anonym-

ity for himself and for his client. These lawyers are perhaps even more secretive than most advocates, for their giant corporate clients, who are constantly in the public eye, want no notoriety attached to their law firm.

2. *They are part of an organization.*—Many lawyers were at first reluctant to talk about their own firms. They were either members (partners) of the firm and felt strongly about team responsibility or employees (associates) and unsure of how much the firm wanted them to say and how their words might affect them. Associates had to be convinced that the interviewer would not disclose to "management" the information they had given him. They did not, however, seem to worry about this as much as the non-professional employees of the firm, although the stakes (partnership) for some of these lawyers were very high.⁵ Despite their employee status, associates, generally, were more willing than partners to talk. While many partners showed no reluctance to speak of themselves as individuals, separate from the firm, they hesitated when questions concerned the firm. They felt strongly about their responsibility to their partners. However, this hesitancy disappeared when the other partners agreed to submit to interviews.

3. *Taboo topics.*—The taboo areas encountered dealt mainly with partnership agreements, finances, and the affairs of their clients. It was part of my understanding with the law firms that I would not ask questions concerning specific clients. General questions about client-lawyer relationships posed no threat. However, inquiries about specific partnership agreements initially met with a solid wall of resistance, as did questions concerning finances. Many partners felt that questions about these problems were not "nice."

⁵ Lawyers on the verge of being made partners, and those about to be "passed over," proved to be the best informants because they were at a vantage point, just below the partners and above most other associates; the importance and intensity of this situation made them more conscious of organizational structure and organizational change.

Roger B. Siddal, a lawyer who was concerned with some of the same taboo subjects, sent out questionnaires to two hundred law firms. Forty-two filled out the questionnaire. Siddal explains why:

The reason that so many of my questionnaires were unanswered is that in most of the large law offices in the United States today the partnership arrangements are considered top secret; they are matters which are only discussed among the partners when extreme privacy is assured. . . . However much faith they might have in my integrity and discretion and however highly they might appraise the value of my study it would just go against the grain for many of these senior partners, acting individually or as a group, to disclose the details of their partnership arrangements to anyone unless it were absolutely necessary.⁶

4. *The right to probe into the profession.*—The great majority of lawyers did not bar the interviewer on the grounds that he was not a lawyer. A number did ask if he had had legal training. Some felt rather strongly about the absence of legal background and spoke openly about it. This kind of reaction, however, was rare. Nevertheless, the lack of a law degree may have made the interview at the outset slightly more difficult.

In general, the older, more conservative lawyers felt that no good could come from a study of their law firms. They thought of their firms as many clergymen think of the church—as an institution that should not be studied. Many of the older lawyers resented "the prying into private affairs" and felt that such prying was not, or should not be, the function of scientific investigation. The younger ones, a good proportion of whom had majored in the social sciences while at college, and who were brought up in the age of Gallup and Kinsey, accepted the process as both normal and legitimate.

Certain external factors seemed to reinforce the lawyers' feeling that an outsider had no right to probe into their affairs. Just as this investigation started, Martin Mayer's

⁶ Roger B. Siddal, *A Survey of Large Law Firms in the United States* (New York: Vantage Press, [1956]), p. 142.

series on the Wall Street lawyer appeared in *Harper's* magazine.⁷ Almost all the lawyers interviewed had read the articles, and many felt that the series was an exposé and unfair. Older lawyers, stimulated perhaps by these articles, recalled another series of reports which appeared in the late 1930's. They still bristled over these ancient analyses, which had labeled the large Wall Street firms "law factories."⁸ In addition, many lawyers also mentioned the jury project of the University of Chicago Law School, which had "tapped" a jury in the course of obtaining information on jury decision-making; they called attention to the newspapers and magazines, which had featured the story at the time, as a reason for refusing an interview or, at least, for being careful about what they revealed when questioned. Fortunately, though, these outside elements did not appear to have a lasting influence. They were modified by time and as the Wall Street legal community gained confidence in the interviewer and recognized his investigation as bona fide.

The researcher used two major ways to overcome reluctance to talk. One was to ask the taboo questions in an indirect, generalized form; for example, instead of inquiring, "What do you earn?" the interviewer would ask, "What does a senior partner in a large Wall Street law firm earn?" or "What would you say a junior partner earns?" After this information was offered, and it usually was, the respondent was less reticent about answering the question which followed: "Does this apply here, also?" In time he might even answer questions dealing with his own income.

The second technique for breaking down reluctance to talk was to display previous knowledge. For example, when the investigator could show that he knew something about how much money lawyers earned, or

what partnership agreements were like, or when he displayed a knowledge of the organization of the law firm and the respondent's firm in particular, this show of familiarity partially compensated for the interviewer's not being a lawyer. It also made it easier for the lawyer to discuss taboo topics, for, if the researcher's information had been essentially correct, the topic was no longer secret or taboo. A display of previous knowledge was also effective in dealing with the respondent's desire for anonymity and for handling his fear of revealing too much about his law firm.

A display of previous knowledge was, in fact, valuable throughout the interview; it meant that some information could not be hidden; that the discussion could proceed more directly to the essentials; that the interview was more interesting to the respondent because he was not speaking to a novice and could skip preliminary explanations. The interviews collected at the beginning of the study, when the inquirer did not have previous knowledge of law firms, were shorter and the answers resembled those given to law students applying for a position with the firm.

OF TIME AND MONEY

These men are extremely busy. They often work at night and over week ends. The time spent on a matter is an important item in calculating a client's bill. Their fees range from \$12 an hour for the rawest recruit to \$60 or, in some cases, as much as \$100 an hour for the experienced partner. Time to lawyers means either money or the equivalent in night work. Some lawyers go so far as to say that time is all they have to sell. The importance of time is accented by the fact that there are a great many deadlines in the practice of the law. For the associate, who works for more than one partner and who may be caught between the demands of his several "bosses" and their clients, time is of heightened importance. All this affects both the busy lawyer and the considerate interviewer, who feels the pressure of time on the lawyer and

⁷ Martin Mayer, "The Wall Street Lawyers," *Harper's*, CCXII (January and February, 1956), 31-37 and 50-56.

⁸ Ferdinand Lundberg, "Law Factories: Brains of the Status Quo," *Harper's*, CLXXIX (July, 1939), 180-92.

may be embarrassed at taking too much of this valuable commodity.

What was done to meet this formidable situation must be discussed with the understanding that the interview is a process and that different lawyers entered the various stages of that process at different times. Not all interviews exhibited all stages, and not all were unidirectional. The approach of the interviewer had to be adapted to the demands of each stage. Three stages were readily observed: the "polite" stage, in which the respondent is motivated mainly by a sense of social obligation to fulfil his promise of an interview to the researcher; the "interest" stage, in which the respondent's curiosity about the subject matter is aroused; and the "challenge" stage, in which the interviewer tries to stimulate interest which failed to develop or continue.

Thus the task of the researcher, especially in those cases in which the life of the interview was threatened, was to create sufficient interest to keep on with the questioning. One technique used to arouse interest was to present the respondent with a hypothesis, or a series of hypotheses, from the study and thereby make him a "partner" in the investigation or at least an adviser to the interviewer—a familiar role for the lawyer. For example, if, through normal questioning, it was impossible to get a respondent to talk about conformity among lawyers, a reaction on the subject was usually stimulated by explaining Merton's theory of the bureaucratic personality.⁹ While this technique has the disadvantage of being time-consuming, it nevertheless is quite effective in evoking interest.

The use of questions focused on hypothetical situations offers another method of keeping or stimulating interest of the respondent and often provided passage into untapped areas of information. For example, associates were asked, "Suppose that, after returning from a vacation, you receive a 'memo' from a partner about a matter you

had worked on prior to your departure. The 'memo' which is designed to bring you up to date briefly describes what action had been taken in your absence. You think the partner had proceeded incorrectly. What would you do about it?" For the very reluctant informant alternatives to situational questions were provided, and the respondent was asked to explain why he might take one course of action as against another. Merely varying the type of questions helped keep or develop the interest of the respondent.

If interest thus stimulated wore off, and it was still necessary to continue the inquiry, the researcher then presented the respondent with challenges designed to be provocative.¹⁰ Contradictions, either in the lawyer's "testimony" or in evidence that had been found elsewhere, were offered, and the respondents were asked to explain these discrepancies. (This technique is especially good for lawyers, for they are trained in, used to, and seem to enjoy disputation.) For instance, if a man replied, in response to a question about conflict between partners, that there was no conflict, he would be asked (on the basis of previous information), "Didn't the fact that one partner had skipped over other partners on the letterhead (and presumably in terms of distribution of profits) cause conflict?" While the respondent's answer might be evasive (e.g., "We don't spend all our time looking at letterheads"), he had, nonetheless, been challenged, and his interest continued. The next question, which was more general and less challenging, further opened the discussion on conflict between partners. The respondent was asked if the changing of the "name" partners when one of them died or retired was a cause of conflict in some firms.

Although this approach can be dangerous—for it may cause loss of good will and lead to biased answers, since the advocate tends to favor his position—it does keep the interview alive, opening the way to additional,

⁹ Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," *Social Forces*, XVIII (May, 1940), 560-68.

¹⁰ A similar technique was used by Harold L. Wilensky, *Intellectuals in Labor Unions* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956), p. 283.

less provocative, questions. In a study of an organization the danger of using biased answers is lessened by the opportunity to verify these answers by questioning other individuals in the firm.

One mechanical device was used to extend the interview. When possible, interviews were scheduled an hour before the respondent usually went to lunch. If he proved interested, and if continuation of the interview seemed indicated, the researcher suggested continuing the interview at lunch.¹¹ When this suggestion was favorably received (and

¹¹ This hour was generally not scheduled for partners, since they do a great deal of business at lunch and are usually booked in advance. Complications may arise if the suggestion is refused, for then it may be too late to ask some of the important questions one should have asked in the time allotted.

it often was), the interview could be extended an hour and a half under favorable circumstances with neither the interviewer nor the respondent feeling the pressure of time.

For this busy elite—the Wall Street lawyer—questions must be penetrating and interesting. If they are not, the investigator will not get thoughtful answers and will find the interview terminated. In fact, it is safe to say that the key to successful interviewing with this elite is to create and maintain interest. While this is true for any interview, the background and training of these lawyers make it a more difficult task than one ordinarily meets when questioning a random sample of a community.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF OFFICIAL MORALITY¹

CHARLES K. WARRINER

ABSTRACT

Residents of "The Village," a small Kansas community, drink in private but support a "temperance" morality in public. This public, "official" morality is first examined as a collective reality and is then used to develop a functional hypothesis which tests the relevance of this kind of phenomenon for the systems in which it occurs.

I

In a clinical study² of The Village, a small rural community in Kansas, we discovered a systematic inconsistency between the public and private expressions of values about drinking alcoholic beverages. In public people affirmed an "official" morality which held that the drinking of alcoholic beverages was wrong, that The Village was a "dry" town, and that only "bums and other elements of the lower classes" drank. In observations of several thousand events we found no instance in which there was a public violation or rejection of this official morality. The general applicability of our observations was confirmed by a number of informants.

This publicly expressed ideology was not, however, an indication of the private drinking behavior or of the personal sentiments and beliefs of the members of the community. For example, one of the leaders of The Village who had expressed the official morality most directly and forcefully during our first visit to the community was a regular though moderate drinker in his home and within his clique. Similarly, some members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union drank and served alcoholic beverages in their homes. Although some members of the community expressed personal moral beliefs consistent with the official morality, the majority did not feel that there was

anything wrong with moderate drinking. Many of our informants recognized this inconsistency and typically expressed the idea that "this town is full of hypocrites; they vote dry and drink wet."

In most studies such an inconsistency is explained away by searching for some bias in the observational technique or by looking for some coercive, "distorting" factor in the milieu. Our thesis is that at least one class of these inconsistencies is real (i.e., is not a function of faulty observational techniques) and has been inadequately accounted for in the past. We propose that official morality³ can be understood as a type of collective phenomenon and not as individual behavior, that its primary relevance is to the social system and not to the personal systems of the members, and that, because it is collective, it may have functions with respect to the community as a social system.⁴

II

Inconsistency between public morality and private behavior raises a question as to the nature of collective reality. We have frequently assumed that the term "collective" was merely a synonym for "common-individual" and that the collective was to be found only as it was reflected in the personality and personal behavior of individ-

³ "Official" in this case does not imply having a source in authority. As used here, it is more nearly synonymous with "collective," but we have retained the term "official" for its convenience.

⁴ Our use of "social system" follows most directly the ideas of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *A Natural Science of Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957). See also Paul Meadows, "Models, Systems, and Science," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (February, 1957), 3-9.

¹ Revised version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Detroit, Michigan, September, 1956.

² A report of this study is to be found in the author's "Leadership and Society" (microfilmed Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago Library, 1953).

uals. This "pluralistic behavior" approach to the collective ignores the fact that persons, as actors in particular situations, may express beliefs or conceptions that they do not really believe. As isolated persons they know the ideology but do not believe it to be true, but as actors in particular collectivities they will act as if these same beliefs were true. The expression of the ideology occurs as a result of a variety of motivations which in effect define it as being "true" (i.e., appropriate) for a typically recurring situation—a particular social system. What is expressed in a particular context depends upon what is relevant and appropriate to that context.⁵

Our data on The Village show that there are a variety of these motivating sentiments. There were those who "really believed" in the official morality: "drinking is immoral." Among those whose private sentiments were not consistent with the ideology, three different attitudes stand out. Some persons drink and accept drinking but are not sure that it is morally right. They support the official morality in their public behavior because "it might be true" as well as because it is supported by others. Another attitude stemmed from the belief that "others can't drink moderately" and that "I have a responsibility to keep temptation from being placed before them." This might be called "my brother's keeper" attitude. Still others supported the official morality in order to avoid conflict. As one informant expressed it: "Sure, I go along with that nonsense. It isn't worth fighting about. If you got up and said that there wasn't anything wrong with drinking a glass of beer now and then, you'd just get into a hell of an argument."

These and other sentiments and beliefs, combined in different ways in different individuals, support and give reality to a

single collective fact. Because we find the collective "resides" in each person in a different way, we will discover it not by studying individuals but only by studying them as actors in collectivities.

The collective fact is that, whenever the members of the community acted within the context of the community, their behavior conformed to and expressed the explicit canons of the official morality.⁶ Although people drank, they did so in their own homes, behind closed doors and drawn shades. They carefully disposed of their "empties." They seldom drank before going out, but, if they did, they disguised their breath with Sen-Sen or clove gum. They did not admit drinking, nor did they talk about it except with close friends. In effect, they conformed to the action prescriptions of the official morality. Furthermore, when acting as members of the community *per se*, they actively supported the official morality. For example, the town voted "dry" in the Kansas Repeal referendum, but, as far as we could tell from the data available, this dry vote heavily overrepresented the "drys" as measured by personal sentiments. Two informants who were known to drink reported that they had voted against Repeal to "keep it out of the hands of the bums."

III

The structural-functional point of view provides one vehicle for exploring the importance and relevance of this phenomenon. The functional hypothesis holds that a particular social form or process has consequences for the social systems in which it occurs—consequences that satisfy some "need" of the systems. We are thus interested in the *typically recurring* forms or processes and their *typically recurring* consequences in different instances of the relevant system.

⁶ Implied here is the distinction between the community as a physical-ecological context for social life and the community as a social system. Events may occur within the geographical confines of a community without having any direct relevance to that community as a social organization.

⁵ This formulation is consistent with the social-psychological theory represented in the work of Walter Coutu, *Emergent Human Nature* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949). For a fuller discussion of this view of collective reality see Charles K. Warriner, "Groups Are Real: A Reaffirmation," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (October, 1956), 549-54.

Functions are not, however, simply consequences. Within the general functional hypothesis there is the additional hypothesis that "needs" of the social system are in some fashion the cause of or lead to the existence of the agent forms or processes whose consequences satisfy that "need." In most functional analyses "need" has been a logically necessary but a metaphysical, teleological device. It is necessary, if possible, to turn this bit of metaphysics into empirically testable statements.⁷

We propose that the only way to accomplish this is to translate "need" into "predictable or emerging consequences" of particular and specified conditions of the system at a given time. "Need" is what happens to a (social) system as a consequence of the continuation of the factors operating at a particular time if no new factors or processes enter: a prediction to be made on the basis of adequate knowledge of previous cases.

However, to use this notion of need as a causal explanation, it is necessary to assume that in viable systems, such as biological or social ones, there are processes which in effect anticipate the consequences of any given conditions and initiate measures to vitiate those consequences. The nature of this "anticipation" must be specified and empirically demonstrated, otherwise "need" has no scientific meaning.

Can we, with the data and knowledge available, propose functional hypotheses concerning official moralities that meet the requirements and conditions outlined above? Our evidence indicated that the official morality did not exist when there was a high degree of consensus and homogeneity of personal sentiments about drinking. It arose and became strong as this homogeneity in the community broke down—as more and more people began to believe that drinking was acceptable.⁸ One informant put it this way: "This has always been a dry town, but we never talked about how dry it was until some people started to think that drinking was okay. Before that we just took it for granted that people thought drinking was wrong."

The examination of the official moralities of wartime (such as those concerning the character of the enemy) and of those found in industrial and hospital organizations (such as those concerning the value of the product or service) suggests that official moralities arise when two conditions exist: (1) when members of the community or association hold opposing and contradictory *personal* beliefs or value judgments and (2) when this value dimension is thought to be highly important to the welfare of the group.

These conditions also define situations that are believed to be potentially disruptive to the social system. Any argument over the legitimacy of the war or the humanity of the enemy, if extended to a national scale during the war, is thought to be disruptive to the war effort. That such disruption is an inevitable consequence of conflicting beliefs is beside the point. It has already been shown that, in the dynamics of social life, if a thing is thought to be true we act as if it were true. Hence a belief that ideological conflict is a threat brings forth responses to it as a threat.

In The Village it was assumed that an extended argument over drinking would have disrupted the community. There was already an uneasy peace between competing leadership groups in various associations in The Village,⁹ and, because of this, it was assumed that argument involving important sentiments would spread to other areas of

⁷ That the "needs" of social systems require demonstration has been noted by others (cf. Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* [Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1949], p. 252).

⁸ This change in attitudes toward drinking was concurrent with changes in other attitudes and corresponds to the period of increasing contact with the outside world. A greater mobility following the hard-surfacing of a county road made contact easier with several nearby cities and a large metropolitan center. At the same time there was an increasing "segmentalization" of life—a separation of family, clique, associational, and employment relations from each other and from the locality.

⁹ For a fuller description of this situation see Charles K. Warriner, "New Ways in Old Places," *Adult Leadership*, IV (April, 1956), 8-9, 32.

conflict of interest. In their terms such an argument would "split this town wide open."

Our evidence shows (1) that in this case and in similar illustrations personal values held by different members of the community are contradictory and of considerable importance to the members; (2) that the members of the community believe that a public discussion of these value differences would be disruptive to the community and would have threatening consequences; and (3) that the official moralities in these cases have the consequence of preventing such discussion at the level of the community.

Our data on these instances of official morality do not show whether belief in the disruptive consequences of such value conflicts is a valid one. If we assume, for the purposes of the argument, that it is valid—that empirical studies will show that unrestrained argument over such an issue under these conditions will lead to schism and disorganization of the social system—then we would propose the following hypothesis.

Official moralities function to maintain the equilibrium of the social systems in which they occur by preventing public argument between those with conflicting personal beliefs. The official morality, the agent of this consequence, is brought into existence and is in part sustained by the belief that such arguments do have deleterious consequences.

This belief is a necessary but not a sufficient factor in the development of official moralities. Since not everyone in a social system is likely to recognize this possibility and act upon it, other "causes" are important. Such multiple causation of the agent is important to understanding and predicting its character in any particular instance. Here we wish merely to show that this belief is a crucial factor and that its existence is sufficient to satisfy the requirement that we demonstrate the nature of the connection between "need" and the rise of the agent for satisfying that need—the nature of the "anticipation."¹⁰

Since our argument started with an assumption which cannot be tested by the

data available, it is necessary to examine the implications of the alternate assumption that the belief in the disruptive consequences of the value conflict is a myth. If this belief does not state real consequences of the given conditions, then official moralities will make no difference in the degree of organization within the system. It will thus be necessary to seek other typically recurring consequences and, having found them, to show their relationship to the factors which give rise to the official morality.

The test of these hypotheses depends upon showing through the study of a sufficient number of cases (1) that the conditions specified do lead to disorganization if official moralities (or some other agent with similar functions) do not arise; (2) that official moralities do have the consequences claimed; and (3) that the recognition of the consequences is a necessary condition to the rise of official morality and, in effect, connects the "need" with the agent.

IV

We have shown that "official morality," like other collective phenomena, may have an immediate collective reality without being mirrored in the personalities of the individual members of the group and that it exists through certain attitudes which define it as true for particular situations.

Using an empirical definition for "needs," we developed the hypotheses that official moralities function to maintain the equilibrium of systems under conditions of predictable disorganization and that this "need" is anticipated and gives rise to the agent of its satisfaction through the recognition of the threat by some members of the society.

It is hoped that the definition of the phenomenon and the statement of the hypotheses will induce others to help collect data on a sufficient number of cases to provide an adequate test.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

¹⁰ It is not necessary to assume that the "need" always brings forth this or any other agent for its satisfaction. Social systems do disintegrate, just as organisms die.

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH STATUS TO SCHOOL AND PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF NEGRO CHILDREN

WESLEY W. JENKINS

ABSTRACT

This study attempts to determine whether legitimate and illegitimate Negro children of similar economic status differed significantly in adjustment. For this study, "adjustment" was defined as consisting of the intelligence quotient, age-grade placement, school absences, teacher's ratings, cumulative grade scores, and scores on the California Test of Personality. Findings indicate that the legitimate children rated higher in every area except one, although significance was reached only on teacher's ratings and I.Q.-age correlation; younger illegitimate children rated consistently higher than the older group, when compared to legitimate children. The results suggest that birth status may affect the adjustment of Negro children.

Social workers and many other professional and lay people have long been concerned about the high rate of illegitimacy among Negroes, particularly among those of the lower economic levels, and their concern has grown as the ratio of illegitimacy has increased steadily in the Negro subculture.¹ This increase has led many lay people and some professionals to believe that illegitimacy is normal and accepted in the Negro subculture. It is believed, further, that this acceptance precludes stigma or social ostracism from operating adversely on the personality of the illegitimate Negro child.

These assumptions have not been validated by research. It was the purpose of this study to attempt to determine whether differences in adjustment, as operationally defined, existed between a group of legitimate Negro children of the lower economic levels and a group of illegitimate Negro children from similar economic levels. Controls were attempted for all factors which might have obscured the association between birth status and "adjustment." The small sample (forty-five total subjects) would, of course, preclude any definite conclusions. However, observed differences might suggest that adjustment of Negro children was affected by their birth status.

The hypothesis of the study was this: There are no significant differences, with respect to the criteria listed below, in the adjustment of legitimate and illegitimate

Negro children who are recipients of Aid to Dependent Children's² funds and who are enrolled in the fourth through twelfth grades of Douglass School, Columbia, Missouri.

"Adjustment" was considered to be reflected in the intelligence quotient, age-grade placement, school absences, academic grades, teacher's rating, and personal and social adjustment as measured by the California Test of Personality.³

The design of the study was the experimental cross-sectional technique. The groups were homogeneous with regard to race, economic status, ADC status, and school enrolment in the fourth through twelfth grades of Douglass School.

The sample consisted of all Negro children of Boone County, Missouri, who were recipients of ADC grants as of September, 1955, and who were enrolled in the fourth through twelfth grades of Douglass School. (Douglass School was then an all-Negro school attended by all but five legitimate and two illegitimate children who met the criteria for inclusion in the study.)

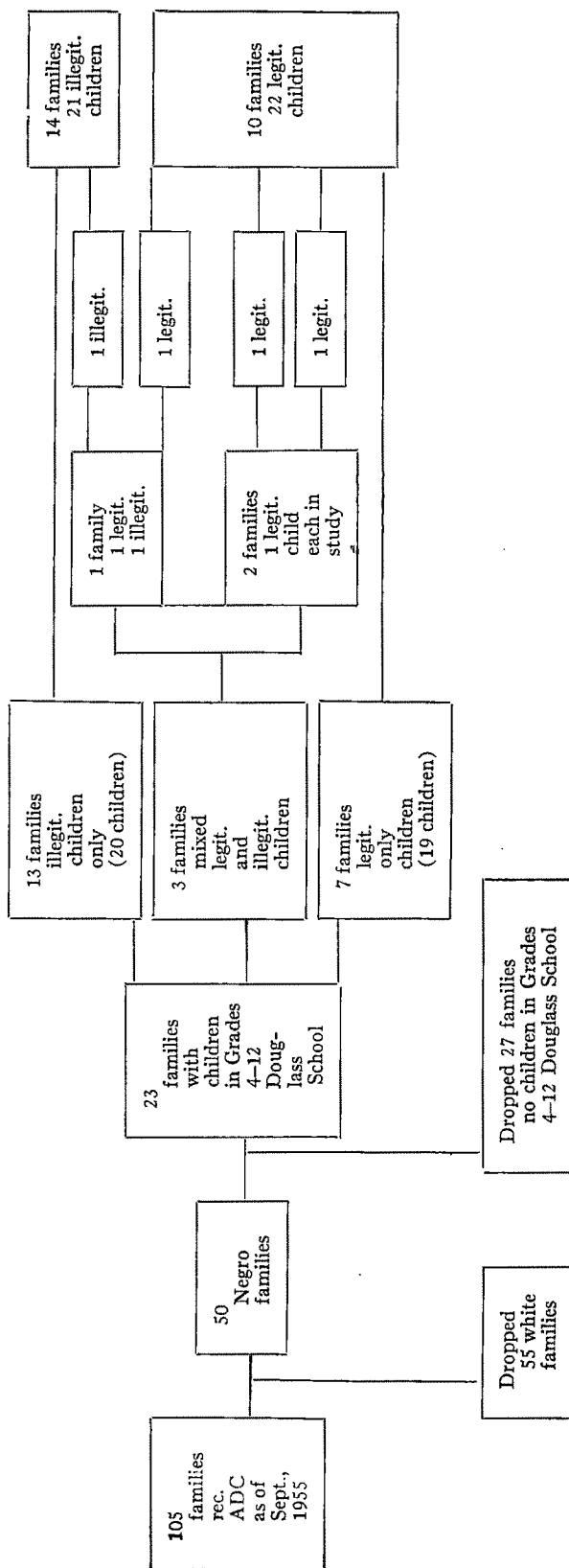
There were twenty-two legitimate children and twenty-one illegitimate children in the study. A flow chart of the study appears.

¹ United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Office of Vital Statistics, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1951*, I, xxxiv, Table V.

² Hereinafter referred to as "ADC."

³ Hereinafter referred to as the "CTP."

FLOW CHART



The intelligence quotient.—It was recognized that observed differences in the I.Q.'s of the two groups might be due to a difference in innate capacity. However, if such differences were due to environmental pressures such as personal stigma and social ostracism, a second phenomenon should be present in the form of negative correlation between I.Q. and age. That is, as the child grows older and the full realization of his status becomes more fully introjected, a depression of the I.Q. should become apparent. This depression should be present in both groups, because there is reason to believe that receiving ADC in itself carries some stigma. If, however, the I.Q. is a reflection of adjustment and the illegitimate group is less well adjusted, then it should be greater in the illegitimate group, and a greater negative correlation should be observed in this group than in the legitimate category.

When the range, mean, and significance of difference between means of I.Q.'s were computed for the two groups in the study, the legitimate group had a mean I.Q. of 95.0, the illegitimate group 88.4; $P=0.13$.

Spearman's rank correlation for age and I.Q. yielded a coefficient of rank correlation of -0.32 for the legitimate children, $P=0.15$; for the illegitimate children -0.71 ; $P=0.002$.

Age-grade placement.—Failure in school is regarded as an indication of maladjustment.⁴ For this reason, the grade a child had attained in relation to his age was computed and compared for both the legitimate and the illegitimate groups. When the chi-square technique of analysis was applied to these data, a chi-square value of 1.97 was obtained, d.f. = 1, $P = <0.20 > 0.10$.

School absences.—Repeated truancy from school has been found to be positively correlated with maladjustment in children.⁵ Absences from school, therefore, were in-

cluded as one of the criteria of maladjustment in testing the differences between the two groups of children in the study.

The chi-square test, applied to these data, yielded the following results: chi-square = 0.19, d.f. = 1, $P = <0.70 > 0.50$.

Cumulative grade scores.—It was determined that a cumulative grade score could be formulated for all students in the study. However, because of a difference in grading systems, separate mean scores were obtained and tested for significant differences for students in Grades IV, V, and VI and those in Grades VII–XII.

For the legitimate children in Grades IV, V, and VI the mean cumulative grade score was 2.59; for the illegitimate group 2.53; $P = 0.92$. For the legitimate children in Grades VII–XII, the mean cumulative grade score was 2.05; for the illegitimate children 1.54; $P = 0.12$.

Although the differences in cumulative grade scores were not significant for either the elementary or the high school group, it should be noted that the tendency for greater variation to occur between the two groups at the upper age levels held true for cumulative grade scores.

Teacher's ratings.—Teacher's rating of students was included as a criterion of adjustment because the teacher observes the child on a day-to-day basis. The teacher sees the child in a galaxy of interpersonal relationships, and he is in a good position to observe the adjustment of the child.

The grade cards used at Douglass School provide for teacher's ratings of each student on various habits and traits. However, the grade cards for the children in the fourth through sixth grades differed from those in the seventh through twelfth. This necessitated separate analysis for the two groups of children on teacher's ratings.

The seven legitimate children and the fourteen illegitimate children in the study who were in the fourth through sixth grades were rated by their teachers on 25 items in the academic section of the grade card. They were also rated on 17 attitudes, habits, and

⁴A. R. Mangus, *Personality Adjustment of School Children* (Columbus, Ohio: F. J. Heer Printing Co., 1949), p. 6.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 10.

character traits. All ratings were tested by the chi-square method.

When the 25 items in the academic section of the grade card were analyzed, the legitimate children in the fourth through sixth grades had a total of 81 items and the illegitimate children 253 items which the teachers indicated needed improvement. Chi-square = 12.39, d.f. = 1, $P = 0.001$.

The 17 items on attitudes, habits, and character traits were also analyzed. The legitimate children in Grades IV–VI had a total of 45 outstanding marks and the illegitimate children a total of 60 outstanding marks. Chi-square = 4.29, d.f. = 1, $P = <0.05 >0.02$.

Students at Douglass School in Grades VII–XII are rated by their teachers on seven traits for each subject taken. The legitimate children in these grades received a total of 595 satisfactory marks in 94 subjects; the illegitimate children a total of 208 satisfactory marks in 39 subjects. (It should be noted that the criterion for chi-square analysis is "subjects taken" rather than number of students in the study.) Chi-square = 4.53, d.f. = 1, $P = <0.05 >0.02$.

The California Test of Personality.—The California Test of Personality has been designed to identify and reveal the status of certain highly important factors in personality and social adjustment usually designated as intangibles.⁶

The test was administered to all students in the fourth through twelfth grades at Douglass School with the exception of 33 absentees, many of whom were upper-grade students who worked during the times the test was administered. A total of 287 students was tested by the investigator in groups of twenty to fifty.

The data from the CTP were categorized into personal adjustment scores, social adjustment scores, and total adjustment scores. These scores were compared for significant differences between means of the legitimate and illegitimate groups.

⁶ *California Test of Personality Manual* (rev. ed.; Los Angeles, Calif.: California Test Bureau, 1953), p. 2.

Total adjustment scores of the legitimate group and the illegitimate group were also compared with those of all other children in the school who took the same series of the test. That is, the legitimate children who took the elementary series were compared with all other children in the school who also took the elementary series, etc.

For fifteen legitimate children and fifteen illegitimate children in Grades IV–VIII who were administered the elementary series of the CTP, the mean total adjustment scores were 103 and 99.7, respectively; $P = 0.57$.

There were a hundred and sixty-two students in Grades IV–VIII and eighty-two students in Grades IX–XII who took the CTP but were not in the study. These students were a heterogeneous group and provided a means of comparing the two groups under study to the general school population.

The mean total adjustment score for the hundred and sixty-two students, using grouped data, was 106.9. When the legitimate group, with a mean of 103, was compared with them, a probability of 0.35 was obtained. When the illegitimate group, with a mean total adjustment score of 99.7, was compared with the hundred and sixty-two students not in the study, $P = 0.08$.

The secondary series of the CTP was administered to seven legitimate children and six illegitimate children in Grades IX–XII. It should be remembered that scores on the secondary series are not comparable to scores on the elementary series.

The mean total adjustment score for the legitimate children was 138.3; for the illegitimate children 122.5; $P = 0.24$. The mean total adjustment score for the eighty-two students not in the study, using grouped data, was 142.2. When this score was compared to that for the legitimate group, which had a mean total adjustment score of 138.3, $P = 0.64$; for the illegitimate group, with a mean total adjustment score of 122.5, $P = 0.07$.

Differences in mean personal and social adjustment scores for all children in the study were tested separately on the basis

that observed variations might be confined to one section or the other.

The legitimate children who were given the elementary series of the CTP had a mean personal adjustment score of 48.3; the illegitimate children, 47.0; $P = 0.64$.

The mean social adjustment score for the legitimate children was 55.6; for the illegitimate children 53.0; $P = 0.42$.

Seven children in the legitimate category and six children in the illegitimate category were given the secondary series of the CTP. The mean personal adjustment score for the legitimate children was 70.3; for the six illegitimate children 63.0; $P = 0.23$.

The mean social adjustment score for the legitimate children was 68.0, for the illegitimate children 59.5; $P = 0.28$.

Negative correlation between age and I.Q. was found to exist at a very high level of significance in the illegitimate group. If this was due to increasing social pressures with increasing age, the same condition should exist in CTP scores.

Because the two levels of the CTP do not have comparable raw scores, it was necessary to convert all the raw scores into standard scores for all the children in the study. For the purpose of converting to standard scores, the legitimate and illegitimate groups were combined into a single group, and a new mean and standard deviation were computed.

For the elementary series, the mean for the purpose of computing standard scores was 101.3; for the secondary series, 131.0.

Spearman's rank correlation applied to the standard scores and ages for the legitimate group yielded a coefficient of rank correlation of -0.07 and of -0.18 when applied to the illegitimate group. Although in

the expected direction, neither approached the 0.05 level of confidence.

Failure of the standardized CTP to reach significance in any area cannot be ignored. This, of course, casts some doubt on the validity of the more subjective criteria, such as teachers' grades and ratings. However, the test results did approach significance in several instances and consistently maintained the pattern of the legitimate children receiving more favorable ratings.

Conclusions.—Two primary patterns emerged in this study. First, the legitimate children rated higher in every area except school absences. It is not known whether this difference would exist if a different index of personal and social adjustment were used. This would seem to be a fit topic for further research.

The second discernible pattern was that the older group of illegitimate children consistently made a poorer showing than the younger group, in comparison with the legitimate children. A possible explanation for this is that, as these children grow older and are able to internalize fully the concept of illegitimacy and as they become increasingly aware of their socially inferior status, their adjustment to self and society may become progressively less satisfactory.

This study suggests that illegitimate birth status may have an adverse effect on the adjustment of Negro children. Further research in this almost untouched area is certainly needed. If the findings of this investigation should be validated, illegitimacy in the Negro subculture would appear to be less acceptable, and therefore less untreatable, than is presently believed.

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NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN AUDIENCE RESEARCH METHODS

WILLIAM A. BELSON

ABSTRACT

Two new methods of research are described. (1) *Planning studies*: The development of a broadcast often requires prior information about the people for whom it is being prepared. This information has to be collected quickly and inexpensively, and very frequently it requires highly controlled conditions of extraction. Group testing methods are used, but they are geared to procedures which tend to eliminate such bias as is usually associated with the recruitment of test-room groups of the general public. (2) *Measuring effects*: The second technique described is a new process for measuring the effect of a television (or radio) broadcast. Exposure to the broadcast is in no way controlled or stimulated, and the effect as measured tends to be independent of experimental influences. Each of the two methods here described is usable in fields other than broadcasting (e.g., in social campaigning, in propaganda, in advertising).

The main operations in the Audience Research Department of the British Broadcasting Corporation are (1) a daily survey of listening and viewing and (2) a continuing study of the reactions of listeners and viewers to the programs they receive. There is in addition, however, an *ad hoc* research unit called "Projects and Developments" whose responsibility it is to meet special research needs connected with either specific programs or programing in general. The jobs done by Projects and Developments are essentially varied in nature, but a rough classification of the more recurrent of them would be as follows: (a) the charting of relevant characteristics of the listening and viewing publics either in preparation for a particular program or for more general programing purposes; (b) assessments of the effects of specific programs and of broadcasting as such; (c) special studies of listening and viewing habits in relation to particular series or types of programs; (d) studies of the comprehensibility of programs; (e) basic psychological research relating to communication processes; and (f) checks on the validity of research methods employed in audience research.

Two of these operations tend to be called for more frequently, and it is these that I shall describe in detail. One is a type of planning study—a study of the characteristics of a target audience, made to assist in

the development of a program designed for them. The second is the measurement of the effects of a program, usually made against what it was in fact expected to do. These two processes tend to go together and to be the beginning and the end phases of the one program venture—the planning or charting stage and the evaluative stage.

I. PLANNING STUDIES

Some examples of planning studies.—Planning studies have been made for a range of different programs. One such program, for example, was to be discussion of current English ideas about Americans and their way of life. And the job in the planning study was the obvious one of finding out what, in fact, these attitudes and ideas were. The study was also aimed at assessing the Englishman's factual knowledge about America, so that the program could concentrate upon some of the gaps in knowledge rather than dwell upon what was already known.

Another planning study was carried out in preparation for a television series called "We the British," a series dealing with changes in Britain over the last half-century, both in the way of life at home and in her position abroad. For the efficient planning of the series prior information was needed about viewers' awareness and interpretation of various of the changes and their knowl-

edge of the facts and the mechanics of the changes. Such information could help by showing where awareness is lacking, where the mechanics are not understood, or where knowledge is inadequate.

The method used to gather the information.—It will be fairly clear from this that, to develop information of this kind, the method used must be relatively sensitive in nature. And if we add to this—as we must—the requirement that the operation be carried out swiftly and inexpensively, it seems to follow that standard survey methods will often enough be found wanting. The method developed for this kind of work is a form of group testing.

In broad outline, this method consists of three processes: (1) obtaining, at a testing center, as representative a sample as possible of the target audience; (2) administering to them prepared tests under standardized conditions; and (3) using statistical methods to eliminate as much as possible of the bias or unrepresentativeness inherent in any system where the presence of a subject is dependent upon his acceptance of an invitation. Granted that this volunteer bias can be isolated and controlled—and that is the crux of the matter—the special advantage of this particular method is that it allows a single test administrator to deal intensively and under controlled conditions with up to sixty people in a single evening.

Securing the subjects.—In work of this kind, subjects have been available as a by-product of the B.B.C.'s daily survey of listening and viewing, though this is by no means the only feasible source. In this survey national samples of over four thousand people are interviewed each day and questioned about yesterday's listening and viewing. For each of these contacts, name, address, age, sex, occupational background, and various other details are recorded, and this means that over a short period of time a very large number of potential subjects can be contacted for special inquiries. They are to be found in all parts of the United Kingdom, and a description of them in useful terms is available from the survey records.

Experience has shown that such survey contacts are fairly ready to respond to a follow-up letter asking them to attend a meeting of listeners/viewers at a nearby center, and that the rate of turnout is likely to be about 40 per cent. Turnout rates differ sharply according to age and occupational background, but, since these different rates are known, it is possible to control approximately the final composition of the group by varying the number of invitations sent to each occupational/age group. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that the final sample will be unbiased, for it may well be that neither age nor occupational background is related very much to the thing being studied. But in most cases this is a reasonable starting procedure and provides a good base for the more sophisticated correction procedures to come.

In controlling bias it is also essential that the form of the invitation should not lead to the more obvious kinds of self-selection by subjects. And for this reason no reference can be made in the invitation to specific topics or to special procedures. Invitees know, however, that the evening will include general discussion of B.B.C. output, and there is abundant evidence that it is this which draws people to the meeting.

For a single inquiry the number of people taking part could be anything between 150 and 800, according to the research intention and the precision required.

Test-room procedure.—Most meetings are held in the evenings in large conference rooms. After light refreshments have been served, subjects are told the purpose of the meeting and of the rules of such meetings. One of these is that the success of the inquiry depends upon there being no discussion at all while forms are being completed or ideas written down (though there will, they are told, be abundant time for discussion when the special inquiry is through). Heavy emphasis is laid on the need for complete frankness, and on this point it is made clear that their replies are strictly confidential and that no name or address is to appear on anything they write.

Test procedure in a given inquiry is standard for all groups, but from one to another study quite a range of methods has been used. Thus subjects might simply be asked to write down any ideas they have on some broad topic; or they might be asked to say what they think about some particular aspect of that topic. Another procedure is to give them a series of printed statements, prepared from the views of ordinary people, asking them to indicate whether they agree or disagree with them. Most sessions include straightforward questions calling for factual knowledge. Another procedure is to get group members to call out opinions on some issue and then to get the whole group to vote on each of these, using a form of ballot paper. Simple verbal scales are, of course, used in most test sessions. On occasions, there have been timed tests of a specific ability.

The level of co-operation achieved in sessions of this kind has been high, partly, I think, because the purpose of a planning inquiry is obvious and sensible, so that people are able to see straight away that they are doing something worthwhile, and partly also because they find a test session a "very interesting change" from the ordinary round of daily events.

Correcting volunteer bias.—A sample may be representative in terms of the obvious things—age, sex, and occupational background—and yet be misleading. Another sample may be very much "out" in terms of these things, yet give an approximately correct answer. The point is that some volunteer bias matters and some does not. The vital question to ask is *whether the sample is representative in terms of variables associated with, or predictive of, whatever is being studied*. Unrepresentativeness in such variables is a source of *misleading* bias. If we can find out what these variables are and if the sample is, in fact, unrepresentative in terms of them, the operative question becomes "What would the results have been if the sample *had* been representative in terms of them?" And the answer to this question lies in a simple weighting procedure.

In practice, what is done is as follows. In each inquiry short additional questions are asked about as many as possible of the things which seem, "in the armchair," to be important. And the first step in treating the results is an item-analysis aimed at finding out which of them are, in fact, predictive of test scores on the particular thing being studied. As it turns out, there may be up to a dozen which are usefully predictive in this sense, and at this point statistical procedures are used to single out those of them which, taken together, do the best predictive (or "corrective") job. Usually, a combination of about three of them does almost as well as the whole, say, dozen taken together.

Provided that the distribution of these predictors in the general population is known, weighting (in terms of them) is achieved through simple replication of the test results of the various members of the sample. For example, suppose that the selected predictors of "knowledge of European affairs" were (1) whether or not subject had received further education since leaving full-time school; (2) whether or not certain newspapers were taken; (3) whether or not subject had ever been out of England. Taken in combination, these would break the sample into eight highly relevant subgroups, and the proportion of the sample in each of them could be made to match the distribution in the general public. Replication in these subgroups would, of course, be on random principles.

Summing this up, what has been done is that the sample of volunteers has been matched to the general population in terms of relevant criteria. The "relevance" of these criteria lies in the fact that they have been found to be predictive of test score. The matching (or corrective) process is based upon simple weighting.

Some limitations and some desirable developments.—One weakness of the method is that it cannot work as a system unless a good deal is known about the population distribution of a wide range of potential predictors or corrective criteria. It is possible, of course, to conduct a special survey to de-

termine the distribution of the corrective criteria, once these have been selected. But this is expensive and delaying, and it is better to have as much population information as possible stored on cards and ready for appropriate analysis as soon as the corrective criteria to be used in a particular inquiry become known. Over a period, much information of this kind has been built up and can be used in this way. Characteristics included are occupational and educational details, age, sex, interests, newspaper allegiance, membership of societies, ownership of a range of durable goods, household composition. But there are bound to be occasions when population distributions for a good predictor are not available and where a "second-best" must be used instead.

In its present form the system is useful and workable, though it is clear that development is necessary. The best line for this development is also fairly clear, and my work on this so far has been to try to develop a range of criteria which tend to recur as useful predictors in various studies but which are relatively independent of one another. The concept is one of "general-purpose corrective criteria." Population distributions for these would then be developed and stored.

II. MEASURING THE EFFECTS OF A BROADCAST

The effect of a broadcast may go well beyond simply producing interest or pleasure, and from time to time the production staff calls for the measurement of some of these other effects. These requests are usually concerned with the extent to which the broadcast informed people, increased the number of their ideas on an issue, or led to a change in attitude or awareness, etc.

The particular effects to be measured may vary considerably, according to the aims of the broadcast, and so, too, will the tests which are developed to make the necessary measurements. The research design to which these assessments are linked is, however, the same from project to project.

Research design.—Anyone trying to measure the effects of a television broadcast

is likely to meet many difficulties. In the first place, a realistic measurement of effect makes it essential that the viewing upon which the results are to be based should be entirely normal. Thus the decision to view must in no way be dictated or tampered with. And the quality of the viewing must be quite normal—as would be impossible, of course, were there to be pre-broadcast tests or any indication at all that questions about it would follow. A further difficulty is that it is often impossible in television broadcasting to say sufficiently in advance of a program precisely what its content will be, as would be necessary for any effective *before and after* comparison.

A superficial way out of these two difficulties might, of course, be to conduct all test work after the program had been broadcast, the method being simply to compare the test scores of people who did see the program with those of people who did not see it. The difficulty with such a method, however, is that the difference between two such groups cannot be interpreted as pure effect but only as a mixture of effect and of original (or pre-broadcast) difference. After all, one of the hypothetical groups decided to view the program and the other did not, and this presupposes some difference in attitude toward the subject of the program, or at least differences associated with being unable to view.

Accordingly, if the "after only" design is to be of value, methods must be found for eliminating all or most of that part of the difference in test score which arises out of nothing more than original differences between the groups. This is, in fact, what is done. Thus all tests are conducted after the broadcast, and this stage is followed by rigorous correction procedures. For reasons which will become clear, I have been calling this method the "Stable Correlate" technique.¹

The logic of the correction procedure is

¹ For a technical description of the method see W. A. Belson, "A Technique for Studying the Effects of a Television Broadcast," *Journal of Applied Statistics*, V, No. 3 (1956), 195-202.

very similar to that which operates in the reduction of volunteer bias, as I described it in talking about planning studies. Put briefly, it is this. Let us call the two groups the "saw it" group and the "did not see it" group. If there *are* any pre-broadcast differences in the characteristics of these two groups, then the ones that matter are those which are correlated with, or predictive of, test score (as when "occupational background" is correlated with "knowledge of the facts presented in the program"). And the operative question then becomes "What would have been the test score of those who did not see it; had this group been the same as the 'saw it' group in terms of the characteristics which matter?" One arrives at the answer through matching the "did not see it" group to the "saw it" group in terms of these characteristics. This automatically adjusts the score of the "did not see it" group (leaving the score of the "saw it" group unchanged). When this adjustment has been made, the remaining disparity in the test scores of the two groups is interpreted as an effect of the broadcast, or at least as an approximation to it. Here, too, matching is through simple weighting.

The adequacy of this correction procedure depends upon at least two things: (1) The characteristics in terms of which the adjustment or correction is made must not themselves be open to change by the program (e.g., age and social background), for otherwise the correction procedure would result simply in a whittling-away of genuine effect. In other words, they must be *stable* as far as the broadcast's effects are concerned—i.e., Stable Correlates. (2) These characteristics must, taken together, be fairly powerful predictors of test score, for upon their power depends the success of the corrective procedure.

The isolation and selection of characteristics which "matter" is achieved in precisely the same way as in planning studies, i.e., through empirical selection of the most predictive of the proposed matching criteria. In isolating effects, however, the selected correlates can for the most part be used

without establishing their population distributions, for the correction procedure here requires that the "did not see it" group be matched to the "saw it" group and not to the general population. And this means that the list of proposed matching criteria can be almost unlimited in nature and in range and that there is thus a good chance of developing a powerful corrective combination.

Now, no matter how powerful the corrective device, there is always the possibility that, after making the necessary adjustments, the two groups are still different in terms of some characteristic related to test score. A check on this is necessary, and it is normally built into the research design.²

Securing the subjects.—I have laid special emphasis on my point that a realistic evaluation of a broadcast's effects requires that exposure to it be entirely normal. And that means that no contact whatsoever can be made with potential subjects until after the broadcast has taken place. These conditions are met in the following way. If the television broadcast to be studied occurs during the evening, the next day a team of interviewers will carry out a special survey in which they ask a large sample of the general population what programs they saw "yesterday evening." A check list is used. A record is made of this information and, with it, age, sex, occupational background, and other details about the informant. No stress at all is laid on the program to be studied, and the interviewers themselves are not told which one it is. The survey provides a large and ready pool of those who "saw it" and of those who "did not see it," and it is from this pool that the names of potential subjects are selected.

The method of selecting names from this pool is the same as that used in planning studies, though here the aim is that those attending should be representative of the program's actual audience in terms of age, sex, and occupational background. As often happens in this kind of work, these variables are not likely to be sufficient in themselves, but they can provide a good statistical basis

² *Ibid.*

for developing the necessary corrective criteria and for applying them. Results may be based upon up to eight hundred cases, with testing procedure conducted on lines very similar to those used in planning studies.

Some comments on the method.—The Stable Correlate method has also been used in studies of the more general effects of television. I used it, for instance, in an assessment of television's effects on adult interests and initiative.³ And I am currently using it in the B.B.C. inquiry into the influence of television on sociability and some aspects of family life. It seems also to be applicable to studies of the effects of campaigns of various kinds.

The disadvantage of the Stable Correlate method—whether applied to specific programs or to programing in general—has in the past been that the development and se-

lection of adequate matching criteria has been a major task. Here, as in planning studies, the logical line of development of the method seems to be in the direction of isolating groups of general-purpose predictors and in learning which overlap and which do not. For only in this way can the number of proposed predictors be cut down—and, with it, the amount of statistical processing necessary. Another improvement must, I think, be in the development of statistical methods which are better geared than formal methods to the logic of this particular selection process. In a current inquiry, this has in fact been done with considerable gain.

The special advantage of the Stable Correlate method is, of course, that it allows the measurement of effect to be made without interfering in the essentially complex sequence out of which "effects" normally emerge.

³ W. A. Belson, "The Effects of Television upon the Interests and the Initiative of Adult Viewers in Greater London," a paper read at the 1956 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

RESEARCH TECHNIQUES UNIT
LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE

IN MEMORIAM

ALFRED WEBER

1868–1958

Alfred Weber, professor emeritus at the University of Heidelberg and the senior German sociologist, died on May 2, 1958. He was nearly ninety years old. Like his older brother, Max Weber, he began his academic career as an economist, and, like his brother, he was a product of the "historical school" in economics which, under Gustav Schmoller's leadership, had become alienated from theory. However, Alfred Weber, like his brother, belonged to those who initiated a renaissance of theory. The method of isolating causal analysis through the use of constructed types and "models" (as we would say today) was one of their major theoretical contributions.

Alfred Weber first gained international recognition through his work on location of industry. The "pure theory of location" (1909) was followed by empirical studies of particular industries in Germany, carried out by his students, and by the Industrielle Standortslehre (general and capitalistic theory of location) in Volume VI of the *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, edited by Max Weber (2d rev. ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923), as well as by papers concerning the application of location theory to foreign-trade policy. While the basic work has become widely known through the translation by Carl J. Friedrich (*Alfred Weber's Theory of the Location of Industries* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929]), the more historically and empirically oriented later work has not received from American sociologists the attention which it deserves, especially because of its bearing upon the geographic distribution and growth of cities in the age of capitalism.

The aftermath of World War I and the rise of fascism in Italy led Weber to publish a slender volume on the crisis of the modern state in Europe (*Die Krise des Modernen Staatsgedankens in Europa* [Stuttgart: Deu-

tsche Verlagsanstalt, 1945]). In this treatise he called for a reorientation of German political thought toward democratic elite formation and a European political and economic order.

The Nazi regime compelled Weber to silence, though his home became a center of intellectual resistance. After 1945 Weber, together with men like Karl Jaspers and Theodor Heuss, assumed in speech and in print a leading role in the political and philosophical reorientation and recovery of the German people. His influence during these years in West Germany went far beyond academic circles. To this period belong his *Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte* (Bern: A. Francke A. G., 1945) (*Farewell to European History* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948]), a contribution to the overcoming of nihilism, and his *Der dritte und der vierte Mensch* ("The Third and the Fourth Man") (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1953). The fruits of his resumed teaching at the university are contained in *Einführung in die Soziologie* (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1955)—a symposium with contributions by Weber and some of his students of recent years.

Alfred Weber never believed in value-free social science in the way his brother did. Nor did he see the task of sociology as the conceptual and systematic ordering of types of social relationships. To "formal" sociological theory in the tradition of Georg Simmel, as we find it in Leopold von Wiese's *Beziehungslehre*, Alfred Weber conceded only limited value. His conception of sociology was in a sense derived from the older philosophy-of-history tradition. Sociology to him was "a child of the crisis" of the Occident; he was firmly convinced that it must answer the question: Where do we stand in the stream of history? For analytical purposes he discerned three "strands" or

spheres in the historical process: the process of civilization (i.e., the progressive intellectual comprehension of the universe and the progressive control of man over nature); the social process; and the movements in the culture sphere. Culture, in Weber's sense, comprises the totality of non-utilitarian creations of mankind, the "objectivations" of the experiences of mind and soul, primarily the religions, the arts, and philosophy. These conceptual distinctions found their way into American sociology mainly through Robert M. MacIver's works and through the translation of *Prinzipielles zur Kulturosoziologie* ("Fundamentals of Culture-Sociology," ed. Weltner and Hirschman [New York: Department of Social Science, Columbia University, 1939] [mimeographed]).

It should be emphasized that Weber's intention was, of course, not to classify phe-

nomena but to gain a basis for the study of the interrelations of the three spheres. This explains why his major work, *Kulturgeschichte als Kulturosoziologie* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1935), employs the categories so unobtrusively that one critic thought Weber had not applied his theory at all! Actually, the theory proves extremely useful in the understanding of social change, even on a minor scale, for example, in studying the assimilation of immigrants, or in studying sociocultural change in underdeveloped countries. It is very likely that this theory will prove to be Alfred Weber's most important and lasting contribution to sociology. But, in evaluating his lifework, we must admire his erudition, his comprehensive grasp of social life, his capacity for historical synthesis, and his truly humanistic wisdom.

RUDOLF HEBERLE

Louisiana State University

CLARENCE HENRY SCHETTTLER

1905-1958

Clarence Henry Schettler, associate professor of sociology in Duke University, died suddenly of a coronary attack on May 29, 1958. In his passing his students lost one of their most effective teachers and his colleagues one of their most co-operative collaborators and warmest friends.

Dr. Schettler received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Missouri and his doctorate from the University of Chicago. Before coming to Duke in 1946, he held teaching appointments at Oklahoma, Temple, and Western Reserve universities, and during World War II he served as sociological consultant to the Office of Price Administration and the Federal Housing Administration. On July 26, 1936, he was married to Miss Vera Thompson, of Walla Walla, Washington, who, with two sons, Karl and Paul, survives him.

His chief research interests lay in the field of social psychology. Only two days before his death he dispatched to the publishers the manuscript of his book *Public Opinion in American Society* (Harper & Bros.), and

he had also been engaged in writing still another major work in social psychology.

He was held in esteem by his fellow citizens in the community for his distinguished services in the field of social action. He was co-founder, member, or chairman of a number of the city's social agencies and served a term as president of the Durham Community Planning Council.

It is difficult to write of him in a manner appropriate to the modesty and humility of his life. Yet to his students and colleagues his death represents an irreparable personal loss. His contributions to the development of the university's educational program in many fields was far-reaching and significant. He was always willing to bear more than his share of the drudgery and routine of departmental and university administration. He possessed an exceptional facility for logical and lucid exposition and for identification with the intimate personal problems of his students.

HOWARD E. JENSEN

Duke University

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

GUERRILLA COMMUNISM IN MALAYA: AN EXCHANGE

January 30, 1958

To the Editor:

On page 435 of the January, 1958, issue of the *Journal* there appears a review by Alexander Vucinich of Lucian W. Pye's *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya*. Vucinich concludes his review with the observation that a part of Pye's analysis "shows an obvious racist slant." This statement is based on the conclusion by Pye that the Malayan Chinese are "people for whom understanding is basically an intuitive and not an analytical process" and who have "little ability to think in terms of abstractions and generalizations." Vucinich equates this with Levy-Bruhl's concept of the prelogical mind and then wonders, with singularly inappropriate sarcasm, "what 'social science methodology' the author used to produce this pearl."

The study of culture and personality concerns itself with the investigation of the development of the affective components of personality and is able to conclude (without being called "racist") that personality differs in different cultures as a consequence of differing life-experiences. In other words, emotions and attitudes and response patterns are learned, and different learning experiences produce different personalities. Is it then reasonable to assume, as Vucinich appears to do, that comparable differences in learning and experience are not relevant to the development of intellectual and logical processes and of approaches to problem-solving? There is actually consistent, although scanty, evidence from attempts to administer intelligence tests with minimal cultural content to non-European peoples that our culture is at an extreme in the degree to which it emphasizes and develops skills in abstraction and generalization. (The evidence for this is summarized in a

recent study in which I participated.)¹ If this evidence is valid, and if it leads, as Vucinich would have us believe, to a "racist" conclusion, he forces us to assume that peoples who demonstrably think in more concrete terms and seek literal or traditional solutions to their problems do so because such an intellectual set is in their genes. It is a short step from here to the "master-race" concept.

Aside from the ethical considerations involved, I am concerned over the point of view expressed by Vucinich for two reasons. One is the general failure, reflected here, of social scientists, and particularly anthropologists, to give as much attention to the cross-cultural aspects of cognitive process as they have to affective process in personality development. My other cause for concern, indeed alarm, is the substitution of non-scientific, ideologically derived criticism for an objective appraisal of an author's conclusions by a reviewer. Pye did not state that the intellectual characteristics of the Malayan Chinese were racially inherent in the people; Vucinich projected this inference onto Pye's description. This type of criticism is alarming because it tends to limit free scientific inquiry in a manner very similar to that ably described by Vucinich himself with respect to the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. If I cannot study cross-cultural differences in intellectual processes without being branded a "racist," I will turn in my suit.

THOMAS GLADWIN

National Institute of Mental Health

¹ Seymour B. Sarason and Thomas Gladwin, "Psychological and Cultural Problems in Mental Subnormality: A Review of Research," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, LVII (1958), 3-290.

REJOINDER

April 15, 1958

To the Editor:

I am glad to hear about Gladwin's contribution to *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, Volume LVII (1958). I plan to read it very soon. I am particularly interested in discovering the connection between his findings that "our culture is at an extreme in the degree to which it . . . develops skills in abstraction and generalization" and Professor Pye's assertion that the Malayan Chinese show little ability to think in terms of abstractions and generalizations.

My use of the expression "racialist slant" requires two clarifications:

1. I did not refer to the old-fashioned racialism, which divided mankind into *biologically* superior and inferior groups, but, rather, to its modern substitute and first cousin, which divides mankind into *psychologically* superior and inferior groups. The latter type—more subtle and insidious than its predecessor—is manifested in certain types of culture-personality studies. These studies have tabooed the use of the words "superior" and "inferior" and try to find peace for their souls in the temple of cultural relativism. They do not tell the Kwakiutl

that they are possessed of inferior genes; they simply tell them that they are paranoid megalomaniacs. In the same light, the Dobu are victims of psychopathic suspiciousness; the Manus too worried, irritable, apprehensive, and restless to live a full human life; and the Alorese possessors of an ego "feeble in development and filled with anxiety." Pye does not attribute to the Malayan Chinese any mass psychoses; their trade mark seems to be infantile mentality.

I did not claim—as Gladwin seems to imply—that cross-cultural psychology is not a legitimate academic field. However, I think that, because it is a very important and "sensitive" field, its protagonists must learn to refrain from drawing generalizations which cannot be backed by scientific evidence and from pinning degrading labels on non-Western peoples.

2. I wish to emphasize that what I called a "racialist slant" does not appear in Pye's book as an integral and essential part of his analysis; it is incongruous with the rich sociological material and careful conclusions of this important study.

ALEXANDER VUCINICH

San Jose State College

NEWS AND NOTES

American Institute for Research.—The Institute and the University of Pittsburgh are developing plans for a program of research which would help fill a long-standing need for factual information about the nature of human talents and how best to assist individuals to identify, develop, and use them. The proposal is to measure and describe a one-twentieth stratified sample of 500,000 students currently in Grades IX through XII and follow them for twenty years. This would provide an immediate description of the individual's talent as well as a longitudinal study of the various factors predictive of ultimate educational and vocational success, personal satisfactions, and civic contributions. John C. Flanagan, president of the Institute and professor of psychology at the University of Pittsburgh, is the responsible investigator. John T. Dailey has recently accepted the position of program director for the study. Initial grants have been obtained from the United States Office of Education, the National Institutes of Mental Health, and the Office of Naval Research. Support from other federal agencies is pending. Dr. John H. Fischer, superintendent of schools in Baltimore, is the general chairman of the advisory group. Other persons who have accepted membership on project advisory panels include the following: Samuel A. Stouffer, E. Franklin Frazier, Donald G. Marquis, Robert K. Merton, C. Joseph Nuesse, and Fred L. Strodbeck.

Berkeley, California.—Sociology at Berkeley includes many men and projects not formally connected with the University of California.

Among these are: Robert W. Buechley, Harry N. Greenblatt, H. William Mooney, and J. Richard Wahl, who are in charge of research projects at the State Department of Public Health. Buechley is doing research on the association of selected chronic diseases with smoking and with social and demographic variables. Greenblatt, of the Child Health Research Unit, is completing a monograph on the results of a state-wide sample survey of health supervision and behavior problems of preschool children and of the child-rearing practices of their mothers. Mooney, on assign-

ment from the National Health Survey Program, is finishing a monograph describing methodological results from two household morbidity surveys conducted in California. Wahl, of the Alcoholism Studies Project, is analyzing survey data on social factors related to alcoholism.

Albert T. Rasmussen is at the Pacific School of Religion teaching the sociology of religion. He is engaged in research on the effect of mobility, both horizontal and vertical, on religious attitudes and precipitation, and on the related subject, religion and class.

Sheldon L. Messinger is the sociologist member of an interdisciplinary group studying the careers of families in which the wife is hospitalized for mental illness. The study is supported by the National Institute of Mental Health and the California Department of Mental Hygiene.

Brown University.—Vincent H. Whitney, professor of sociology, has returned to the Department of sociology after a leave of absence during which he served as associate demographic director of the Population Council.

Harold W. Pfautz is on sabbatical leave for the fall semester. He is engaged in a study of the self-conception of rehabilitators and outpatients in a mental health center.

Kurt B. Mayer and Sidney Goldstein have received a research grant from the Small Business Administration for a two-year field study of problems of business growths in Rhode Island. Their monograph, *Migration and Economic Development in Rhode Island*, has just been published by Brown University Press. The University of Pennsylvania Press will publish Goldstein's book *Patterns of Mobility, 1910-1950: A Method for Measuring Migration and Occupational Mobility in the Community* early this fall.

Louis H. Giddings, associate professor and director of the Haffenreffer Museum of the American Indian, was appointed secretary of Section H (Anthropology) of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He spent the summer months in Alaska, continuing his archeological excavations.

Dennis H. Wrong taught the summer session at the University of Toronto.

Robert O. Schulze is engaged in a study of the changing role of "old families" in community power structure.

Surinder K. Mehta spent the summer months at the Population Research and Training Center of the University of Chicago completing his doctoral dissertation research on the urban labor force of Burma.

University of California, Berkeley.—Reinhard Bendix has been designated chairman of the Department of Sociology and Social Institutions for a three-year term, replacing Herbert Blumer, who has resigned as chairman after serving six years in the post. Bendix returns to teaching after a year's sabbatical leave. Bendix and Lipset have recently published an evaluation and annotated bibliography of the field of political sociology as a special issue of *Current Sociology*. They have also completed a book, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, which will be published in October.

Herbert Blumer will be on sabbatical leave during 1958-59. He will spend the year in Brazil as a UNESCO research consultant to the Centro Latino-Americano de Pesquisas em Ciencias Sociais. Upon his return to teaching in the Department in 1959, he will also assume the position of director of the Institute of Social Sciences, a University agency designed to co-ordinate research work in the social sciences and to secure and disburse research funds.

Kingsley Davis has been appointed vice-chairman for a one-year term, replacing Seymour M. Lipset. He also has been reappointed as the United States delegate on the Population Commission of the United Nations. This reappointment is for his second two-year term. Richard L. Forstall, formerly with Rand McNally and Company, joined the staff of International Urban Research in January.

Erving Goffman has been co-opted as a regular member of the Center for the Integration of Social Science Theory to work on the concept of the self in organizational theory with David Schneider of the Department of Anthropology. Membership in the University-supported institute frees faculty members from all teaching responsibilities for one semester a year.

Wolfram Eberhard taught the summer session in Rangoon, Burma.

William Kornhauser has been appointed a

research associate of the Institute of Industrial Relations. He has begun a study of the tensions in the occupational role of scientists.

Herbert Franz Schurmann spent the summer of 1958 in Hong Kong interviewing refugees from Communist China as part of his study of Communist organization methods and response.

Two new regular assistant professorship appointments have been made. The new Department members are Bernard Cohen, previously a lecturer in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard University, and Neil Smelser, until recently a Harvard Junior Fellow. Cohen has worked in the areas of the development of sociologically relevant mathematical models and small-group research. Smelser has co-authored *Economy and Society* with Talcott Parsons and has recently finished a book, *Revolution in Industry and Family*, on the development of textile industry and changes in family structure in eighteenth-century Britain. Cohen will present courses in research methods and small-group research, while Smelser will deal with sociological theory and social change in his teaching.

Two men have been appointed as lecturers for the coming year: Bennett Berger, currently an associate in the Interdisciplinary Social Science Course, and Jack Gibbs, a senior member of the research staff of the International Urban Research Project.

Three new appointments outside the Department have been made to further develop sociological work in various professional schools and University departments: Marjorie Fiske has been chosen as director of social science research at the Langley-Porter Clinic, the psychiatric institute of the University; Burton Clark, Jr., will be a senior member of the research staff of a study being conducted in the School of Education of the sources of educational creativity in different colleges and universities; and Philip Rieff has been appointed as an assistant professor in the Department of Speech.

Josef Chalasinski, professor of Sociology and director of the Sociological Research Institute of the University of Lodz, Poland, was in residence at Berkeley during the spring semester. While here, he gave a seminar on changes in Poland since October. Stanislaw Ossowski, professor of sociology at the University of Warsaw, was in Berkeley during the summer. Both Professors Chalasinski and Ossowski are

in the United States under the Cultural Exchange Program supported by the Ford Foundation.

One Japanese and two British scholars will be in residence with the Department on Faculty Fellowships during 1958-59: Kunio Odaka, professor of sociology at Tokyo University; G. N. Ostergaard, lecturer at the University of Birmingham; and David Lockwood, lecturer at the London School of Economics. Odaka's California stay is supported by the Ford Foundation's Asian Scholar Exchange Program; Ostergaard holds a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship; and Lockwood will be in Berkeley on a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship.

Beginning in 1958-59, the Department is inaugurating a new graduate training program with greater emphasis on the development of a common core of required courses, some of which will be taught in conjunction with the Department of Anthropology. Thus Reinhard Bendix of sociology and Lloyd Fallers of anthropology will give a course on the development of sociological theory; Kingley Davis of sociology and David Schneider of anthropology will deal with systematic sociological theory; and Hanan Selvin and Martin Trow of sociology will teach a required graduate methods course which will emphasize the logic of social research as well as techniques. The new program is based on the assumption that all students should be exposed in depth to work in theory and methods when they begin their graduate work and that they can then follow up with more specific work in theory, advanced methods, and various substantive fields.

Duke University.—Alan C. Kerckhoff has been appointed associate professor. Kerckhoff will act as director of Graduate Studies within the Department.

Joel Smith joined the staff as associate professor.

David Shaw has been appointed research associate. Shaw will work primarily as sociologist member of an interdisciplinary research team working on the problem of "Health Care of the Aged."

Ida Harper Simpson has been appointed research associate. Her primary responsibility will lie in the development of the sociological aspects of a project on "Pre-retirement Counseling" being conducted by an interdisciplinary team.

Donald Roy has been appointed director of undergraduate studies.

John C. McKinney was a Fellow at the first Summer Institute in Gerontology held at the University of Connecticut, August 3-29, 1958.

Howard B. Jensen, who has completed twenty-seven years of service within the Department, including twelve as chairman, retired from active status at the conclusion of the summer session.

University of Illinois.—The program for the Ph.D. in Communications at the University of Illinois has recently been revised. The title of the program has been re-named "Communications," and it has been broadened and liberalized. The student may now specialize within either the field of group or social communication process (which covers theory of communications, philosophy of communications, communications policies and structures, public opinion and attitude formation, and advertising) or the field of individual communication (which covers interpersonal communications, psycholinguistics, linguistics, and experimental phonetics).

Some research employment is available to the Ph.D. candidates in connection with Institute of Communications Research projects. Complete information concerning the Ph.D. program is available in a brochure which may be obtained by writing to Dallas W. Smythe, Chairman, Committee on Graduate Study in Communications, 119 Gregory Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana.

Iowa State College.—The thesis of Everett M. Rogers, who received his Ph.D. degree from Iowa State College in 1957, has been incorrectly reported in our July, 1958, issue. The correct title is "A Conceptual Variable Analysis of Technological Change."

University of Kansas.—Robert C. Squier and Charles A. Valentine, from Berkeley and the University of Pennsylvania, respectively, will join the staff in September as assistant professors in anthropology. Both men are completing work for the Ph.D. degree.

Rupert I. Murrill has left the Department to become assistant professor at University of Minnesota, and John T. Gullahorn has been appointed assistant professor at Michigan State. Louise Sweet has accepted a Social Science Research Council grant to study Near

Eastern cultural life. Miss Sweet will be stationed in Iraq.

Carroll D. Clark, chairman, was on the staff of the Executive Development Program of the University of Kansas School of Business during the summer.

Marston M. McCluggage has returned from the University of Washington, Seattle, where he served the past year as visiting professor of human relations in the School of Business.

E. Jackson Baur is continuing his research on public opinion about methods of flood control with an additional University grant. A second stipend is supporting his research into scholarship and student life, which will be an analysis of sociological factors in academic achievement.

Lawrence S. Bee has his textbook on *Marriage and Family Relations* now in press.

E. Gordon Ericksen, with additional General Research funds, is now in the writing stage of his monograph *The Population of the West Indies Federation*, which is a theoretical analysis employing the concept of countervailing power. He was visiting professor at Washington University, St. Louis, this summer.

Carlyle S. Smith attended the Thirty-third International Congress of Americanists in Costa Rica, where he presented a paper based on his field work in the Plains. He is readying for publication a detailed report on the Norwegian archeological expedition to Easter Island and the eastern Pacific as well as three reports on archeological excavations in the Plains.

Charles K. Warriner, recipient of a Fulbright research grant, has arrived with his family in the Philippines, where he will further his research interest in leadership as it concerns the Moros.

Ray P. Cuzzort has under way a textbook, *Community Organization: Its Theory, Research and Planning*. He is also engaged, in collaboration with Howard Baumgartel, in developing an approach to social mobility that will isolate the components of a social system which impose mobility upon the individual members.

Louisiana State University.—Homer L. Hitt has resigned as head of the departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology and as associate dean of the Graduate School to become dean of Louisiana State University at New Orleans.

Roland J. Pellegrin has been appointed chair-

man of the Department of Sociology and head of the Department of Rural Sociology.

Alvin L. Bertrand, who has been on leave of absence to serve as head of the Levels of Living Section of the United States Department of Agriculture, has returned to the University.

Rudolf Herberle has been elected a member of the executive committee of the American Studies Association of the Lower Mississippi.

Paul H. Price has been promoted to professor of sociology and rural sociology.

Frederick L. Bates will become an associate professor of sociology.

Walfred J. Jokinen has been appointed assistant dean of the Graduate School and assistant professor of sociology.

Midwest Sociological Society.—The annual meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society was held at the Curtis Hotel in Minneapolis on April 24–26, with the Department of Sociology of the University of Minnesota serving as host. A one-day joint session with the Society for the Study of Social Problems preceded the regular meetings.

Guest speaker E. Franklin Frazier spoke on "The Underdeveloped Areas of the World as a Field of Sociological Research."

Officers for 1958–59 are: president, Elio D. Monachesi, University of Minnesota; vice-president, Manford Kuhn, State University of Iowa; secretary-treasurer, Irwin Deutscher, Community Studies, Inc.

George Vold, University of Minnesota, continues as representative to the American Sociological Society, and Paul Campisi, Washington University (St. Louis), remains as editor of the *Midwest Sociologist*. That journal continues to receive an annual stipend from Washington University. Subscription rates are two dollars a year, and subscriptions can be obtained by writing to Secretary-Treasurer, Midwest Sociological Society, 724 Railway Exchange Building, Kansas City, Missouri.

National Science Foundation.—Harry Alpert has resigned as program director for social science research in order to accept an appointment as dean of the Graduate School and professor of sociology at the University of Oregon.

Henry W. Riecken, currently in the Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, has assumed the duties of the program director for social science research.

Bertha W. Rubinstein served as acting program director for social science research for the period August 2 through September 1.

University of Pennsylvania.—Professor Thorsten Sellin was a member and *rapporteur* of an international committee which met at the United Nations to plan the future work program in criminology and the next World Congress (1960) of the United Nations on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. Professor Sellin gave courses in the first part of the summer session at the University of California.

A trade book on marital problems by James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor Stoker Boll will be published this fall by the Ronald Press Company under the title *Why Marriages Go Wrong*. The authors' comparative study, *Families by Size*, is scheduled for publication early in 1960.

Otto Pollak is directing a research project at the Family Service of Philadelphia designed to measure differences in the effectiveness of two types of casework treatment.

Fellowships conferred on Allen D. Grimshaw by the Samuel S. Fels and George Leib Harrison Funds will permit him to devote full time to his research on the sociology of violence.

Three members of the Department will be abroad during the academic year 1958-59: Everett Lee will engage in research on migration at the University of Kiel; E. Digby Baltzell will work in the area of intellectual history while in Spain; and Norman Johnston will gather additional data in Spain and England for his comprehensive study of prison architecture. Marvin Wolfgang returned from Italy after a year spent in gathering materials in the area of historical criminology.

Albert H. Hobbs, William M. Kephart, and Richard D. Lambert were promoted to the rank of associate professor. Marvin Bressler has accepted a position as associate professor at New York University, where he will offer courses in sociological theory and continue his research in the sociology of the intellectual.

Harry Bash, Albert Cheven, Stephen Fybish, and John L. Thompson have joined the Department as teaching assistants. Donald McKinley has been appointed instructor.

Social Science Research Council.—The Council wishes to announce its International Conference Travel Grants for 1958-59. These grants are offered to social scientists

residing in the United States for attendance at meetings outside North America. They are offered only for meetings designated in advance by the Council. The tentative list of meetings is as follows. The approximate number of grants to be offered for each meeting is shown in parenthesis: Congress of the Interamerican Society of Psychology, Rio de Janeiro, December, 1958 (3); Congress of the History of Science, Barcelona, August-September, 1959 (6); Conference of the International Union for Scientific Study of Population, Vienna, August-September, 1959 (5); Congress of the International Sociological Association, Perugia, September, 1959 (15); International Institute of Administrative Sciences, West Germany, 1959 (6); and Congress of the International Statistical Institute, 1959 (if held outside North America) (10).

Forms for application for travel grants will be supplied by the Council on request. Applications for grants for the December, 1958, Interamerican Psychological Congress will be due October 15, and grants for this meeting will be announced as soon as possible thereafter. Applications for all meetings to be held in the summer of 1959 will be due December 1, 1958, and grants will be announced March 1, 1959, or earlier.

During the academic year 1958-59 the Council will accept applications from permanent residents of the United States and Canada for fellowships and grants for training or research in social science.

Closing dates for applications or nominations will differ for the several programs, the earliest being October 15. Prospective candidates are urged to write to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York, as early as possible to be assured of receiving the detailed announcement. Requests for application forms should indicate age, highest academic degree held, present position or activity, and the purpose for which a fellowship or grant is desired.

Society for the Study of Social Problems.—The official journal of the Society, *Social Problems*, is planning a special issue on law and social problems. Students in the area are invited to submit papers for this issue. Manuscripts should be sent to Erwin O. Smigel, Editor, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, before April 1, 1959.

Southern Methodist University.—Walter T. Watson, twice chairman of the sociology section, has been elected president of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

Morton B. King, Jr., has accepted a professorship at the University.

M. La Vern Norris, instructor, read papers at the A.S.S. in Seattle and the National Conference in Family Relations at Eugene.

State Teachers College, Dickinson, North Dakota.—Erwin F. Karner, formerly of the University of Wisconsin and East Tennessee State College, has been appointed to the faculty.

United States government.—Awards authorized by Public Law 584 (79th Congress)—the Fulbright Act—under the auspices of the Board of Foreign Scholarships and the Department of State are open to application for the year 1959–60 for university lecturing or advanced research in Europe, the Near East and Africa, and the Far East.

Closing date of application is October 1, 1958. Application forms and additional information are obtainable from the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D.C.

University of Washington.—Beginning this fall, the Department will offer a special program of study for a limited number of selected undergraduates who intend to prepare for professional careers in sociology. This new "Research Sequence" will emphasize training and experience suited to the efficient pursuit of higher academic degrees. A special brochure describing this program has been prepared; copies are available upon request.

Walter B. Watson of the University of Wisconsin has joined the Department as assistant professor. He will offer courses in demography, human ecology, and statistics.

Sanford A. Dornbusch, who spent the past three years at Harvard University, will return to the University as associate professor.

Peter Garabedian, who received his Doctor's degree this summer, has been appointed assistant professor at the University of Rochester.

Ralph Connor has accepted an appointment as assistant professor at the University of Illinois. He completed his work for the doctorate this summer.

Calvin F. Schmid taught at the University of Hawaii during the regular summer session.

Stanton Wheeler has gone to Harvard University as instructor in the Department of Social Relations.

Yale University.—Leo Srole, of the Department of Psychiatry, Cornell University Medical College, will be visiting professor during the academic year 1958–59. He will participate in the medical sociology program and also teach graduate seminars in social pathology and social psychiatry.

August B. Hollingshead, who has been lecturing and conducting research in Great Britain under a Fulbright grant, returned in August. Maurice R. Davie will be on a Fulbright grant to the University of Rome during this academic year. Leo W. Simmons will be on sabbatical leave during the spring term.

Richard D. Schwartz, on leave during 1957–58 to engage in research in the Yale Law School, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and law. Richard J. Coughlin has been granted another year's leave of absence to continue his work with the Asian Foundation in Hong Kong.

Donald Trow has received a grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health for his investigation of participation and leadership in voluntary associations. Omar Moore's grant from the Office of Naval Research for experimental studies in problem-solving and interaction and Charles Snyder's grant from the United States Public Health Service for the study of alcohol and higher-order problem-solving have been renewed.

Fellowships under a Commonwealth Fund grant are available for the special two-year training program in medical sociology. Fellowships pay \$1,500 in the first year and \$2,000 the second year, supplemented by tuition scholarships from Yale University. The closing date for applications is February 1, 1959. For further information write: A. B. Hollingshead, Director, 1965 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

✓ *Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade.*

Edited by JOSEPH B. GITTTLER. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957. Pp. ix+588. \$10.50.

In a generation American sociologists have not managed to turn out an authoritative manual along the lines of the *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vierkandt's *Handwörterbuch*, or the recent retake by Ziegenfuss. Unfortunately, Gittler's collection of articles cannot close the gap, but publications of this kind may serve several useful purposes, one of them being to ✓ present a classified and analytical report on the accumulated literature of a period. This comes close to what Gittler apparently had in mind. While there is no real shortage of such critical compilations, there is some merit in drawing them together in one volume. If so, however, one must know whether he addresses ✓ primarily students or experts. In this respect the present volume seems to lack the necessary editorial direction. While S. A. Stouffer, in his chapter on research techniques, deliberately chooses to "write down" to the level of Freshmen with an air of condescension, there are several contributors whose responsible assessments will find the undivided attention of their peers. The absence of a unified purpose is also ✓ reflected in the disparate length and thoroughness of the various presentations. Furthermore, the usefulness of such a book depends largely on technical details. The form adopted for ✓ bibliographical references, which follows the common practice of the psychologists, is not ✓ very practical. For the use of mere code numbers in the text (instead of, at least, author and date of publication, as in anthropological literature) requires the constant consultation of the bibliographies at the end of each article. Several contributors have tried to remedy the situation, but only Blumer consistently names each author in the text, while others spell out some and leave the reader to guess the rest. In terms of accuracy, the citations leave much to be desired. For instance, this reviewer's name appears in the bibliographies twice spelled correctly, twice misquoted in two different ways, but only two versions have been entered in the Index. It is unlikely that he has been singled out for special treatment.

The disappointing coverage given to theory

and methodology by two otherwise distinguished authors like Gittler and E. Mannheim only goes to show that it simply cannot be done in twenty pages. The equally promising team of W. F. Whyte and F. B. Miller, on the other hand, has somehow procured sufficient space in order to present a substantive outline of practically the whole of industrial sociology, instead of the intended review of a decade's literature. Equally full, yet more in keeping with the general layout, is the treatment of the family by R. F. Winch, who carefully surveys four-and-a-half times as many items as Whyte and Miller. With still greater judiciousness, criminology is handled by M. B. Clinard, whose emphasis on research designs is particularly welcome. Instructive, if somewhat colorless, is C. V. Kizer's report on population research. Yet this may be due in part to the fact that here, as in the case of community study, a certain plateau has been reached for some time. With regard to the community a traditional though not entirely logical division has been maintained; N. P. Gist confines himself to urban sociology, stressing—as was to be expected—ecology, while H. W. Beers has drawn a manageable selection from the unceasing flow of rural research monographs.

The peculiar meaning given by F. S. Chapin to the term "institution" confirms the suspicion ✓ that sociologists are still all too prone to use it as a catchall for whatever aspects of social behavior they happen to be interested in at the moment. The main subject of the chapter—voluntary associations—overlaps with the topics of other contributions, notably that by Bales, Hare, and Borgatta on small groups. These authors wisely content themselves with a rather thorough discussion of four variables, viz., size, communication, group task, and personality of members. They succeed in offering a substantial résumé of a field in which considerable progress has been made in recent years. R. M. Williams continues his rigorous analysis of work in race relations where he left off a decade ago, thereby achieving a degree of continuity which perforce is lacking elsewhere. The chapter belongs to the best the volume has to offer. The leanings of recent American sociology toward psychological problems and meth-

ods is reflected in the coincidence that two more articles besides those by Williams and Bales *et al.* could just as well find their place in a survey of social psychology. Bert Kaplan, who is writing on personality, tries to cover but a limited number of controversial problems together with the ways in which their solution has been attempted. His sober procedure strikes this reviewer, himself no expert in the field, as particularly informative. Herbert Blumer takes up once more the neglected field of collective behavior, whose conceptualization and systematic presentation has long been almost his monopoly. He also shows himself in true form as a relentless critic of muddled thinking and an ever stimulating intellectual gadfly of the profession. The five judiciously selected and carefully annotated bibliographies in the appendix on culture change (J. Macklin), sociology of art and of religion (both by D. J. Pittman), of education (C. W. Gordon), and of politics (J. R. Gusfield) belong to the most useful sections of the book.

Finally, we have to mention W. L. Warner's extensive if somewhat personalized discussion of social stratification. Even if the chapter seems to reach beyond the scope of the volume as a whole, it will, conceivably, be quoted more often than others. For here is the most mature and so far least unsatisfactory statement of the theoretical framework offered by a pioneer of contemporary research in social class, which takes full cognizance of the many valid criticisms leveled against both his concepts and methods. Its general significance alone would make this reviewer regret the limitations imposed upon his modest effort to acquaint potential readers with the contents of a standard work which, however uneven in detail and unequal to a task it might have fulfilled, should become an indispensable guide for every practicing sociologist, a landmark for at least another decade.

E. K. FRANCIS

University of Notre Dame

Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study. By AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD and FREDRICK C. REDLICH. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958. Pp. ix+442. \$7.50.

This work, in my judgment, will prove to be a significant milestone in sociological investigations of mental disorders. The basic data of

this study are derived from two sources: a psychiatric census which attempted to record every person who was a resident of the New Haven community and who was in treatment with a private psychiatrist, psychiatric clinic, or mental hospital between May 31 and December 1, 1950, and a 5 per cent sample of the general population. This population census was necessary in order to make comparisons between patients and non-patients by social class. This sample census proved to be within 1 per cent of the United States census for both males and females. Hollingshead developed an index of social position utilizing area of residence, occupation, and education which enabled the researcher to determine the class status of every person in the psychiatric census and in the 5 per cent population sample. The psychiatric census recorded 1,451 psychotics and 464 neurotics who were in treatment at some time during the observation period.

These data are then organized and analyzed in numerous tables to provide empirical tests for the hypotheses that (1) the prevalence of treated mental disease is related significantly to an individual's position in the class structure; (2) the types of diagnosed psychiatric disorders are connected significantly to the class structure; and (3) the kind of psychiatric treatment administered by psychiatrists is associated with the patient's position in the class structure. The chi-square test is used throughout to determine whether there is any significant relationship between class and mental illness. Numerous controls—age, sex, race, marital status, and religious affiliation—are imposed in order to establish without doubt that class is the significant variable affecting the prevalence of mental illness in the community.

The authors have been most ingenious, too, in breaking down their total prevalence group into three time categories: (1) cases entering treatment for the first time during the six-month observation period; (2) cases that had been psychiatric patients at some time in the past but re-entered treatment during the six-month observation; and (3) patients who were in treatment on May 31, 1950, and continued in treatment during the observation period. Rates for these three groups by social class were then computed, and all showed a significant deviation from theoretical expectancies. It may be of some interest to note that the rates for the incidence of treated mental illness, group (1), while significant at the 5 per cent level on

the chi-square test, do not vary inversely with the class level.

This recital of data and tested hypotheses hardly does justice to the richness of presentation and ideas in this volume. Three of the richest chapters—the history of the social structure in New Haven, the cultural characteristics noted at the different class levels, and the analysis of the paths to psychiatric treatment—while indispensable to the total analysis, are significant papers considered separately. The authors' analysis of the four milestones to psychiatric treatment—the occurrence of "abnormal" behavior, the appraisal of the behavior as disturbed, the decision to seek treatment, and the implementation of this decision—clearly shows the role of a social judgment in determining who is to be recorded as abnormal. Their demonstration that social class effects appraisal and decision to seek treatment points to the practical difficulty of ever getting a uniform standard for determining mental illness for epidemiological work. Perhaps we have here an analogy to the common cold.

How do their findings square with what sociological theory might lead us to expect? Here we might expect rates of the various psychoses to vary inversely with the class structure. This, as we indicated above, is not always the case. Hollingshead and Redlich have sociological awareness; for example, they present data that rejects the "drift" hypothesis and deals with the problem of total prevalence versus treated prevalence. However, at the same time, they recognize that their data indicate that sociocultural factors have a significant effect on the prevalence of treated disorders in the population but do not represent essential or necessary conditions in the etiology of mental disorders (p. 360).

In effect this means that they have shown only that the distribution of treated cases in the community is influenced by the class structure and is not a matter of chance. Consequently, their analyses tend to support the general hypothesis, favored by Odegaard, that sociocultural factors act as socially selective devices determining the persons to be treated, the type of treatment employed, the cost of treatment, and, to some extent, the diagnosis. This interpretation, while implicit in much of their material, is never made explicit.

One aspect of the data deserves comment. The authors show clearly in chapter viii that treated neuroses are more likely to vary di-

rectly with social class, while treated psychoses are more likely to vary inversely with class. Then we note (p. 337) that psychiatrists, psychologists, nurses, social workers, artists, and other professionals make up a considerable percentage of neurotics in Classes I and II. Now, while these persons would have to be counted within their definitions, one can well raise the question whether anything but confusion will result by counting as sick people professionals who are using psychiatrists to achieve "maximal professional growth." This procedure certainly tends to distort the image of the prevalence of psychiatric illness in the community and, particularly in the case of this study, the image of the class structure.

In their analysis of the psychiatric profession in terms of social class, mobility, and religious affiliation, the authors have made a contribution to the sociology of the professions. In their comparisons between the psychoanalytically and neurologically oriented psychiatrists, they have helped document what many of us have recognized for some time, namely, that many psychiatrists in private practice, who are often the most highly trained, are not actually dealing with the real mental health problems in the community. One of their final observations—that psychiatrists should acquire a broad knowledge of social classes and ethnic groups if they are to be truly effective as therapists—is reminiscent of Kroeber's observation of twenty-five years ago.

This book is a "must" for all professional workers in the mental health field. It will, no doubt, have some influence in finding ways of solving the economics of psychiatric treatment so that every person in the community who needs treatment will be able to get the kind of treatment appropriate for his illness. In its careful statement of hypotheses, assumptions, and research procedures it might well serve as a model for other sociological studies.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne State University
and
Lafayette Clinic

The Quest for Identity. By ALLEN WHEELIS.
New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1958. Pp. 250. \$3.95.

Love and Conflict: New Patterns in Family Life. By GIBSON WINTER. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1958. Pp. 191. \$3.50.

Allen Wheelis, a psychoanalyst, remarks that a change in the character of the American people has been described by such authors as Riesman, Commager, Lippmann, and Margaret Mead. The first part of his book is devoted to a psychodynamic analysis of the cultural change which has resulted in a characterological shift whereby the authority of the superego is weakened and unconscious motivation has become less significant because there is less of it. "Normality has largely replaced morality as a standard of operational adequacy" (pp. 41-42). Just as today's man is increasingly able to adapt, to alter his values, and to change his reactions (Riesman's "other-directed"), so his character comes to lack goals, meaning, and purpose (Durkheim's "anomie"). Today identity is harder to achieve and to maintain.

A consequence of the characterological change that Wheelis alleges has occurred is a change in the typical cases confronting psychoanalysts. Hysteria depends on repression, and it is becoming rare. Character disorders, which reflect warped ego-functioning, are becoming more common, and today the analyst deals increasingly with the vague conditions of maladjustment and discontent. As the unconscious wanes in significance, more people develop faith in it and seek salvation in psychoanalysis, a theory and a technique designed "to treat the disorders to which the nineteenth-century character was vulnerable" (p. 48). The troubled of our times call for the rebirth of transcendental values. Many come to psychoanalysis seeking such values. But, says our author, psychoanalysis has no ideology, provides no value system; its proper function is to extend awareness, to make unconscious things conscious. Moreover, it is rare, he asserts, for a person "whose super-ego strength is anchored in a firm ideology" (e.g., a devout Catholic or a dedicated Marxist) to consult a psychoanalyst (pp. 162-63).

The anguish of contemporary doubt does not spare the psychoanalyst. After having been taught that in analysis patients will re-experience and resolve their conflicts and will effect structural alterations of their personalities, fledgling psychoanalysts can produce few structural changes and find relapse competing with improvement. The dogmatist and the dissident represent two modes of adjusting. These are the times that try analysts' souls, but our author hopes the latter-day Jobs will be sufficiently fortified to adjust in a more constructive way.

Interpreted as an essay on the *Zeitgeist* of upper-middle-class psychoanalytic patients, this is a wise and stimulating book. The sociological reader may feel that Wheelis could have done with a better grounding in sociological theory (especially in Durkheim) and may complain that the author seems unsure about the distinction between folkways and mores. But these are minor complaints about an extraordinarily well-written essay on the changing character of man and the occupational role of the psychoanalyst.

Gibson Winter, a member of the theological faculty at the University of Chicago, has written a commentary on and interpretation of the modern family. His principal sources of inspiration have been Parsons and Zimmerman and the three B's—Burgess, Bales, and the Bible. In oversimplified form his argument boils down to two states of affairs which he views as wrong. First, because the location of man's work is away from home, fathers have "abdicated" their power within the family. The author is sure that this is bad and contrary to biblical wisdom, but he appears uncertain whether the abdicated power is located in mothers (as reported on p. 37) or in children (as reported on p. 39). The other bad state of affairs is that our society in general and our family system in particular has no place for the aged. The author has some wise observations on pressures toward conformity, the pressures parents exert on children, and the guilt-producing pressures of books of advice to parents. The book is not intended for the sociological audience but does constitute data for the sociologist of knowledge interested in analyzing the content of literature advising people how to live, for, as the publisher's blurb states, "Anybody who reads it carefully cannot help becoming a better husband or wife and a happier person."

ROBERT F. WINCH

Northwestern University

The Volunteers—Means and Ends in a National Organization. By DAVID L. SILLS. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. xx+320. \$6.00.

Those interested in topics such as the following will find rewarding materials and insights in David Sills's case study of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis: *philan-*

thropy in America (local chapter activities, including patient care, and nationally directed mass fund-raising—the March of Dimes); *organization theory* (especially as enriched by including voluntary associations and, in this study, examining two organizational problems arising out of “the paradox of delegation”—maintaining membership interest and preserving organizational goals—and developing as “a central thesis that the ultimate character of an organization is determined by its membership, its formal structure, its activities, and the environment within which its activities are carried out”); *motivation research* (in this case, the social-psychological use of opinion polls and survey interviews to study recruiting and volunteering, circumventing sources of apathy and “organizational frustration,” selective perception in relation to differential participation and rewards, and other matters); and even the *contemporary community* (through glimpses afforded in interview excerpts).

The book's format and style make it attractive to the non-technical reader (perhaps even the committed volunteer) and still intriguing for the specialist. Certain facts are presented of which at least half of the American public is shown to have been ignorant, so they will probably be news to some social scientists.

While the book concludes with no news about the future of the Foundation, assuming widespread effective use of the Salk vaccine, the author predicts that “the Foundation will make a successful adaptation to its post-polio program” and gives as “the most compelling reason” that “the organization has in fact *already* been transformed, in large part by its Volunteers, into something other than a special purpose association. . . . In a word, it is an organization which is as committed to a means as it is to an end” (p. 270). Thus, having circumvented “goal displacement” throughout its career, the Foundation is expected to avoid organizational destruction (or atrophy, as exemplified by the WCTU and the Townsend Organization) and to survive, and even expand, through “succession of goals” (or redefinition of objectives and activities, as in the cases of the YMCA and the Red Cross). The volunteers' perception of the Foundation as an *innovating* organization would thus win out and probably will, in view of the absence of “struc-

tural constraints” along with established acceptance on the part of the community.

BUFORD H. JUNKER

University of Pittsburgh

Erinnerungen (“Recollections”). By LEOPOLD VON WIESE. Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1957. Pp. 116. DM. 8.25 (paper).

Wiese's small book presents memories from the more than eight decades of his full life. The autobiography of the great sociologist is a personal document, but it still remains sociological in its point of view; that is, “it is directed towards the field of perceivable actions and the interpersonal relations which manifest themselves in such actions.” In other words, it is directed toward the outer world. Yet, for the explanation of social actions, Wiese descends into the realm of personal experience: “the inner world then opens itself as the true world.” Wiese offers here his personal view of the social changes through which he lived.

The book is interesting in at least two respects: it reveals much about the development of Germany (no student of this subject should fail to read it) and, in addition, it reveals a Wiese different from the sociological systematizer whom sociologists know so well. Here is a gentle, almost tender, human being who lived his life fully; he had an unusual capacity to feel with other men. In this book Wiese is not the cool, detached observer but the participant, not politically active, but the seeing, experiencing participant in the social and political upheavals of recent German history.

Wiese was born in 1876, the son of a Prussian officer. The only way in which he could obtain an education was to enter the military schools of the Prussian *Kadetten-Korps*. His suffering among the insensitive, anti-intellectual, snobbish young militarists was more than he believed he could take. He rebelled wherever and whenever he could. But still Wiese remained, in a sense, a Prussian, and he knows it. His iron determination to pursue those subjects for which he feels he has little inclination and his ideal of a life of service—these are Prussian ideals. He sees himself, it may be noted, as a poetic man and not, by natural inclination, as the sometimes almost pedantic systematizer.

Also illuminating is his summation of his life-long antagonism toward Scheler, whom he disliked and, at the same time, admired: "He [Scheler] was no Prussian," says Wiese disapprovingly.

The emotional tone of the book is one of reflective melancholy, the melancholy which rests over a past irretrievably lost. And it is lost not only for Wiese personally but for a whole people. The world in which he grew up, the world of the German monarchy, with all its faults and its glory, is gone forever. The young generation of university students in Germany today remember even the Nazis only as a dim childhood memory. Wiese's life reaches across the ages. It is admirable how he maintained his ability to take the pulse of the present. But the sadness for the past remains. And it is understandable that a slight tone of bitterness creeps in when he describes how a new generation of sociologists has grown up in Germany and has taken over, sometimes impatiently pushing the older generation aside.

There are also many amusing episodes—one, especially characteristic, of his visit to America in 1934–35, when he taught at Wisconsin and at Harvard. He was used to the German atmosphere of jealously guarded academic freedom and accustomed to formal lectures rather than to "classes." Naturally, he found the American system of teaching very schoolmasterly and funny. To take attendance records and give six-week exams was against his nature. However, E. A. Ross, then chairman of the Department at Wisconsin, sometimes came into Wiese's classes, assigned the seats to students, and personally took attendance—to make sure that the system was upheld. But Wiese confesses that he did beat the system: he revised upward all the rather stiff grades given by his teaching assistants. His students loved him.

Every reader who knows Wiese's work and who is interested in the flavor of life in Germany during World War I, through the Nazi time, and World War II will find the book rewarding. In fact, once he starts it, he will not put it down.

BURKART HOLZNER

University of Wisconsin

Some Applications of Behavioural Research.

Edited by RENSIS LIKERT and SAMUEL P. HAYES, JR. Paris: United Nations Educa-

tional, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 1957. Pp. 333. \$3.25.

This collection of essays is one more indication of a renewed interest in the practical applications of social research. Happily, the present revival does not seem to be confused by polemics on the ethics of "social engineering"; rather, it is characterized by a sober-minded attempt to codify the process through which the findings of social research may serve the needs of persons with administrative responsibilities. A brief review of its contents is perhaps the best way of indicating the contributions of this volume to this much-needed codification.

Eight chapters are included in the volume, which consists largely of reports of meetings sponsored by the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior. Most of the authors were, at the time they wrote, staff members either of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan or of the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior; exceptions are Simon Lesser, of the Institute for Motivation Research, and Francis Bourne, of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.

In his introductory chapter Rensis Likert discusses the general problem of using research as a guide for action, with special emphasis given to the sample survey method. Stanley Seashore's two chapters report on how research can be utilized to improve leadership in large organizations; of particular interest is his description of various methods by which evaluation research has been successfully incorporated as a component part of company leadership training programs.

In his chapter, "Human Factors in Research Administration," Hollis Peter summarizes research which has been carried out among researchers themselves, particularly research engineers. Typical of the interesting findings he reports is that "leaders of high performance-high morale research groups had more friends in the laboratory, saw many more people in the laboratory socially and spent more time socially with them, than leaders of low performance-low morale groups" (p. 146).

A chapter by Simon Lesser and Hollis Peter summarizes a considerable body of research into the impact of training programs for foreign nationals in the United States. In this reviewer's opinion, this chapter—perhaps more

than any other—demonstrates the very high level of sophistication which has come to characterize the best of applied research in the past decade.

Francis Bourne's chapter summarizes research into the ways in which social groups, including reference groups, influence consumer behavior. The research which has been done is largely of an exploratory nature, but this thoughtful summary should make it possible for serious market researchers to develop improved research designs.

In his chapter Irving Morrisett presents a summary of recent research in the area of business forecasting through studies of consumer expectations and plans.

Finally, Samuel Hayes codifies some of the ways in which the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior has sought to bring research to bear upon the problems of organizations.

The wide range of research described in this volume, the extensive bibliographies included at the end of each chapter, the modest price, and the wide distribution assured through publication by UNESCO—all suggest that this volume will contribute significantly toward the more widespread and skilful application of social research to the solution of practical problems.

DAVID L. SILLS

Bureau of Applied Social Research

- ✓ *Emerging Problems in Social Psychology*. Edited by MUZAHER SHERIF AND M. O. WILSON. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma, Institute of Group Relations, 1957. Pp. viii + 350.

This report on the third series of Oklahoma lectures on social psychology, like the Nebraska series on motivation, results in an importation of active workers to a university "deep in the interior," hence the importance of the enterprise may well go beyond the volumes which result.

The reader of the present volume will find that the nature-nurture notions in sociology teachers' minds (and some of their texts) badly needs updating if we are to judge by L. H. Snyder's fine paper. N. N. Foote would have us lay aside the biological and physical analogies in our language for the dramatistic language of Burke. This much I understood, but his

comments on the unity of non-repetitive experience and the role of metaphorical homologies were difficult to follow. Ausubel's forty pages on social variables and ego functioning, filled with Bacon-like aphorisms on all major questions of the behavioral sciences, ends with a complaint about the prevailing intemperate theoretical climate. A. S. Luchins argues for a parametric approach to studies of mental set, behavioral rigidity, autokinetic effects, etc., in the belief that relatively unfettered empiricism will lead us more quickly toward realistic assessment of situational factors and individual characteristics than alternative approaches. J. E. Hochberg quickly convinces an amateur reader that notions about perceptual defenses and distortions picked up at about the time of the ill-fated coin experiments may now be junked because social perception is still an area where findings are not what they seem to be.

R. R. Blake and J. S. Mouton remind us that the effect of a stimulus depends upon the stimulus constellation and the state of the particular person, with pilot studies which show joint effects on stimulus, individual attitudes, and differential backgrounds. This reader welcomed actual data after the first 150 data-less pages. Sherif gives further legitimacy to the integration of the psychological and sociological approach with has characterized his recent work. R. B. Cattell's report upon this factor analytic study of groups piques one's curiosity and causes him to resolve to translate Cattell's findings into more conventional terminology some day. Kelly's article is a refreshing synthesis of the forms of resistance to persuasive communication. For sheer literary grace Lindesmith's restating of his stubbornly held and little-changing views on opiate addiction tops by far other contributions. Selections by S. S. Sargent, T. Burling, W. W. Peach, C. A. M. Ewing, and G. Murphy are of lesser weight and interest.

Contrasted with the well-edited but sometimes ponderous selections in the *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Sherif's three volumes constitute an inferior and uneven guide to the field. But there is little overlap between Sherif and Lindzey's authors, and interim symposiums may well be the additional type of publication needed to assess the rapid growth of social psychology.

FRED L. STRODTBECK

University of Chicago

Say It with Figures. By HANS ZEISEL. 4th ed. New York: Harper & Bros., 1957. Pp. xviii + 257. \$3.50.

Since its publication, this excellent little book has enjoyed a secure place in the library of the research man. It is the "poor man's methods book" and is still a bargain at the price. Clearly written, it has now gone through three editions and will probably be in wide use a decade from now.

I have compared the third with this fourth edition, chapter by chapter, and almost word for word. There are only a few changes. (1) The sequence of chapters has been altered so that the discussion no longer begins with "how to tabulate reasons," but with the uses of percentages. This change is no improvement. (2) The chapter on reason analysis has been lengthened to include a better discussion of problem formulation and the accounting scheme. In the ensuing pages some new materials are used as illustrations. (3) In the chapter on interviewing and interpretation new materials have been presented from the jury inquiry. (4) New material on measuring effectiveness is presented (pp. 230 ff.).

Here and there, punctuation and clarity have been improved. On the other hand, though Zeisel apparently "corrected" Tables X-11 and X-12, the percentages are reversed from the third edition and are still inconsistent, if I read them correctly. And on page 239 he still uses "deducted reasons" when he seems to mean "deduced reasons."

One need not, then, discard the old edition. However, even the experienced research man needs the book in his shop, to remind him of numerous simple techniques for solving troublesome problems. It must be kept in mind that, when this work came out in 1947, no book in research methods devoted more than passing attention to the "analysis of data."

Zeisel's approach was that of the craftsman who knows that, however well designed the study, the data do not always "come out right." In every study there are data catastrophes of various kinds, and much of analysis consists in salvage. Zeisel helps us go back to the original errors in the study and go forward to new and better interpretations.

True enough, the recent methods books do contain materials on the analysis of data. In addition, Hyman's *Survey Analysis* goes far beyond Zeisel. But, as I read current research

reports and compare them with Zeisel's sophisticated, insightful, and neat solutions, I see that far too few sociologists have yet utilized as much of *Say It with Figures* as they should.

WM. J. GOODE

Columbia University

Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change. Edited by HOWARD BECKER and ALVIN BOSKOFF. New York: Dryden Press, 1957. Pp. xii + 756. \$6.50.

The first chapter of this important book (Boskoff, "From Social Thought to Sociological Theory") surveys the various notions developed by our gifted ancestors. Part II ("Major Strands in Theory and Methodology") begins with an outstanding paper by Howard E. Jensen ("Developments in Analysis of Social Thought"), a persuasive plea for sociologists to apply their discipline to their own past and to engage, as teachers of sociology, in a sociology of sociology. This conception of the "sociology of knowledge"—hardly distinguishable from Simmel's "general sociology"—implies, among other things, an excellently executed critique of Mannheim and Durkheim and an almost wholly unexplicated philosophical anthropology. Jensen's chapter is enriched by "Recent Analyses of Sociological Theory" (Richard A. Schermerhorn and Boskoff), a useful and stimulating survey of (eight) kinds of preoccupations with the assessment and history of sociology. However, the piece by Preston Vall and Bonite Velien, "General Sociological Theories of Current Reference," renders no such service. William L. Kolb's "The Changing Prominence of Values in Modern Sociological Theory" traces major conceptions of "value"; here the structural-functional school, in effect, emerges more culture-bound than it knows, failing (as does Kolb) to examine the basic distinction between "empirical" and "non-empirical." Becker's "Current Sacred-Secular Theory and Its Development" presents typologies of sacredness and rationality and defines types of societies predominantly as configurations of these in relation to attitude toward change. The analysis is Becker's most systematic and mature presentation of the sacred-secular continuum to date. The difficulty of meeting the analytical requirement of a zero point (indifference to

change) raises the questions of whether attitude toward change is adequately grasped as a matter of degree rather than of kind and in what sense the idea of a continuum itself might be viable. John C. McKinney's "Methodology, Procedures, and Techniques" clarifies differences among these three terms and orders the wealth of extant and available methods; however, the distinctions between methodology and philosophy (p. 187) and between rationalism and empiricism (p. 190) is unsatisfactory. Walter Buckley's "Structural-Functional Analysis in Modern Sociology" and Boskoff's paper on social change are very useful comprehensive expositions.

Part III ("Some Specializations in Modern Sociology") contains excellent surveys of small groups (Allan W. Eister), social disorganization (Don Martindale), social stratification (Roscoe C. Hinkle, Jr., and Boskoff), sociology of knowledge (Franz Adler), of law (N. S. Timasheff), of religion (Paul Honigsheim), and of art (Hugh D. Duncan). Martindale is especially good on "cultural lag"; Honigsheim, as usual, is easily the most knowledgeable, Duncan perhaps the most original and the least satisfied with mere expounding; Adler operates with *ad hoc* categories, exhibits an unanalyzed faith in piecemeal empiricism, and designates some unlikely people as Marxists.

Part IV ("Convergences of Bordering Fields with Sociology") gives a challenging history of interdisciplinary developments (Adolph S. Tomars) and pleads for intradisciplinary integration as the most urgent need but does not investigate Parsons' serious attempt at the theoretical integration of some of the social sciences. C. W. M. Hart's provocative history of cultural anthropology since World War I does not resolve the question it poses, namely, whether all or none of cultural anthropology is relevant to sociology. Kimball Young and Linton Freeman's chapter is a useful if routine and uncritical survey of social psychology rather than of its relation with sociology, as the title of their essay announces, while Gisela J. Hinkle's piece on sociology and psychoanalysis is outstanding. Part V ("Sociological Research and Theory Abroad") contains surveys of sociology in Britain (W. J. H. Sprott), France (Jean Stoezel), Germany (W. E. Mühlmann), Italy (Franco Ferrarotti), and Japan (Kunio Odaka). Sprott's paper is emi-

nently readable; Stoezel's, crammed with facts and containing interesting excerpts from Lévy-Bruhl's posthumous journals; Mühlmann's, very informative and raises important questions about class and estate (pp. 670, 690); Ferrarotti's, a fine summary but fails to answer the admittedly central question how Croce and Gentile prevented a fuller development of sociology in Italy; and Odaka's tends to be catalogue-like and hardly reflects recent Japanese experiences. Despite the marked trend toward empirical studies common to the countries described, these chapters are recommended for deprovincializing the American student who wants to ferret out the different conceptions of sociology cultivated abroad.

The volume, despite its title and its contents, fails to clarify the meaning of "theory." The only explicit attempt at defining the term systematically stems from a philosopher who is quoted (p. 341). The selection and classification of contributions is not always clear. The book does not exhibit a sociological approach to its various subject matters, such as Jensen pleads for. McKinney comments on "an unconscious disavowal of historical continuities" (p. 228) but himself, along with most other contributors, exhibits something of the sort. One of many examples is Buckley's failure to inquire into the rise of functionalism and into the changes in its conceptions which he traces.

Unexpected plums are the short histories of the uses of terms ("holy," p. 144; "personality and culture," p. 599, n. 53; "sociography," p. 685); less unexpected irritations are what look like editorial cuts in footnote documentation, especially in the chapters by Hinkle-Boskoff and Honigsheim, and the more than 130 misprints and similar errors that I have counted.

The unfortunate custom of accumulating many miscellaneous short reviews in every single issue of a periodical makes an extended analytical essay on this volume impossible and even prevents me from qualification of my strictures. Such an essay would be more important than qualification but more important still, and very likely, is that many people, for many different reasons, will read this book. Its editors and contributors deserve warm congratulations.

KURT H. WOLFF

Ohio State University

Soziologie des Mönchtums und der Benediktinerregel ("Sociology of Monasticism and the Benedictine Order"). By AUGUSTIN BLAZOVICH. Vienna: Verlag Herder, 1954. Pp. 167.

Religious orders are of considerable sociological interest. The deliberateness and, as it were, artificiality of their design in comparison with similarly close-knit and inclusive communities of fate offer the conditions of an experiment.

While the author has obviously gained many of his insights as a participant, he does not deal with the sort of firsthand observations the sociologist values most. Nevertheless, the ideal pattern of a social system is as significant as the real behavior of its members, even if it does not tell the whole story. The author's approach to the understanding of an institution—analysis of law—is as legitimate as the deliberate attempt to reconstruct a broad culture type by means of historical and literary evidence alone. These methods, however, which were made respectable by such men as Durkheim or Weber, may in less skilled hands lead to a purely historical narrative, however richly embroidered with sociological jargon, or to wild conjectures which have little to do with the painstaking procedure of the empirical scientist. Despite his repeated invocations of sociological authorities, one cannot help suspecting that Blazovich, with all his sincerity and diligence, lacks somewhat the maturity and training necessary to overcome a basic uncertainty as to the scope of the problem and a self-consciousness as to his own purpose. Nor is he fully familiar with the relevant literature in other languages. The occasional insertion of apologetical, moral, and even political asides is more likely to annoy the reader than edify him. Americans, after struggling through the German text, may also be irked by the author's inconsistency in translating Latin passages.

Even if the book has not exhausted a golden opportunity to close important gaps in the sociology of religion, as well as in our understanding of certain general types of social systems, it assembles, in a small space, factual details otherwise difficult to get. It also contains many thoughtful suggestions, rewarding not only to the non-specialist—the discussion of monastic attitudes toward property and manual labor, authority and discipline, dignity

of the individual, and gravity of personal comportment. His rejection of the affinity in type between religious order and sect gives pause to reconsider a doctrine of long standing.

E. K. FRANCIS

University of Notre Dame

The Measurement of Levels of Living with Special Reference to Jamaica. By C. A. MOSER. ("Colonial Research Studies," No. 24.) London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1957. Pp. 106. 13s. 6d.

Using data from official sources, special surveys, and published analysis, Moser attempts to measure changes in levels of living over time in Jamaica. He deals mostly with Jamaica as a unit but, when possible, gives data by parishes as well. He compiled his data during a nine-week stay in Jamaica during the summer of 1955.

The report is divided into four major parts. The first contains an explicit statement of the writer's general approach and an enumeration of the concepts used. Of the many components of levels of living which might have been chosen for analysis, the writer selects four: education, nutrition, health, and housing. Also some mention is made of economic "well-offness."

The second part of the volume contains the detailed analysis of available materials and touches upon education, nutrition, health, and housing.

An interesting methodological discussion is contained in Part III. The writer is convinced that studies of levels of living become most meaningful only when related to the standards, norms, and values of the people involved. Although one may agree with Moser on this point, it is of little operational utility in his report owing to the limitations of the basic data. He explains his consistent treatment of indicators of levels of living as being of three classes—indicators of *resources*, of the *utilization of resources*, and of the *end effects* at which these resources are aimed. This classification makes considerable sense, and the report is strengthened by its use. The sophisticated adherents of factor analysis may be uncomfortable reading it, but the discussion of the combination of indicators and components into an over-all or summary measure

of levels of living will be of interest to the general reader. The methodological discussion also includes an evaluation of international and intertemporal comparisons of measures of levels of living.

The fourth and concluding part of the volume is a discussion of future work. It contains a rather detailed proposal for studies which would result in adequate data for the measurement of levels of living and a reaffirmation of the belief that information must also be obtained on the peoples' values, traditions, and aspirations. In general, the report is carefully done, conclusions being well thought out and cautiously drawn. It is recommended by this reviewer.

WENDELL BELL

*University of California
Los Angeles*

Navaho and Ute Peyotism: A Chronological and Distributional Study. By DAVID F. ABERLE and OMER C. STEWART. ("University of Colorado Studies, Series in Anthropology," No. 6.) Boulder, Colo.: University of Colorado Press, 1957. Pp. ix+129. \$2.50.

Q. "When did you first use peyote?"

B.R.: "I used it 37 years ago [*sic*]. . . . It was across the state line, at Mancos Creek. I knew little about it then—I played at it—and I knew about God. I was sick for a long time, I used other things—wine, whiskey, and beer, and I didn't like it [peyote] at that time. I got sick; the wine burned my stomach. I was working in Colorado. I used it four times, and then I was OK. I no longer use liquor—I just hold to the Native American Church and pray. I know about God. I am the first Navaho man to use it. . . ."

From a peyote priest

The "Native American Church" is the name of a quasi-Christian, nativistic peyote cult. The cult is pan-Indian, intended to appeal across Indian tribal boundaries, quasi-Christian in the sense that its deities include God, Jesus, and Mary, but worshipped in ritual unrecognizable to Christians (in the usual sense). Like other nativistic movements—the ghost dances, the cargo cults, etc.—the peyote cult interests sociologists because of its relation to a general theory of social movements and a sociology of religion. This volume is a preparation of the ground for the work we would like to see on such relationships. It is a small, but a care-

ful, painstaking, and thorough presentation of the most that can be said at the moment about when the Ute received the cult, how it reached them, how it spread among them, and how, from the Ute, the cult reached the Navaho, when this most probably occurred, how it spread among the Navaho, and its probable intensity in thirteen of the eighteen Navaho districts at an early and a late date. The sources range from interviews with cult members, including the five original Mancos Creek peyote priests (the first priest is quoted above), to the files and rolls of the CCC camps in which many Navaho-Ute peyote contacts were made, to documents such as missionary periodicals and Navaho Tribal Council minutes. A number of deftly handled problems in the interpretation of documents and of informants' accounts make rather interesting methodological reading, for example, interpreting the omission of reference to the cult by people one expects would mention it if they did know about it at a given time.

Anyone other than the most serious specialist, however, should wait for the forthcoming more general discussion of the significance of the spread of peyote among the Ute and Navaho. The authors carefully skirt any discussion of more general hypotheses, believing that the basic framework of time, place, and relative accessibility of the cult is the first step in analyzing its differential appeal and the factors affecting this appeal. A more problem-oriented volume, which the authors promise will follow, would take up such matters as the relation of the government's sheep-reduction program among the Navaho to the rapid spread of the peyote cult south of the San Juan after about 1938. This volume will be of significant interest to sociologists, and, on the basis of the present beginning, it promises to be a very thoughtful and honest piece of work.

MORRIS ZELDITCH, JR.

Columbia University

Racial Intergration in Private Residential Neighborhoods in Connecticut. By HENRY G. STETLER. Hartford, Conn.: State of Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, 1957. Pp. ix+55.

Apart from situations of subsidized rental and administered occupancy, under what con-

ditions can racially unsegregated patterns of residence become stabilized in northern industrial and suburban communities? This question has both practical urgency and theoretic relevance, and Stetler's study makes a substantial contribution to its solution.

Of Connecticut's 16,000 Negro families, about 600 live outside predominantly Negro or transitional areas. One-third (219) of these were interviewed, along with 200 white next-door neighbors and 190 whites living three doors away. In 69 per cent of the cases the Negro respondents were one of no more than three Negro households living in the area. Median length of Negro residence was about eight years. The average Negro was more highly educated and more likely to be a white-collar worker than his neighbors; median family incomes were similar. Negro respondents were far above the Connecticut Negro median in all these respects; the whites, somewhat above statewide averages.

Ninety-four per cent of Negroes owned their homes, 69 per cent having negotiated with a white seller or real estate agent. Only 10 per cent reported real difficulty in getting mortgage financing. White opposition to the move-ins was reported as almost exclusively verbal. Only 11 per cent of white respondents said they wanted to move away when interviewed; most "really liked" their neighborhoods.

Adult interracial contact was reported slight and was especially rare away from the homes. Where children were of similar ages, about three-fourths of the whites reported child interaction, chiefly local play. As was to be expected from the paucity of interaction, expressed racial attitudes were less intense either pro or con, and white attitudes toward interaction were less closely related to duration of joint residence, and to closeness of Negro neighbor, than has been reported in studies of public housing tenants.

Of whites who had been in the area when Negroes entered, 39 per cent believed the value of their own properties had been diminished. Such beliefs were unaffected by the number of Negro families in the neighborhood, but they did vary inversely with length of joint residence. That such beliefs have a limited validity in non-transitional neighborhoods is suggested by the fact that white families who moved in next door to already resident Negroes tended to have lower incomes than either the old residents who stayed or post-

Negro move-ins three doors away. These self-selected next-door neighbors also reported substantially more Negro-white interaction and more integrationist attitudes than either of the other white groups.

Stetler provides some data on how Negroes got access to properties on the market, circumstances of white owners' decisions to sell to Negroes, obstacles to Negro rental, and conditions affecting volume of interaction. On all these points, however, more data and analysis are needed.

WILLIAM C. BRADBURY

University of Chicago

The Refugee: A Psychological Study. By K. C. CIRTAUTAS. Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1957. Pp. 166. \$3.00.

This essay has some characteristics of a meditation on the moral and spiritual meaning of exile—a fate visited on some by the many who deviate from the divine law of mutual love. Although the essay is descriptive in design, its projective character explains the absence of references to previous studies on the subject. The author outlines a set of refugee types. They are distinguished by their attitudes to the host country, their failure or success, their spiritual resources, and by the degree of altruism or egocentrism with which they approach life anew. The types named in the course of the publication include "the despondent," "the decadent," "the indifferent," "the cultured," "the critic," "the utilitarian," "the idealist," "the citizen of the world," "the blessed," and "the mystic." A twenty-two-page chapter deals with the process of assimilation. Sorobin has written a commendatory preface.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Rencontres de la géographie et de la sociologie ("The Meeting of Geography and Sociology"), By MAXIMILIEN SORRE. Paris: Librairie Marcel Rivière & Cie, 1957. Pp. 213. Fr. 570.

This essay, although it concerns some matters in which geography and sociology share a considerable interest, is definitely not an attempt at a substantial integration of the sociological and geographical points of view.

Maximilien Sorre is a senior representative of the humanistically inclined French regionalist school of geography. He is the author of several large regional studies and of a monumental work of synthesis, *Les Fondements de la géographie humaine* ("The Principles of Humanistic Geography") (3 vols. in 4; Paris, 1948-52), and was formerly the director of the Centre d'Études Sociologiques at the Sorbonne.

Sorre begins with an account of the development of geographic consciousness and, later, of the discipline itself, showing the division into regional and general (or what Americans call "systematic") viewpoints, and he notes the growth of many now-independent special earth sciences out of the latter. He then discusses Durkheimian sociology, its legitimacy as a science, and the pertinence of its "social physiology" to human geography—a subject he refuses to surrender to the sociologists.

Subsequent chapters are devoted to the themes of permanence and mobility; space, including a good discussion of "economic space"; ecology, in which the author attempts to draw some lessons for human ecology from phyto-sociology and plant ecology; and the special cases of the study of religion, of political life, and of cities.

Sorre's strongly empirical spirit shows through in his assessment of the sociologists' and the geographers' approaches to these matters. He seeks to point up the fallacies of deductive methods and to indicate the sounder and more promising of the empirical research procedures possible or now in use.

This reviewer cannot help being astonished at the omission from the discussion of the name of Frederic Le Play, whose ideas, despite a deterministic bias, promised a basis for integrating sociology not only with geography but also with economics and ethnology. After him, sociology seemed to move nearer to psychology and away from a meeting with these other fields. Sorre shows that the ecologists and demographers have begun recently to move back toward the problems common to geography and sociology. In France, he points out, the human geographers have remained more aware of sociological dimensions than their American colleagues have been for a long time; but it has been American sociologists who pioneered the field of human ecology.

There are interesting suggestions here that, in developing their own proper interest in cer-

tain common questions, sociology and geography may in the future achieve much more fruitful interchange and mutual stimulation. Let us hope so.

PHILIP L. WAGNER

University of Chicago

An der Konsumfront: Zwischenbilanz des modernen Lebens ("Consumption in Modern Life"). By KARL BEDNARIK. Stuttgart: Gustav Kiepp Verlag, 1957. Pp. 180 DM. 490.

In his earlier book *Der Junge Arbeiter von Heute* ("Today's Young Worker"), Bednarik gave us a picture of disenchanted Central European young workers, more attracted by a scooter than by socialistic program. The present essay embraces the consumption aspect of contemporary culture.

The critique resembles the traditional argument that began with Spengler and ended with Ortega y Gasset. There are, however, two exceptions: (1) Bednarik concentrates primarily upon consumption, touching the problem of machine-bound human work only cursorily, and (2), having exposed all deficiencies of modern consumption-oriented culture, he offers in the last six pages an optimistic solution, falling back upon "intellectualization" of our culture, which would help us to differentiate between value and non-value, stressing again individuality and private life. Thus the future looks good to Bednarik because there are great resources hidden in our cultural heritage and in man's potentialities, if "renouncement, self-control and proper choice" (p. 180) are applied.

The essay is vividly written, bristling with impressionistic but often new comparisons. Empirical studies have shown that the influence of the mass media is less than has been believed, that the modern family is still a vigorous social institution, and that people like to work and live in small groups as they did within the idealized *Gemeinschaft* stage. Bednarik admits the counterbalancing forces in one paragraph only (p. 178). A sociologist would appreciate a more thorough analysis. In what fields of culture, for instance, is mass character pronounced, and eventually detrimental, and in what fields have the private, individual, and small-group phenomena stood their own? Somehow the reader cannot help

remembering the German differentiation between culture and civilization, the latter being quantitative, technological and "inferior" to culture.

Lack of bibliography or footnotes makes it difficult to evaluate the reliability of certain quotes and references made by the author.

JIRI KOLAJA

Talladega College

Frontiers of Knowledge in the Study of Man.

Edited by LYNN WHITE, JR. New York: Harper & Bros., 1956. Pp. xii+330. \$4.50.

Specialization makes communication necessary between specialists, as well as to laymen. This book is such a communication by seventeen authors who take stock of their respective fields and relate what is relevant to one another and the general public. The fields covered include genetics, psychology, cultural anthropology, history, politics, geography, economics, history of science, musicology, art history, literature, linguistics, mathematics, philosophy, and religion. The individual reports, except for the chapter on linguistics, are written in non-technical language. The strategy of the reports varies from chapter to chapter. The majority of the contributors convey an outline of their discipline and its procedures. Some seek to relate the major findings and insights gained in their respective fields. One author, Howard Mumford Jones, offers a historical sketch of literary criticism, while Lynn White makes his fascinating chapter on history the occasion for advancing the proposition that the historian's exclusive reliance on written records is a source of upper-class bias. Literate minorities, he says, tend to pass on to posterity those facets of life favoring their patrons or fellow rulers, while the activities and accomplishments of the masses remain unrecorded. The historian who wants to do justice to his subject cannot get at the unrecorded facets of life without interpolation and interpretive constructs. The cited instances make this chapter as interesting as it is provocative.

The editor's epilogue reflects on the principal shifts in the values of the Western world. The traditional identification of occidental culture with civilization is giving way to the global point of view. The primacy of logic and language over other tools of symbolic ex-

pression, such as the arts, faith, and ritual, is no longer maintained. The increased emphasis on the role of the unconscious has undermined the role attributed to reason as the primary force in cultural change. Finally, the hierarchical order of values is being abandoned in favor of an equiponderant and non-preferential value system.

This handy little book is addressed to scholars, but it is written for everybody, and successfully so. It serves as an open house in which seventeen specialists play hosts to one another and to the general reading public and also as an illustration of the maxim that scholarship and lucid English need not be antagonists.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

The Dynamics of World History. By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. Edited by JOHN J. MULLOY. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956. Pp. 489.

This volume contains a selection from Dawson's writings published during the last thirty-five years, including many articles from periodicals not easily accessible to the American reader. Mulloy has added a useful general analysis of the "continuity and development" in Dawson's thought, and the book is organized so as to present the author's ideas on some fundamental issues of contemporary historiography. Among these the following stand out:

1. The relationship of history to the social sciences, particularly to sociology. Dawson pleads for integration of the two. However, it cannot be said that in this work he has advanced theoretically far beyond his programmatic declarations.

2. The possibility of a unified view of "world history" as a result of sociological comparison and historical interpretation of a number of "civilizations." As other authors from Vico to Toynbee who worked on similar syntheses, Dawson tries to derive a socio-cultural prognosis from his descriptive interpretations. He looks for the "creation of a new world civilization . . . within an all embracing spiritual community" based on "the Catholic Church and Western tradition of science and scholarship" (p. 412).

3. Problems of metahistory. Dawson pleads against the historical relativists for a synthesis of "exact techniques of historical criticism and research" with "a universal vision transcending the relative limitations of the particular field of historical study." In short, he thinks of metahistory in terms of a metaphysical system and feels that "if you are a good historian . . . your preconceived meta-historical idea will not destroy the value of your historical research" (p. 288). This section contains also analytic vignettes of the "metahistorical visions" of some outstanding historical thinkers, including a few masterpieces of condensed exposition of Augustine, Marx, and Toynbee.

The unity of Dawson's thought and its amazing "continuity" result from his specific "Christian point of view of history," which is made explicit with refreshing clarity. It assumes "the existence of a divine progress in history which will be realized through the church in the kingdom of God" (p. 265). This "apocalyptic" or "real meaning of history" is sharply separated from the "apparent meaning historians have studied and philosophers have attempted to explain" (p. 237). Dawson's writings must necessarily reflect the contrast, if not the antagonism, of these two meanings of history, which makes it hard to evaluate his discussions; but, beyond this, he is of the opinion that "in order to understand the Christian view of history it is necessary to accept the Christian faith" (p. 235). If that is so, and if "the" Christian faith is circumscribed by his exposition, the barrier to the understanding and reviewing of his historical interpretations would indeed be insuperable for a reviewer who derives his criteria from "the Western tradition of science and scholarship."

FREDERICK W. HENSSLER

Gettysburg College

Sozialprestige und sozialer Status ("Social Prestige and Social Status"). By HEINZ KLUTH. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1957. Pp. vi+101. DM. 10.50.

The author, a young sociologist who teaches at the University of Hamburg, attempts to contribute to our understanding of the nature of modern social structure through an analysis

and conceptual redefinition of two of its constituent elements: social status and social prestige. A quotation from Hugh Dalziel Duncan's *Language and Literature in Society* forms the hub of the discussion: "The need for feeling order in our social life is as deep a need as sex and hunger."

It is Kluth's major thesis that the need for belonging, "for feeling order," can be satisfied only by a comparatively stable social structure, one which places each individual securely in a well-defined social position and assigns him a social function in such a way that he can meaningfully participate in the dominant value system of his society. Differential participation in the value system forms the essence of social status; it defines the position of individuals and groups in society. According to Kluth, only a traditional social order, like the feudal estate system, provides a well-defined value system that assures emotional security and social stability.

To Kluth, industrialization has completely transformed the social structure; by opening up all social positions to individual competition and making economic success the main criterion of social value, the quest for social status has become illusory. A materialistic value system can provide neither social stability nor emotional security.

This thesis, which entirely neglects the stimulating and creative aspects of instability and insecurity, is by no means new, but it is ably argued here. That Kluth's definition of the weasel word "social status" adds anything to our repertoire of analytical concepts is moot, and, as far as his analysis of the second concept, social prestige, is concerned, the verdict is definitely negative. Tracing the term to its Latin origin, *praestigium*, which signifies the tricks and sleights of hand of the magician and prestidigitator, Kluth claims that even in modern society social prestige contains an irrational element. It is based neither on tangible social achievement nor on respect for social position; instead, social prestige flows only from values which are socially desirable but factually inaccessible. Any scholar has a right to his own definitions, of course, but adding a dash of mysticism surely contributes nothing of value to the clarification of murky conceptual waters.

KURT B. MAYER

Brown University

Growth toward Freedom: A Challenge for Campus and Community. By WILLIAM W. BIDDLE. With the collaboration of LOUREIDE J. BIDDLE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1957. Pp. x+171. \$3.00.

The utopian tradition of the Enlightenment has been one of the chief glories of our civilization and at the same time one of the chief sources of embarrassment for the sociologist trying to free himself from do-good moralism. Professor Biddle's little book provides a recent illustration of this dilemma of ethical optimism versus sociological skepticism; unfortunately, he makes very little effort to resolve the dilemma.

Growth toward Freedom proposes that colleges, particularly the small liberal-arts colleges, give major emphasis to "Fundamental Education," which is defined as being "more concerned with development of free, self-moving, ethical personalities than with learning of any specific subject-matter . . . activity-centered, rather than centered in classes or courses . . . [and] conceived in kindly friendship to help people discover the best in themselves, rather than in discipline to force them into some pre-chosen patterns of excellence" (p. 18). These aims are to be achieved by having students and professors live, work, and participate with non-college people in neighboring communities or in work camps at home and abroad. The emphasis is less on teaching or helping others directly than on an indirect and permissive mutual encouragement and growth. *Growth toward Freedom* thus combines the utopianism and *richesse oblige* of the Enlightenment with what may best be described as a Quaker assumption that the very process of interaction among people will help to bring forth the divine spark from within each man and thus will generate good and sufficient goals for human endeavor.

As this reviewer sees it, the problem presented by Biddle's vista of human regeneration is that of squaring it with "reality." There is the possibility—at least for those who do not share the Quaker belief—that the stress on "togetherness" and the admiration for participation per se will degenerate into the conformity and anti-intellectualism that attend upon infatuation with sheer groupiness. More important for immediate purposes are the book's shortcomings as a report on an educational program that has been in practice for

a number of years. There is no law against advocacy or even against optimism, but an author ought to face up to the problems, dilemmas, areas of ignorance, and failures as he has experienced or can imagine them. In a few passages he mentions problems and obstacles but usually substitutes general remarks on human ignorance and timidity for critical analysis. Indeed, it is not only the dark side which fails to receive illumination. Even the successes are treated too casually, so that the whole book lacks either rigor or—despite the evident affection for "The Many"—much in the way of humanistic wisdom or insight. There is no attempt at evaluation (except for some student testimonials) or even case histories, and the reader does not learn what, if anything, the author has found out about when, where, how, and why a program of fundamental education succeeds or fails. The vision of people inspired to help themselves toward a better future is a truly moving one, but the pathos of the topic does not rub off onto the book.

MICHAEL S. OLMSTED

Smith College

The Pursuit of the Millennium. By NORMAN COHN. Fairlawn, N.J.: Essential Books, Inc., 1957. Pp. xvi+476. \$9.00.

Millennialism is today a bizarre and uncongenial idea for most people, and it is strange to think that only a century and a half ago it could be propounded with conviction by such orthodox Christians as Timothy Dwight and not much over a century ago could be accepted, from William Miller, by sober Presbyterian clergy and congregations in New York State. Professor Cohn's brilliant and erudite book stops short of this period, however, and is concerned with Central European medieval millennial movements—and particularly with the revolutionary versions of such movements (in the wider history of millennialism, it is fitting to make this distinction between the revolutionary and the passive).

This excellent book brings together the common strain in so many medieval movements and digs deeply into the original source documents—Latin, French, German, Czech, and English. The messianic strain and the search for the promised kingdom are brought out clearly in the examination of such move-

ments as the People's Crusade, the *Pastoureaux*, the Flagellants, the communistic Taborites, the militant Anabaptism of Münster under John of Leyden, and others less celebrated than these. Biblical and folk legends were combined in various ways by the prophets of these movements and applied to the events and personages of their own times. In particular, the myth of the sleeping monarch, waiting to rise and lead his followers to glory, played a vital part in the earlier movements; in the later ones the papacy became the living embodiment of the Antichrist—as, indeed, it has remained for some millennial sects of our own times, Jehovah's Witnesses and the Christadelphians.

Cohn sees millennial movements as springing essentially from disturbed social conditions, particularly from overpopulation and unemployment in urban areas, manipulated by disordered—often paranoid—personalities. The later movements were egalitarian, and some emphasized an antinomian freedom of spirit, which, perhaps, only sought to justify indulgences for the poor, indulgences the rich could all too often enjoy without suffering censure from the church. Millennialism may be seen as the typical ideology of the ignorant oppressed, just as orthodox eschatology was the ideology used by the wealthy to placate the poor. The relative roles of the Judaic millennial strain and the Hellenist heaven-and-hell notion in medieval society would be a rewarding sociological study, although it goes beyond Cohn's concerns. That this book should stimulate questions peripheral to its main thesis is itself an earnest of its extreme importance. Here is a work of great scholarship without the burden of the technicalities of scholarship. It is suggestive, highly readable, and free from jargon.

BRYAN R. WILSON

University of California
Berkeley

American Nationalism: An Interpretative Essay. By HANS KOHN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1957. Pp. x+272. \$5.00.

Uniqueness is a function of comparison, and if anyone is qualified to lay bare the uniqueness of American nationalism it is Professor Kohn. In the present book he turns to the American scene, discussing in five chapters "some of the chief problems inherent in the

very complex phenomenon of American nationalism as they appear to a student of comparative nationalism."

Kohn first points out that in its eighteenth-century origins American nationalism showed none of the traits associated with equivalent movements in Europe. It sprang neither from sentiments derived from a common descent, nor from a common religion, nor from a historically defined territory, nor from a sense of cultural or spiritual separateness. It grew from an idea: "the English tradition of liberty as it developed from older roots in the two revolutions of the seventeenth century" broadened by Enlightenment philosophy into a belief in the fulfilment of human potentialities under the benign institutions to be created in the new nation.

He then traces the Americans' search in the early national period for an indigenous culture by which to establish a more than political independence of England. Seen from a comparative point of view, this effort at cultural independence, unique in its lack of a distinctive language and folk culture, led to excesses in declamation, but it led also to moderation in real nationalist passion, for the maternal tradition included common sense, "universalism," and tolerance.

In a chapter on sectionalism, drawing analogies to developments in Switzerland and sharp contrasts with the results of unification in Germany and Italy, Kohn discusses America's success in uniting sectional interests so as to "allow liberty of development to all its parts without imposing the hegemony of one of them."

Finally, Kohn comments on America's contemporary role in world affairs, arguing that the catastrophic course of European history after World War I flowed not from the evils of Versailles but from a failure of responsible leadership among the allied nations, and particularly from America's failure to follow the guidance of Woodrow Wilson, whose vision was rooted in the eighteenth-century sources of American nationalism which must remain, in Kohn's view, the ideological force behind American leadership in the world.

Throughout, there is learning and thought, and all along the way there are illuminations set off by sparks of comparisons with European nationalisms. Yet the book as a whole is disappointing. In the first place, it is tedious to read, owing in part to excessive quotations

which interrupt the author's thought and owing also to the thought itself, which does not proceed in direct order but weaves back and forth, threading unevenly through the underbrush of quotations, changing directions frequently.

One wonders whether Kohn's view of the nature of nationalism itself does not account for some, at least, of these difficulties. Nationalism as it emerges from this book is a group spirit, an attitude to the sovereign nation, which seems to have a life of its own and retains its essential characteristics over long periods: "Mid-twentieth century circumstances have not changed the fundamental character of American nationalism which goes back to the eighteenth century. It is still based on the outlook of the English-speaking people of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." But is it? To what extent have we really retained, in the face of modern industrialism and totally altered views of man and society, the ideology of a small rural society that existed a hundred and fifty years ago? American nationalism in Kohn's terms is indeed difficult if not impossible to trace, for it is only at the highest level of abstraction that its history is the progress of a continuous idea. In more ordinary terms its history is the successive transformations of a national self-image under the press of shifting circumstances. The trail of these alterations is by no means easy to follow, but it is consecutive and lends itself to an ordered analysis.

BERNARD BAILYN

Harvard University

School Problems in Human Relations. By LLOYD and ELAINE COOK. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1957. Pp. xi+292. \$5.50.

As a text for "a training program in human relations" for education majors, this book, in both content and structure, is a mixture of ideas from group dynamics, human relations, and sociology. To achieve their purpose, the authors start with three chapters designed to orient students (and also, I suspect, their teachers) toward a group discussion course, toward human relations problems, and toward procedures for the solution of these problems. The core of the book consists of nine chapters of cases and comments organized in terms of the variety of problems faced by school per-

sonnel. The final three chapters provide a theory of the "teacher-leader role in 'change action.'"

The conception of "human relations" is a limited one. The authors reject "impairments of communication" as a definition of human relations problems (and we agree that it is inadequate), but, in stressing "value conflicts," they shift the focus of concern from concrete interpersonal relationships to the abstract phenomenon Abbott Lawrence Lowell has called "conflicts of principle." Few would disagree with the authors that a consideration of values is important, but value issues are neither the sole nor the central cause or character of problems in human relationships.

The focus upon value conflicts is maintained throughout the core of the book by asking of each of the cases, "What *should* the [teacher, superintendent, or other responsible actor] do?" Although the authors maintain the ideal of individual and group self-determination, their comments frequently state or imply an absolute "ought" answer to their "should" questions.

The cases are also used as illustrations of theories or generalizations about "human relations" and as take-off points for securing data—through role-playing, sociodrama, and like techniques—from and about the students and the class using the text. These derived or developed "cases" which come from the latter use will provide much more adequate material for the clinical analysis of human relationships than the written cases, which are too short and too limited in perspective to lead to more than speculation.

Many of the guiding propositions of this text are, when properly specified and applied, useful and valid. It is regretted that their applications in this book were not adequately circumscribed and integrated for their strengths, and useful contributions are lost in the confusions which result.

Near the end of the book the authors describe a Vermont village general store: "Miss Ann, proprietor, was far too wise to reduce this confusion, for people like to root among the incongruities. They like to dig about, to try their luck, then to exclaim over what they found." We recommend this text to Miss Ann's customers.

CHARLES K. WARRINER

University of Kansas

Drinking and Drinkers. By ERIK ALLARDT, TOUKO MARKKANEN, and MARTTI TAKALA. ("Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies Publication," No. 6.) Helsinki: Uudenmaan Kirjapaino Osakeyhtio, 1957. Pp. 98.

This monograph is one of a series published both in English and in Finnish by the Department of Social Research of the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, directed by the Finnish sociologist Dr. Kettil Brunn. It consists of three research reports, noteworthy not only for their findings but also for their up-to-date methodological sophistication. If this volume and its companions in the series are any indication, American sociologists may suddenly awaken to find that some of the most profound applications of the rapidly developing methodology of social research are taking place in Europe, where national governments are more inclined to underwrite large-scale research efforts.

The first paper, "Drinking Norms and Drinking Habits" by Erik Allardt, professor of sociology at the University of Helsinki, is based upon four hundred interviews with a random sample of persons drawn from two residential areas in Helsinki; the interviews were taken by students as a class project for a sociology seminar. It is an effort to measure attitudes toward drinking and to relate them to actual drinking behavior. By Guttman scaling techniques, measuring devices for determining scale position with respect to four different aspects of attitudes toward drinking are developed. The intensity of the attitude associated with the position was determined by the five-position intensity check list of the form popularized by Likert. Actual drinking behavior was measured in four different ways by asking questions about past consumption of alcohol. The study also made a foray into small-group research and the "flow of influence" in an effort to learn the extent to which membership in small drinking groups influences attitudes and overt behavior and the conformity between drinking attitudes and drinking behavior in different social groupings.

The second paper, "An Exact Factor Analytical Approach to differences in Personality Structure between Alcoholics and the Normal Group," by Touko Markkanen, asserts that only by a system of simultaneous factors can one assess the personality differences of alcoholics and non-alcoholics and the relative

amount of difference for each factor independently of other factors.

The third paper, "Methodologic Problems of Alcohol Psychology," by psychologist Martti Takala, is a short discussion of methodological principles to be followed in conducting laboratory tests of reactions to alcohol intake.

These three papers demonstrate that research sociologists can make a valuable contribution to knowledge about emotion-laden social problems such as alcoholism without becoming involved in value judgments and programs of remedy. They illustrate well the role of social science in national and community programs of welfare.

DONALD J. BOGUE

University of Chicago

Sociology and the Field of Corrections. By LLOYD E. OHLIN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956. Pp. 58. \$0.50.

New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency. Edited by HELEN L. WITMER and RUTH KOTINSKY. Washington: Government Printing Office, n.d. Pp. 92. \$0.30.

Both these reports came into existence because of the realization that sociological theory and research findings are not being used effectively in professional practice.

The bulletin by Ohlin is one of a series prepared and published under the joint aegis of the American Sociological Society and the Russell Sage Foundation. The series is an attempt to bridge the gap between "pure" and applied sociology in specific fields. The purpose of this bulletin, as stated in the Foreword, requires some analysis but appears to be threefold: to appraise what sociologists have and have not done in the field of corrections, to locate research opportunities for sociologists, and to indicate occupational outlets for them. The report limits the meaning of "field of corrections" to probation and parole systems and penal institutions, specifically excluding problems of law enforcement and judicial procedure.

In accomplishing the first purpose, Ohlin has achieved the second. The value of his report is that it is indeed a "tough-minded" appraisal of what sociologists have, and, especially, have not, done in the field of corrections. He points to an abysmal neglect of this field as an

area of sociological inquiry and to a wealth of research opportunity in the organization and operation of probation and parole systems and in the social organization, culture, and social psychology of life within the confines of correctional institutions. While both the Foreword and the title of chapter vi lead the reader to expect a more developed discussion of career opportunities, in devoting the bulk of the report to the discussion of what has and has not been done in research, Ohlin has achieved the purpose of the series. What more pertinent explanation can exist for failure to apply research findings than the fact that such are almost non-existent?

The second report is of a conference on the relevance and interrelation of certain sociological and psychiatric concepts for delinquency. Held under the auspices of the United States Children's Bureau in 1955, the conference brought together sociologist Robert Merton and psychiatrist Erik H. Erikson. Each presented theories of delinquency causation: Merton discussed the social-cultural environment and anomie; Erikson, ego identity and the psychosocial moratorium. The conference was admittedly abortive, having set for itself an objective impossible of attainment within the time limits. No conclusions were reached about the bearing of the theories on delinquency causation, nor were any specific research projects formulated on the basis of the theories. Nevertheless, the discussions make thoughtful reading, and certainly the attempt to integrate sociological and psychiatric theories in their bearing on delinquency is a worthwhile and increasingly necessary endeavor.

EDNA M. O'HERN

St. John Fisher College

Methods of Group Psychotherapy. By RAYMOND J. CORSINI. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1957. Pp. xi+251. \$6.50.

While persons doing research in social psychology continue in their endeavor to learn more about personality and social interaction, practitioners still need to face the immediate problem of modifying the behavior of persons who are judged to have mental or social disorders. In this context there has been a constant production of volumes that have taken recourse in nebulous and often questionable

theory. Possibly much of the theory has arisen purely out of a need to have some basis other than common sense on which to place a rationale for treatment. However, in more recent years there has been a return to a less doctrinaire and more humble view of both the operations and the theoretical base for the operations in the treatment processes. Corsini's book is of this type, and it is effective because it describes operations concisely and clearly; when interpretation of theory underlying operations is brought to the fore, it is done either in a comparative way or with reference to items that could almost be classed as belonging to the wise or knowledgeable rather than to the aesthete or partisan.

In this volume a reader may find what is probably the most objective description of the history of psychotherapy that has yet been written. In spite of the fact that Corsini has been involved in the field himself and may even have indulged occasionally in exchanges with other leaders of the field, he has abstracted and encompassed the work of some of the doctrinaire theories he has brought under question in other contexts. Special attention is given to the part played by psychoanalysis, Adlerian psychology, Moreno's procedures, and client-centered theory.

Of particular interest to the student of small-group behavior and social psychology will be in Corsini's discussion of the mechanism of group psychotherapy. However, the reader will find the discussion of individual versus group therapy equally relevant because it brings together the thoughts on the topic of many clinicians.

For the sociological reader Corsini's volume is a well-rounded introduction into an area of practice that has more and more drawn from the social sciences. Corsini's description of the methods of group psychotherapy is systematic and complete. It is not always well organized, but this is more a reflection of the field than a shortcoming of the author. If it has not been possible systematically to provide theory that underlies the group psychotherapy processes, at least the implicit theory is discernible in Corsini's writings. In this regard the sections on procedures and processes and the consideration of the group psychotherapist are instructive.

The strength of the book, however, lies in Corsini's excellent protocols, which are examples of analytic group therapy, non-directive

group therapy, family counseling, and psychodramatic group therapy. These brief and stylized examples describe the psychotherapeutic approaches much better than any classroom lectures and possibly even better than a demonstration.

In summary, Corsini has done a very difficult job in a scholarly and useful way. Practitioners will certainly appreciate the work that has gone into his book; sociologists and psychologists will also find this rewarding reading.

EDWARD F. BORGATTA

Russell Sage Foundation

• *Report on the World Social Situation Including Studies of Urbanization in Underdeveloped Areas.* By the UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT. New York: Bureau of Social Affairs, United Nations Secretariat, in co-operation with the International Labour Office, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization, 1957. Pp. vii+198. \$1.75.

In 1952 the United Nations Secretariat issued the *Preliminary Report on the World Situation*. This was an effort to provide an international view and evaluation of trends up to about 1950 in the world's population growth, food production and consumption, health and health programs, education, income, industrial production, conditions of work, housing, and programs of social welfare. The *Report* under review undertakes a similar task but emphasizes the changes which have taken place in the period from 1950 to 1955, particularly in the underdeveloped countries. Its three final chapters discuss the process of urbanization and its attendant gains and problems, first, on a general level; second, in Africa south of the Sahara; and, finally, in Latin America. Asia is covered in a brief appendix presenting the conclusions of the Joint UN-UNESCO Seminar on Urbanization in the ECAFE Region held at Bangkok in 1956.

Despite restrictions on the definition of the word "social" which result in major emphasis throughout the *Report* on standards and levels of living, this is the kind of ambitious undertaking which can perhaps only be carried out successfully by the co-operating agencies of an international organization such as the United

Nations. These agencies obviously need collections of comparable data for different countries of the world in carrying forward their own programs. At the same time such compilations provide a comprehensive picture and a basic reference invaluable to scholars, who would require a lifetime of patient work and extensive travel to approximate them independently. A volume like the present one, taken in conjunction with related monographs such as the *Preliminary Reports*, the *World Economic Survey* (1955), the *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East* (1956), the *International Survey of Programmes of Social Development* (1955), and *Population Growth and the Standard of Living in Underdeveloped Countries* (1954), provides an unparalleled world view of the topics covered. And it is, of course, this kind of world view which is frequently necessary to temper the easy generalizations which are in actuality applicable only to limited areas of time and space.

It is not a criticism of this *Report*, then, to underline the uncertainty of a great many of the figures presented and of their significance. In fact, from Preface to final "Tentative Conclusions," the authors themselves constantly reiterate this need for caution. The data presented are those which are at least relatively reliable, and the statistical indicators are those recommended by a committee of experts to give the best international definition and measurement of standards and levels of living. Yet the data most needed are often entirely lacking, or lacking for the underdeveloped countries, or are incomplete or not precise in one respect or another. For this reason, some areas such as housing can be treated only incidentally. And all the conclusions must be viewed as tentative. As much as anything else, this *Report* makes evident the need for the 1960 censuses and for a sharp increase in thoroughgoing statistical collections.

In general, the conclusions of the *Report* are optimistic. In the five-year period covered the indices of health, education, income, and food consumption show substantial rises. Mortality rates have continued to decline, often sharply, but natural increase has risen and threatens many of these gains. In fact, the rate of progress has been quite uneven both in different development fields and in different countries. In some respects, such as per capita income, the gap between the more and the less developed countries has widened. A smaller propor-

tion of the population was adequately housed in 1955 than in 1950. Political obstacles, military expenditures, and population growth have prevented many potential gains from being realized.

The section on urbanization is an excellent brief survey of the problems—not of their answers—created by the rapid growth of cities nearly everywhere. Much urban growth in Asia, Africa, and some parts of Latin America is seen as an overflow of an excessive rural population, the majority of whom are seriously underemployed, rather than as a concomitant of industrialization.

Although this is a world report, the separate conclusions are applicable only to specific countries or, in some cases, regions. The chapter on urban development in Latin America makes it abundantly clear that there are wide variations from nation to nation. In this sense the volume under review is inadequate. It cannot offer the detail needed for an understanding of any one country. At the same time, any generalizations which it may suggest for the world as a whole are necessarily meaningless. But it can and does provide a perspective and a set of approaches which can be invaluable guides to regional analysis.

VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY

Brown University

Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class. By E. DIGBY BALTZELL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. 440. \$5.75.

Philadelphia Gentlemen combines in fairly equal proportions a Cleveland Amory style of ethnology and a professional sociologist's functional analysis in a description of the upper class of the city of Philadelphia.

On the Amory side the author provides a richly detailed description of multitudes of Biddles, Cadwaladers, and Drexels; the decades when they first started to make big money; where they live; why they move from the Union League to the Rittenhouse to the Philadelphia clubs; and where they send their sons to school (St. Paul's). Detailed descriptions are even provided of an American version of Nancy Mitford's "U-Non-U" formulation, although the reader may not be convinced that all upper-class people say "deli-

cious vegetables" and all middle-class people say "delectable greens."

As a professional sociologist, Baltzell contributes to the analysis of stratification a new statistical index and some functional hypotheses. The index is based on differences between people listed in *Who's Who* who are or are not also listed in *The Social Register*. This, the author believes, distinguishes between the "functional elite" and the "upper class," *Social Register* incumbents staffing the latter. This distinction is followed through in a number of statistical analyses. The technically oriented reader may not share all the author's conclusions from these tables, as, for instance, when he argues that members of the Jewish upper class ($N=14$) are less horizontally mobile than upper-class Gentiles ($N=225$) on the finding that 57 per cent of those Jews were born in Philadelphia as contrasted with 54 per cent of the gentile elite.

Baltzell's functional analyses are concerned both with the historical development and the contemporary situation of the upper class. Historically, he details the complex interrelations of the Protestant Episcopal church and the fashionable boarding school as mechanisms for the socialization of the children of local tycoons into a national upper class. On a more abstract plane he claims that the "four primary functions of an upper class" are as follows: (1) to maintain a continuity of control over important positions in the world of affairs; (2) to provide a primary group social organization for social control; (3) to provide an autonomous power in the community as a protection against totalitarianism; and (4) to provide a primary-group social world within which the younger generation is socialized. Since the last three functions are by no means restricted to the upper class (they apply equally well to the Mafia), his case rests on the first function. Here Baltzell's essentially anecdotal approach leads to some lack of clarity. Thus he implies that "the most powerful single individual in the city" (p. 379) was not a member of the upper-class group he has described, but seven pages later he names a different person, within the upper class, as "the most powerful man in the city." The evidence on the power of the elite he has described is thus difficult to assess.

JAMES A. DAVIS

University of Chicago

Kommunismen i Sverige. By SVEN RYDENFELT.
Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954. Pp. 351.
18 Kr.

The Communist party in Sweden has never been a major factor in the political life of that country. But there are regions in Sweden where in the *average* of all elections from 1924 to 1952 the Communist vote was 25 per cent or more of the total vote, and there are communities in which much higher percentages were recorded. On the other hand, in large sections of Sweden, especially outside the larger cities, hardly any Communist votes were cast, though in some of these areas the Social Democrats scored high.

Rydenfelt is mainly concerned with an explanation of these extremes, arguing that, by a comparison of social conditions in the "reddest" and the "whitest" regions and communities, light may be thrown on the reasons for the creation of a Communist stronghold. He shows the location of red and white areas for each province (*län*) and thereafter proceeds to analyze the forces which have emerged as possible "causes" of the Communist vote. In this respect he follows the method of the French school of *sociologie électorale*. Thus, apart from the occupational and industrial structure of the regions, income levels, property ownership, and sensitivity to business cycles, a series of non-economic factors is considered. In his conclusions Rydenfelt attributes more weight to these than to economic factors; he emphasizes especially that population groups such as the Finns in central Sweden and certain local groups which are treated as inferiors by their wealthier neighbors or which have developed anti-Swedish feelings tend to be susceptible to the ideas of communism. Rydenfelt also shows that in certain regions, especially in northern Sweden, communism has found a psychological vacuum among originally religious people who have lost their faith. All this makes very good sense. But it seems to this reviewer that Rydenfelt underrates the importance of economic factors. After all, he himself shows that the Communist vote is nearly exclusively a working-class vote, coming from two main sources: urban industrial workers and lumber-industry workers (forest workers), the latter mainly in northern Sweden. Granted that a majority of industrial workers vote Social Democratic, and granted, furthermore, that no strong correlations can be established between income level or level of skill of workers and the Socialist or

Communist vote, the very fact that the Communist movement is limited mainly to *working-class* people indicates the overwhelming importance of the class-situation—which is, after all, primarily an economic phenomenon.

The use of *average* percentages of votes from eight elections, although technically correctly computed, may be questioned. It would not be practical in most countries. Even in Sweden, where the geographic distribution of the Communist vote has been constant, as Rydenfelt shows, the variations of the total Communist party vote from election to election are large enough to deserve special analysis. As matter of fact, Rydenfelt considers the Communist vote in particular elections when he deals with election districts and communities. However, one would like to have graphic presentations of the returns at each election instead of one colored map showing *average* Communist voting percentages. The book could have been made more interesting had Rydenfelt started from an over-all picture of election ecology and then proceeded toward more detailed analysis by smaller areas instead of tiring the reader with the *län-by-län* presentation.

One special merit of Rydenfelt's study, however, is the careful inquiry into all possible factors when he deals with specific communities. Rydenfelt compares the situations in regions of Sweden with those in Norway and other countries; he is also familiar with the French and American literature in his field.

RUDOLF HEBERLE

Louisiana State University

Psychological Tests and Personnel Decisions.
By LEE J. CRONBACH and GOLDINE C. GLESER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957. Pp. 165. \$3.50.

Decision Making: An Experimental Approach.
By DONALD DAVIDSON and PATRICK SUPPES, in collaboration with SIDNEY SIEGEL. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957. Pp. 121. \$3.25.

As a field of specialized inquiry, "decision theory" is not yet fifteen years old; its first major publications were Von Neumann and Morgenstern's *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* in 1944 and Wald's writings on "statistical decision functions," beginning in 1945.

In this short time these approaches to the making of rational decisions under conditions of uncertainty or risk have profoundly affected such disparate subjects as statistical inference, economic theory, and military strategy. These two books are important applications of decision theory. Cronbach and Gleser use it to demonstrate the need for a radical revision of accepted procedures in psychological testing (and, by implication, in many aspects of sociological research). Working on a more abstract level, the authors of *Decision Theory* re-examine the logical foundations of this field and carry out some ingenious experiments to determine, among other things, whether people do in fact act "rationally" when faced with choices between uncertain outcomes.

One useful accomplishment of Cronbach and Gleser is the re-examination of the logic of psychological testing. Whether designed for guidance, therapy, or "pure" research, the heart of testing is the classification of people into two or more categories on the basis of information collected from them. Viewed in this general way, the tasks of psychological testing and of empirical research in sociology have much in common; although the authors do not address themselves to this point, it is clear that sociological research intended as more than simple description also involves classification. To a sociologist much of the benefit and the challenge of this book lies in trying to apply its findings to his own field.

Until now, accuracy has been the chief criterion for appraising psychological tests: a good test is one that correlates highly with the quantity it is designed to measure, just as a good instrument in the natural sciences is one that normally yields small errors of measurement. Cronbach and Gleser attack this reasoning head-on. The purpose of testing, they argue, is to help reach *decisions*, not simply to make measurements. The value of a testing procedure therefore depends at least as much on the relevance of the measurement to the impending decision and on the penalties attached to incorrect decisions as it does on accuracy alone. The criterion of accuracy demands that one always choose the instrument with the smallest average error, but decision theory may actually prefer a larger average error, if most of the error is in a relatively harmless direction; thus an overestimate of I.Q. probably has lower social and individual costs than an underestimate.

This seemingly obvious reasoning leads to conclusions that overturn long-accepted beliefs. The authors consider, for example, the problem of predicting success in college. General-ability tests have long been used for this purpose because of their moderately high correlation with college grades; interviews and other qualitative techniques have been scorned because of their demonstrated low correlations with grades. Yet Cronbach and Gleser argue quite persuasively that the tests may be of less value than has been claimed and that interviews may have been unjustly condemned. Again, the explanation lies in the mistaken striving for accuracy alone rather than in trying to improve the decision or prediction that is to be made. Tests are admittedly more accurate than interviews, but how much information do they *add* to what is already known? One can often predict college grades rather accurately from high-school grades, and the added gain in predictability from knowing aptitude scores may be negligible. On the other hand, interviews, life-histories, and projective tests may be relatively inaccurate in measuring general ability or a particular aptitude, as compared with a well-designed test, but their breadth and flexibility override their imprecision when the problem is to determine *which* aptitude or attitude is to be measured. In other words, classification can be viewed as a series of stages ("sequential testing") for reaching an optimum decision; the best instrument for one stage is not necessarily the best for another.

This reviewer's over-all appraisal is perhaps best summarized in the authors' own statement: "Decision theory is provocative, and forces one to alter his accustomed thought patterns. We anticipate that each reader will find a different facet of our argument important for him, and often his thoughts will veer off into pathways not covered by this investigation. The intended contribution of this monograph is, in a word, to stir up the reader's thoughts."

The decisions considered by Davidson and Suppes are those of the consumer seeking to maximize his utility rather than those of the researcher or tester trying to make appropriate decisions about other people. The authors are therefore more concerned with the nature of decision theory than with its applications in a variety of empirical contexts.

A theory of decisions should include two elements: a formal model, stating that people behave as if they were following certain rules,

and an empirical interpretation of this model. *Decision Making* deals with both elements. On the formal level it marks an important advance over previous work by abandoning the assumption that individuals' preferences are "transitive" or consistent; that is, if someone prefers A to B, and B to C, it is an empirical question, not an a priori assumption, whether he prefers A to C. And the authors are also able to dispense with a dubious assumption of Von Neumann and Morgenstern—that the "subjective" probability that people attach to a risky outcome is the same as its "objective" or mathematical probability.

Ingenuous experiments show that most subjects behave in accordance with the "rational" model that the authors have devised: their choices are consistent with the assumption that they are attempting to maximize their expected utility. For these subjects it was therefore possible to determine a curve that appears to represent the utility of different amounts of money. In an extension of the basic experiment it was possible to measure the utility of non-monetary items as well and to show that most choices among these items were also made according to a theory of rational behavior.

Decision Making, like *Psychological Tests*, is not written explicitly for sociologists. The theories and the experiments are concerned with the rationality of individual decisions; no attention is paid to the social conditions that might promote or lessen rational behavior or to the kinds of people who might be most likely to exhibit such behavior. But it is here that the book may have its greatest challenge to sociologists, especially those working on laboratory studies of decision-making. Davidson and Suppes have extended and reformulated the theory of rational decision-making under conditions of uncertainty and risk, and sociologists wishing to investigate social factors affecting such decisions will now be able to build their work on a more adequate foundation.

HANAN C. SELVIN

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Students of alcoholism have frequently thought of employing the Jewish group as a kind of control; it is, after all, a group with a tradition of drinking, a group highly subject to psychic tensions, but a group, nevertheless, without drinking pathologies. For many years we have had to be satisfied with educated guesses as to the reasons for Jewish sobriety. Charles Snyder, stimulated by Bales's doctoral dissertation which compared Irish and Jewish social norms as they relate to alcoholism, has remedied this defect in our knowledge by providing a definitive work on this intriguing subject. Students of both alcoholism and of Jewish problems are already familiar with Snyder's work, for the bulk of the present published report appeared previously in the *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*.

Snyder bases his work on interview data with two samples: (1) adult Jewish males living in New Haven and (2) Jewish students attending a number of American colleges—cases gathered by Straus and Bacon in their survey of drinking in college. His data indicate that the most sober students, as well as the most sober adults, are the Orthodox Jews. Since Snyder suggests that the sobriety for which Jews have been noted depends upon their adherence to orthodoxy, he implies that Jewish sobriety will decrease. And he also shows how Jewish sobriety is being modified by the operation of forces other than the loss of orthodoxy. He demonstrates that the behavior of some Jews shifts when they are integrated into primary and secondary groups dominated by Gentiles, who have other cultural traditions in respect to alcohol. He presents fascinating material on the drinking of Jews in military service and on drinking related to business.

Snyder's book constitutes an excellent research report. It includes a history of work in the field, a conceptualization of the problem, and abundant data well interpreted. It succeeds in making a contribution both to the understanding of Jewish life and to the study of alcoholism. The author suggests many provocative notions, among them, that sobriety can best be sustained when drinking is an integral part of the process of socialization and is indivisible from the moral symbolism of the group. His volume is an excellent demonstration of the contribution which can be made to the study of alcoholism by the employment of a cultural approach.

However, Snyder's work is open to criticism

Alcohol and the Jews: A Cultural Study of Drinking and Sobriety. By CHARLES R. SNYDER. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Center of Alcohol Studies; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. 226. \$5.00.

at one point. Jewishness to him is *Judaism* rather than a larger entity—the traditional culture of the Jews. If we take the position that Judaism is only part of this larger entity—Jewishness—we may view his correlations between sobriety and orthodoxy in a different light: they turn out to be positive because Orthodox individuals share more of traditional Jewish culture than Conservative, Reform, or “secular” Jews. We come to understand then why alcoholism was not a problem among Jewish immigrants to this country—a recognizable segment of whom were *antireligious*. It also helps us to explain why Jews who are irreligious and thus less sober than their Orthodox progenitors are still not as prone to alcoholism as their gentile counterparts.

MARSHALL SKLARE

American Jewish Committee

Group Differences in Attitudes and Votes. By ANGUS CAMPBELL and HOMER C. COOPER. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1956. Pp. v+149. \$3.00.

The Survey Research Center study of the 1954 congressional election, like their 1948 presidential election study, was tacked on to a national survey for another purpose and is even more restricted than the earlier study in that respondents were interviewed only once—in late October. This necessitated estimating who would vote in November, and the analysts devised the concept of “probable voter” (with a corresponding “probable non-voter”) in terms of which the relationships between votes and other variables are established. Despite the demonstration that the aggregate “probable vote” may parallel closely the actual turn-out and partisan voting of the *total* population, the data for subgroups could be considerably distorted; and, the smaller the subgroup sample and the more refined the categorization of respondents, the greater may be the distortion. Thus questions of validity can be raised about many of the reported cross-tabulations. It is certainly conceivable that consistent biases were present in the subgroups. For example, the suburban Republican “probable non-voter” may have been likely to vote to an extent worth noting, while at the same time the Republican city “probable voter” may have failed to vote in

significant numbers. In the aggregate data such biases would tend to cancel each other.

This, however, is a minor weakness. Its major weakness was suggested by Shirley Star in her review of the 1952 study by the same group. She wrote, in her characteristically insightful way, they “give you the bricks, but no cement with which to put them together to see how it all works in the election process.” Breakdowns are provided on the votes (probable votes, that is), the party identification, and attitudes of population groups according to sex, age, income, religion, type of community, etc., and on the votes and attitudes of the party identification groups. There is some playing-around with three-variable analyses, but the bulk of the analyses is restricted to the two-variable level. There is no formal model of analysis evident. Campbell and his colleagues seem to think that the notion of party identification goes a long way toward providing the necessary cement. A major conclusion is that knowledge of partisan affiliation is “essential for an understanding of political behavior.” Just what the knowledge that a self-designated Republican will tend to vote Republican and a self-designated Democrat will tend to vote Democratic contributes to the understanding of political behavior escapes me! In fact, the analysis, as presented, only demonstrates that the relationship between partisan vote and party identification is not a spurious one, which indeed would have been surprising if it had turned out any other way. Party identification is conceived as “more meaningful psychologically than such traditional variables as education, age, income, and the like.” What the analysts fail to appreciate is that party identification is probably an intervening variable between education, age, income, etc., and vote; and the relationships which do exist between party identification and these independent variables remain to be explained and interpreted.

What is perhaps most distressing about the whole analysis of these data is the general insensitivity to the appropriate way in which the data must be ordered to be most revealing. For example, if party identification has been introduced to understand (explain, interpret, etc.) the relationship between income, education, union membership, etc., and votes; party identification, not income or union membership, must be held constant, and the relationships between votes and these other variables should tend to disappear. With a little work the reader

can, of course, set up the appropriate partial contingency tables from those that have been presented. He will then see that these relationships do tend to disappear.

A consequence of this insensitivity in analysis is a failure to exploit fully the implications of the three-variable analyses. For example, it is noted that the partial relationships between party identification and votes with income constant remain as great as the original total association, which is very high. It necessarily follows, then, that the relationship between income and votes or income and party identification or both must not amount to much. Since no measures of association are provided, it is difficult for the reader to check this by inspection. And the impression could easily be gained from the text, as well as from previous voting studies, that both income and votes and income and party identification are "important" relationships.

Again, the authors uncritically conclude: "Group differences are greater in votes than in attitudes. However, votes and attitudes are related. Groups that tend to support one party in their votes tend to support that party's position on partisan issues" (p. 106). But for purposes of understanding the nature of group differences in attitudes and votes we must investigate the partial associations of attitudes and votes. Unfortunately, such analysis is not presented.

The lack of a model of analysis also results in neglect of the crucial question of the time order of the variables. For example, when the relationships of attitude and income and attitude and party identification are considered, it is not simply a matter of one relationship being "more important" than the other or a matter of the relationships being "independent" (p. 94), but rather it may be that party identification supplies the link between income and attitude or that attitude supplies the link between income and party identification. Evidence must be developed to establish the validity of a given time order of these three variables.

Two major objectives were posited for this study: (1) bricks (i.e., quantitative description of the 1954 national election) and (2) cement (i.e., expansion of "our understanding of the relation of the individual citizen's group attachments to his political attitudes and behavior"). The bricks may be of questionable quality, but they are there; the cement is missing.

DAVID GOLD

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Community Chest: A Case Study in Philanthropy. By JOHN R. SEELEY, BUFORD H. JUNKER, R. WALLACE JONES, JR., N. C. JENKINS, M. T. HAUGH, and I. MILLER. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957. Pp. vii + 593. \$7.50.

The purpose of this lengthy study of the Community Chest of Indianapolis was twofold: first, to help the Community Surveys' board of directors of Indianapolis and the staff of the Community Chest to solve a local problem, and, second, to give the researchers, their colleagues, and "social workers and fund-raisers elsewhere" some additional knowledge useful to social theory and philanthropic practice. A team of nine people worked three years on the project, with the full co-operation of the professional and voluntary money-raising authorities. Their method combined that of the social anthropologist, the economic analyst, and the observant citizen.

The result includes a short summary of the history of philanthropy in America in general and Indianapolis in particular and then a detailed analysis of the organization and problems of the Community Chest. This covers 436 pages and is followed by 48 main charts and 1,049 footnotes covering 105 small-type pages. Eighty-seven main tables are found throughout the book.

The writers are correct in assuming that this is one of the first extensive studies of a particular Community Chest. Thus a grave omission is a bibliography of the studies already done in the philanthropic field. For this means that a researcher must patiently wade through the 105 pages of footnotes to find source material. In doing this, the reviewer may have missed some references, but, if not, he would judge that the number of studies already done on philanthropy are more extensive than the authors appear to be aware of.

Another rather odd omission is comment on women's work and influence in Community Chest activity. For, although they may not have so great numerical strength in the campaigns and work of Community Chests as men (they form one-fifth of the participants in Indianapolis), their indirect influence and support is extremely important.

The tone and phrasing of the findings show that the authors are addressing their remarks to laymen rather than to social scientists. For example, in their summary they tell how to

attract the "best people" (their term) and induce them to make a career in philanthropy rather than giving a strictly sociological analysis of how careers are interrelated with the philanthropic structure. Again, they tell how to make an organization function successfully, and two of the final chapters are entitled: "What Might Be Done: The Present Chest" and "What Might Be Done: Further Unification."

The most important aspect of this study for the sociologist is that it illustrates how the insight of the social scientist can clarify problems of organization. Moreover, if sociologists dig carefully through the pages, they will find helpful insights into the relation of the Red Cross and the Community Chest to the structure of social classes, interesting new light on the idea of the "failure" of an organization, and, in the Epilogue, interesting speculation on the work and play of the businessman. The study also illustrates an attempt to bridge two distinct purposes—action and research. But in this it is clear that those interested in action win out, for it is a study which will prove of much more worth to them than to the furtherance of our knowledge of sociology.

AILEEN D. ROSS

McGill University

The Economic Status of the Aged. By PETER O. STEINER and ROBERT DORFMAN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. Pp. xx+296. \$5.00.

Despite the growing interest in social and psychological aspects of aging, there are still very few empirical studies of older people which can meet the criteria of scientific study design. *The Economic Status of the Aged* meets these criteria and is an outstanding contribution to social investigation in the field of gerontology. Steiner and Dorfman wanted answers to certain specific questions about the aged in the United States. The most important of these questions were: (1) How large are the incomes of the aged? (2) From what sources are these incomes derived? (3) Why are there so few older people in the labor force? Steiner and Dorfman designed a study which enabled them to secure this and other information concerning the economic status of the aged. In their re-

search, thirty-six hundred older people in three thousand households were interviewed by Census personnel as part of the Current Population Survey of the Bureau of the Census.

The findings of Steiner and Dorfman, if fully publicized, should help to correct certain widely held but erroneous beliefs about the aged. To begin, Steiner and Dorfman point out that the aged are not a homogeneous group. They stress the fact that the older population in this country is primarily a population of aged women who have never worked and of unemployable men.

Their analysis of income and income sources of the aged is made in terms of the economic unit, that is, the aged couple, the unrelated female over sixty-five, and the unrelated male over sixty-five. The findings of Steiner and Dorfman indicate that, comparing the receipts for all aged economic units with a subsistence budget, more than one-fourth of all couples, one-third of all unrelated males, and one-half of all unrelated females have receipts below the subsistence level.

Earnings were typically the major source of income for those with the highest receipts, pensions the source for the next highest group, and assistance programs "a lifeline for a large number of the aged without any resources of their own" (p. 120). In discussing the participation of older men in the labor force, Steiner and Dorfman report that the basic reason why so few older men are employed, according to themselves, is that most of these men feel that they are not well enough to work. Since nearly one-third of the men sixty-five and over are seventy-five years of age or more, this should be an expected finding; yet, as the authors indicate, the stereotype of the older man kept out of the labor force by compulsory retirement is general, and it operates to the detriment of realistic programs for older people.

The Economic Status of the Aged should have wide circulation among all those who are interested in the needs of the aged. As a carefully designed empirical study, it should serve as a benchmark for further investigations of this type.

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David E. Apter, an assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago, is at present a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, where he is studying the growth of parliamentary government in Africa. He has recently completed a book on Uganda. His publications include *The Gold Coast in Transition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955); "Theory and Study of Politics," *American Political Science Review*, September, 1957; and "Party, Bureaucracy, and Constitutional Democracy," in *Transition in Africa: Studies in Political Adaptation*, ed. Carter and Brown (Boston: Boston University Press, 1958).

Daniel Bell is now at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, where he is writing a book on the Communist party and the labor movement for the Fund for the Republic. In September, 1959, he will become an associate professor of sociology at Columbia University.

A graduate student at the University of Chicago, **Phillips Cutright** is currently engaged in research on political party organization. **Peter H. Rossi** is associate professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago.

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A COMPARATIVE METHOD FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICS

DAVID E. APTER

ABSTRACT

Difficulties with the comparative study of politics include both limited utility of variables and inadequate core concepts. The result is that theory arising out of comparative studies is weak. The effort here represents an attempt to build a generalized model of three dimensions—social stratification, political groups, and government—which can be used for extensive comparison in sociological studies of politics. Each dimension is composed of a set of variables. Empirical clusterings of the variables should result from comparative study using this framework. Attempts to account for typical clustering of variables as well as departures from normal patterns would provide the basis for development of theories.

INTRODUCTION

This essay presents a method which is, at present, inelegant, not parsimonious, and which combines both analytic and descriptive categories. Its purpose is to create a framework for the treatment of governments in diverse social settings in order to make possible some generalization about how the presence, absence, or clustering of certain combinations of variables affect politics.

Implicit in this scheme is a model of politics. Every society has a social stratification system. The dominant motive of social behavior is assumed (whether rightly or wrongly) to be the increased mobility toward the higher ends of the stratification hierarchy. Members of the public join in political groups in order to expand mobility opportunities and, in this respect, make representations to government or to influence or control government in some manner. Government policy must then in part be responsive to the interests of political groups. Depending upon who the group represents, we see that government policy is geared as well to the ultimate alteration of social stratification or aspects thereof. This is, of course, both a traditional and a respec-

table view of politics. Government is viewed as a maximizer, sending out streams of satisfactions. One is to political group leaders who represent both an information and organizational dynamic. A second is to followers who, depending upon their group composition, represent in some measure the prevailing social stratification system. Assuming that no one is ever truly satisfied with the system of social stratification other than conservatives, we find that the basic motive of politics then is a striving motive to expand mobility opportunities, either for some special group or for large segments of the society.¹

¹ The model can be stated as follows:

Time 1: $[ss] \rightarrow [pf + pl] \rightarrow [govt] \rightarrow$
 1 2 (sr + format)
 3
 $[pf + pl] \rightarrow [ss]$
 4 5 Time 2

KEY

- ss* = social stratification system
- pf* = party following (composition)
- pl* = party leadership
- govt* = government in terms of:
 - a) *sr* = structural requisites
 - b) *format* = type determined by degree of representativeness

The scheme laid out here attempts to delineate sets of useful variables in each of three main dimensions—social stratification, political groups, and government—in order to produce manipulative theory out of comparative research. It stems from a tradition associated with Pollock and Maitland, Austin, Maine, and Vinogradoff and the functionalist tradition in modern anthropology and sociology. It is designed to cover societies whether they are industrial or not, tribal, traditional, or technologically advanced.² The core of such a scheme is a set of general analytical categories called the “structural requisites” of any government. These represent a minimal set of concerns for any government, whether it be formalized or not. The demands put upon government, initiated in part through parties and originating in mobility strivings, must be met through activities in one or a combination of the structural requisites.

Nor does the format of government have to be democratic. The possible range of representativeness will limit the manner in which actions within each of the structural requisites can be performed. Such structural requisites are more than simply a heuristic device, as we shall hope to indicate.

The problem for which this scheme was undertaken deals with the development of parliamentary government in Africa. Cultural and technological data there range from aspects of the most secular and complex of European governments to tribal life, all within the compass of single societies. Stated generally, we are studying rapidly changing underdeveloped areas in order

to indicate some of the general conditions produced by change as reflected in the conditions which are necessary for the development of parliamentary government.³ The range of events and the materials to be dealt with require treatment in systematic fashion—a treatment that is not methodologically harsh, inappropriate, or stultifying, yet which is sufficient to provide a meaningful focus in comparative work.⁴

We shall in this discussion sketch out very briefly the major components of each of the three dimensions: social stratification, government, and political groups, with emphasis upon the last. It is a major assumption here that there will eventually result from extensive comparative study typical clusterings of these variables. Departures from typical

² This methodological scheme represents work done by the author in conjunction with his colleagues on the West African Comparative Analysis Project. The members of this project are James S. Coleman (University of California at Los Angeles), Gray Cowan (Columbia University), Robert A. Lystad (Tulane University). The work of this group has been made possible through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, to which gratitude is hereby expressed.

⁴ More specifically, the concern here is to produce a system of comparative analysis which is integrated with real research. We are not concerned with the basic properties of system *qua* system. We are concerned here with the treatment of empirical systems in general through the comparative observation of empirical systems in particular. In other words, we are concerned with characteristics which mediate between the most highly general (any system) and the most specific (system *x*), so that we can discuss regularities and irregularities in the variables of systems $x_1, x_2, x_3, \dots, x_n$.

There are, of course, special difficulties involved in doing comparative work at the gross data level. Analytical categories in use are hard to operationalize for purposes of rigorous manipulation. Scaling techniques seem the most favorable for much of the data-gathering. Another difficulty is that the higher the degree of control over the variables, i.e., the more selectivity employed, and the more precise the operations performed upon them, the lower is the degree of control over the parameters. Testing by other means is difficult because (1) a small data unit may simply affirm general system properties, (2) a small data unit may not exhibit equivalent variables, and (3) criteria of validation are difficult to specify.

³ Vinogradoff has argued that “we must begin by ascertaining whether certain fundamental ideas recurring in various combinations may be traced as elements of the institution. If such elements exist, the work of each one ought to be analyzed as far as possible by itself before the ways in which it combines with other materials can be studied. The materials for such an analysis may be drawn from a broad and comprehensive collection of ethnological data, because it is only in this manner that we can make sure that nothing essential has escaped our observation” (Paul Vinogradoff, *Outline of Historical Jurisprudence* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1920], I, 93 and 167).

clusterings should prove challenging and interesting as well, as we attempt to develop theory to explain the phenomena observed.

UTILITY OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social stratification and government have a close connection. Ultimately, the actions of government affect stratification in some significant manner. Of particular interest are the changes occurring in stratification in hitherto tribal societies under the impact of commercial, colonial, nationalist, and technological forces. Changes in culture include alteration in ideologies, with their expressed valuations on patterns of stratification. Most of all, however, the values and ideas of a changing social system can be expressed in the activities which take place to modify or protect the given pattern of stratification in a particular area.

Stratification is, as well, a useful way of indicating the degree of internal flexibility in a system. Relatively undifferentiated systems tend to be fragile and unable to adapt to changes in the social or political environment with ease. An important query then is similar to the one that Durkheim posed, as follows: In systems in which there is limited division of labor there is little flexibility (a lack of pluralism) or, to put it another way, fragility. Hence the most powerful expression of social solidarity is through an extensive system of repressive law which regards a wide range of socially unsanctioned acts as crimes against basic morality. With an increase in the division of labor there is not only specialization of function but also an increase in local solidary affiliations which become mutually dependent, and a decline in repressive law. These affiliations give rise to defined hierarchies of power and prestige, some based upon ascriptive evaluations and others based upon achievement. These, as well as other factors directly derivative from the pattern of alteration in stratification, set limiting conditions both for the activities of government and for the actions of political parties.⁵

Nor is the utility of stratification limited to societies which are industrializing. Its ap-

plication is more general, applying as well to "mature" industrial systems, where it retains its intimate association with government and party actions.

Where active modification of the stratification system is going on, members characteristically (1) are status-conscious (i.e., they are aware of their position in the social system vis-à-vis others and, in addition, are aware of the advantages and disadvantages of a given status position which they might occupy); (2) are engaged in role-testing (i.e., they explore the legitimate limits of their roles and experiment to the point where they can expect sanctions of one kind or other to be initiated); and (3) are future-oriented (i.e., they look to changes in their life-chances and attempt to produce conditions leading to secure expectations proximate to what they desire).⁶ Where these three conditions prevail, the implications for political development are great.

Three questions about the stratification system need to be answered before it is possible to make meaningful statements about the consequences of changing stratification. The first asks what the system is from the point of view of the members. How are *roles* defined in a given system and how are they ranked in a status hierarchy? Second, what are the institutionalized criteria of stratification? Are they economic, political, religious, generational, educational, etc.? Third, what are the recruitment patterns to the major groups which comprise the system? Are the institutional criteria such that re-

⁵ See Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1947), *passim*; and Reinhard Bendix, "Social Stratification and Political Power," *APSR*, Vol. XLVI (June, 1952).

⁶ Parsons notes: "It has come to be rather widely recognized in the sociological field that social stratification is a generalized aspect of the structure of all social systems, and that the system of stratification is intimately linked to the level and type of integration of the system as a system" (Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in Reinhold Bendix and Seymour Lipset [eds.], *Reader in Social Stratification* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957]). See also S. F. Nadel, *The Theory of Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), chap. iv.

cruitment is relatively open or closed, achievement-based or ascription-based?

For example, common in systems which are undergoing rapid industrialization and commercialization is a decline in power accorded to generational factors and religious factors, although prestige may persist a bit longer. High valuations for both power and prestige result from economic and sometimes political factors. Interesting situations are produced when groups which formerly had economic power and prestige lose the first and seek to maintain the second.

The set of variables to be specified under the dimension of social stratification, once the rank order of status positions has been described, can be put as follows:

1. Institutional Criteria of Stratification

		POWER Systems			
		A	B	C	D
PRESTIGE	Econ Hi Lo				
	Pol Hi Lo				
	Rel Hi Lo				
	Gen Hi Lo				

2. Recruitment

Open	Closed
Ascrip.	Achieve.

These categories should, first, indicate what group values and "vested interests" exist in a system. Second, they should illuminate the institutionalized barriers to social mobility, and, third, they should demonstrate the nature of political groupings to the degree such groups reproduce or fail to reproduce the stratification range in their recruitment and membership. Finally, they

should provide some guides to the degree of commitment members have to the system, leading to hypotheses about the direction of change. In this usage, change means the degree of alteration in the basic characteristics of the stratification system itself, reflecting alteration in the concrete groupings of the unit under observation.

The ultimate concern here is therefore the relationships between government and social stratification. However, the crucial connecting link is political party, association, or movement, as the case may be. To give equal treatment to each of the three dimensions discussed here is impossible because of lack of space. We shall therefore concentrate the discussion on the *political group* dimension after first specifying its relationship to government as well as to stratification. Before going on to discuss political groups, therefore, we see that a discussion of government is essential.

GOVERNMENT

Very narrow definitions of government exclude a great deal that we intuitively know is relevant to government. Broad definitions tend to have limits which are loose. Legal definitions obscure the relationship between government and the social systems of which they are part.

As used here, "government" refers to a concrete group. It is defined as follows: In a system "government" is the most generalized membership unit possessing (a) defined responsibilities for the maintenance of the system of which it is a part and (b) a practical monopoly of coercive powers.⁷ In this usage we can speak of the government of a society, or a church, or a trade union. The same characteristics analytically defined would hold whatever the empirical form the activities of government might take. These general characteristics we can call "structural requisites." In addition, the manner of participation in government of

⁷ This definition is by no means unusual. A similar one has most recently been put forward by Bertrand de Jouvenel (*Sovereignty* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957], p. 20).

members of a unit can vary. Types of variation we shall call "format." The variation of format will depend upon the degree of representativeness of government. Finally, we are saying that government, although a concrete unit, is distinct from others in the following respect: *it is a concrete structural requisite for any social system.* We are saying, for example, that, while any substructure of a society (or other social system) has a relationship to the maintenance of society, government is the most strategic of these. We do not say that, if you set up a government, you automatically create a society. Rather, the minimal requirements for the maintenance of government must be related to society in such a way that both can exist.

The crucial concerns of government are those which threaten the existence of the unit of which it is part. With its practical monopoly of coercive powers, government has an indivisible responsibility for protecting the system. Government handles its responsibilities in terms of certain minimal structures. If any of these structures should fail to operate, government itself must undergo drastic modification, and/or the system itself will undergo drastic modification. Therefore, important threats to the system are, first, threats to the ability of government to work in terms of its structural requisites. Second, they can derive from inadequate performance of government within the structural requisites from the point of view of the system as a whole, i.e., bad policy, inadequate action, etc. We shall discuss these structural requisites very briefly.⁸

The structural requisites of government.—Of the broad range of activities which governments undertake, some are "vitally" necessary if the unit is to keep going. Some of the means to insure the performance of such activities are, in a loose way, what we mean by structural requisites. A tentative

set of goals can be listed for any government as follows: (1) the structure of authoritative decision-making; (2) the structure of accountability and consent; (3) the structure of coercion and punishment; (4) the structure of resource determination and allocation; and (5) the structure of political recruitment and role assignment.

Decision-making by government involves the posing of alternatives and the selection of one or more for effectuation. Decision-making is presumed to be prompted by demands made outside the government or demands placed upon government by its own plans or the logic of previous actions. Here the important questions are: (a) Who makes the decisions? (b) What is the nature of the issues posed? (c) What is the range of supervision by decision-makers? Significant characteristics to be specified are as follows: the method of arriving at decisions, the scope of those decisions, and the degree of centralization in decision-making (including federal and unitary forms). Decisional legislation can take two forms: *framework legislation*, or broad enabling legislation with scope for initiative and innovation in application left to effectuating agencies, and *supervisory legislation*, involving detailed and continuous scrutiny by decision-makers.⁹

Patterns of accountability and consent involve reference groups for decision-makers significant to the extent that they will make decisions with such groups in mind. Such groups will either modify decisions at the request of government or require formal ap-

⁸ Applications and discussion of the structural requisites of government are given much fuller treatment in another paper, "Government and Economic Growth," in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, January, 1959.

⁹ We do not have space for a genuine discussion of this structural requisite. It is strategic from a research point of view as well. If a content analysis is done, for example, on sample legislation in a given area and work can be done on the initiation and direction of bills (or other forms of decisions like orders or commands, etc.), then considerable information about the responsiveness of government can be elicited, along with patterns of leadership and autonomy in government. For a useful discussion of decision-making see R. C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and B. Sapin, *Decision-making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* ("Foreign Policy Analysis Project," Series No. 3 [Princeton, N.J., 1954]).

proval before a final decision is made. In democratic societies there are legally defined and ordered accountability groups (e.g., standing committees of a legislature) and consent groups (e.g., parliaments). In such instances there is symmetry between decision-making and accountability. Where decision-makers can more arbitrarily shift their accountability (e.g., to interest groups or special groups in a party), they have considerable autonomy. "Asymmetry" in such instances can involve a genuine difference between formal and substantive accountability, as in the case of "rubber-stamp" parliaments.¹⁰

Indeed, where decision-making does not have effective accountability, there is a genuine lack of information on the part of decision-makers, who very often cannot control the consequences of their own decisions or make useful predictions in this regard. Each decision involves an evaluation of consequence. Systems which posit goals of a distant nature and force the pace to their accomplishment normally cannot remain accountable to representatives of the public for very long periods of time. Instead, they would be more likely to be responsible to the technicians and others who are concerned with carrying out the goals. They use specialist information rather than information about public desires.

Where accountability is asymmetrical and shifting (i.e., where decision-makers have considerable autonomy), coercion and pun-

ishment are normally extensive. Coercion may take the form of positing new norms, concepts of ideal citizenship (the "New Soviet Man," for example), and social pressures of a variety of kinds. Types of coercion may range from social pressure to the modern arsenal of technological refinements. Both coercion and punishment are consequences too of actions taken without knowledge of consequences. Insofar as the costs of coercion and punishment are financially high and morally corrosive (they break down solidarity except the solidarity of complicity) they reduce the ability of government to devote as much of its resources to modifications in stratification as are perhaps necessary (except by using party, police, or army as patronage).

The general ability of decision-makers to act and the costs of their decisions to the public are determined by the ability of government to define, exploit, and allocate resources. Included here are the important problems of taxation and revenue assessment, which might result in reapportionment of wealth. In the modern social welfare state, and this would include most colonial and recent former colonial states as well, many of the most important ways of modifying social stratification without drastic measures come through welfare measures. Equally, they are a means of keeping the commitment of members to the system itself.

Finally, links between social stratification, party, and government itself are in part determined by the method of recruitment to and the definition of the roles of government. As Duverger has shown very adequately, types of electoral systems, for example, play an important part in determining the pattern of government accountability, the important units of decision-making, and the ability of government to recruit effective participants in government.¹¹ In

¹⁰ It is held here that even dictators are accountable in some measure to groups in the system. They will normally "spread" that accountability in such fashion that no crucial accountability group can challenge authority. Indeed, many of the crises of dictatorial regimes arise because it is difficult to keep the distribution of accountability such that it does not limit the autonomy of the dictator. The ultimate accountability group in democratic systems is the total responsible and adult membership of the system, i.e., where there is universal suffrage. This represents a residual accountability. Interesting combinations occur where the two extremes merge, i.e., where effective dictatorship occurs with maximum support as expressed in universal suffrage or some equivalent. Popular radical dictatorships are of this nature.

¹¹ For a general discussion of the relationship between party, government, and stratification see M. Duverger, *Political Parties* (London: Methuen & Co., 1954), *passim*. A detailed, if at times unorthodox, discussion of the consequences of differing electoral systems applicable to systems of indirect

some systems elections are the only permissible warrant for making decisions. In others there is co-optation and election. In some systems there are appointments germane to the perpetuation of an oligarchy. In large part the structure of political recruitment and role assignment determine the format of government. Format is extremely important because it is an indication of the formal responsiveness of a regime.

Format of government.—As we have indicated, we mean by “format” the degree of representativeness of the regime. All regimes can be regarded as oligarchical in some respects, but the important question is whether or not the oligarchy serves the wider purposes of the system or is free to serve its own. However, even totalitarian regimes have some representative feature. Format, then, represents types of systems with respect to their representativeness as follows: (1) dictatorial; (2) oligarchical; (3) indirectly representational; and (4) directly representational. They are important insofar as variations in them involve differences in the performances of structural requisites and indicate degrees of sensitivity to the social stratification system. Depending upon format, as well, political parties have differing roles to play, their potentialities are different, and they have limits put upon their own actions.

It is important to recognize, first, the crucial and strategic role of government in a going social system. Second, the format of government in part determines its actions. Third, that these actions occur within the framework of five structural requisites, failure to perform in any one of which entails the breakdown of government itself. Insofar as government is regarded as a concrete structural requisite of any social system, the social system itself will be altered.

From the point of view of theory the empirical variations in possible actions in each

of these structural requisites should be the core of comparative treatment. Ideally, a battery of data would have to be built up based on analysis of widely differing social systems and societies before the theoretical value of many empirical activities could be ascertained. At a minimum, then, these structures should have heuristic value. At a maximum they should produce useful theories.

POLITICAL GROUPS

Modifications in the stratification system can be brought about by two major groups of entrepreneurs: (a) those who use the factors of production and are primarily *economic* and (b) those whose entrepreneurial activities are essentially devoted to the recruitment of followers who attempt to modify the system either by participation in government or by directing their actions against it. These latter will be regarded as *political*. Of groups called “political,” those which seek to find positions for their members in government will be regarded as political *associations* if they are composed of intimates and associates (like clubs) and political *parties* if there are regularly prescribed rules for membership and if the members are governed by the rules rather than personal association. If the rules of a political group are vague, not based upon norms for the behavior of intimates, it will be called a *movement*. To be effective, movements require mass membership. They are extraordinarily dependent upon personal leaders. They tend to transform themselves into parties if a stable framework of legitimate government is sufficiently flexible.

Historically, in most Western countries political associations appeared before political parties, but only recently have political movements transformed themselves into parties. Political movements emerge particularly where there are fundamental disequilibria in social stratification and where economic entrepreneurship does not appear as a feasible means of increasing public commitment to that system. In some instances political movements transform themselves

representation can be found in J. F. S. Ross, *Elections and Electors* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955).

into parties if they can capture government and combine economic entrepreneurship with political entrepreneurship through state enterprise. Political movements are normally monopolistic, and opposition groups are despised or their members regarded as traitors.

The actions of political groups depend ultimately upon the social stratification system insofar as there is a search for basic issues and grievances and insofar as recruitment to political groups is deeply affected by social strata. Depending upon who is recruited, considerable limitations are normally imposed upon political parties, upon political associations in particular, and, to a lesser extent, upon political movements. However, political groups have both contingent properties and their own "system" properties. They have certain organizational characteristics which produce changes in their activities and ideologies. Some refer to leadership and to the abilities of a political group to take advantage of a given situation. Others refer to the specific characteristics of their recruitment and scope. A constant juxtaposition of such characteristics provides differences in political group activity. We shall discuss political groups therefore under two general rubrics: the structure of leadership and the structure of membership.

The structure of leadership.—Four characteristic types of leadership shall be encompassed here. They are: (1) bureaucratic and durable; (2) personal and fragile; (3) bureaucratic and fragile; and (4) personal and durable.

Normally, bureaucratic and durable parties, such as the Social Democratic party of Germany or the Conservative and Labour parties in England, require a stable and highly participant structure of government with a format of indirect democracy. The leadership in such a party may itself be oligarchical but only within the larger compass of a democratic state. Hence the oligarchical aspect of bureaucratic and durable parties tends to reinforce the democratic system by using its machinery to bring about a correspondence between public de-

mands and government decisions. Democracy within a party does not necessarily lead to effective democracy in government.

Bureaucratic and durable parties have stable oligarchical (and usually middle-aged) leaders. The supporters are normally middle class and are "majoritarian" in their outlook, requiring mass membership less than a stable mass support. Such parties have a large corps of functional experts whose position in the party may involve a full-time appointment and is based upon "expertise" (functionally specific roles). There is, at the very top, a leadership composed of a few persons whose roles are widely varied and who can play, simultaneously, public spokesman, symbol of ideas, parliamentary leader or prime minister, and chief "organizer" of talent. Such leaders are characteristically "political entrepreneurs."¹²

Bureaucratic and durable parties require a stable governmental format, and they help to produce one. They draw their following from widely differing groups in the social stratification system, but they are substantially different from political movements, which also draw their support from widely differing groups in the social stratification system, insofar as they are not temporary amalgams of unhomogeneous elements. Such political parties are normally progressive or conservative and gain their flexibility by appealing to voters within the generally middle-class ranges of the social stratification system. These parties are possible, however, only where the stratification system is relatively wide in range and open in mobility. Bureaucratic and durable parties which do not find such a social stratification system are normally impossible to organize unless they transform the political format of government into a single party state, in which case the party oligarchy becomes the government oligarchy. The case of Turkey

¹² For a discussion of functionality and bureaucracy see D. E. Apter and R. Lystad, "Bureaucracy, Party and Constitutional Democracy," in G. Carter and W. O. Brown (eds.), *Transition in Africa: Studies in Political Adaptation* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1958).

has, until recent years, been very instructive here.

The complete obverse of bureaucratic and durable political party leadership is that which is personal and fragile. Normally, in such patterns of leadership, a single figure exercises an extremely powerful moral and legitimizing influence. Members partake of his grace and are a chosen people or the carriers of a special mission. In its extreme form this is the type of leadership that Weber called "charismatic." In its more usual form it involves a highly personal type of control over followers which should not be confused with charisma¹³ but which is dependent upon offices and rewards to be supplied by the leader for his followers and, most of all, upon the access to high positions in the social stratification system which the party makes possible.

Personal and fragile parties need crises in order to maintain their followings. Very often they require a revolutionary ideology, although in practice they may not be at all opposed to the social stratification system, but are merely interested in opening avenues for party members to the high power and prestige roles. This is certainly the case for Fascist parties, which characteristically have a "revolutionary" ideology before they assume office—hence recruiting the most mobility-conscious of those in the population whose index of commitment to the stratification system is high but whose opportunities for advancement within it are low—and a conservative ideology as soon as they achieve control of the government. And, because they are fragile, they must produce a state bureaucracy in the absence of a party bureaucracy (i.e., the leader may have followers who perform bureaucratic tasks), but the essence of bureaucracy is that it has

regularized and institutionalized roles which cannot be arbitrarily dealt with. Personal and fragile political parties show a constant change in officers. The government, then, serves to produce the bureaucracy which is under the control of the party leader. Such a combination can work quite well until the problem of leader succession arises—a problem which few personal and fragile parties have been able to solve satisfactorily.¹⁴

This problem is adequately solved by personal and durable leaders. These are, characteristically, leadership roles in which the leader is not important as an individual but in which his position is intensely symbolic and mystical. Divine kingship is the classic example of such a position in government; others are provided by certain monarchical parties where a king or a pretender is in fact the party leader or figurehead in whose name a party leader operates. Personal and fragile parties must, over time, change into either bureaucratic and durable parties or personal and durable parties. An example of a partially unsuccessful attempt to make the transformation was demonstrated in the U.S.S.R. after the death of Lenin. Under Lenin's auspices it appeared as if the party would move more directly toward a bureaucratic and durable leadership. Under Stalin such a process became a menace to his own leadership autonomy, and, through purges and other means, such bureaucratization of the party was halted—though there was a great increase in government bureaucracy, as was discussed above—and, indeed, personal control constantly increased. It is particularly difficult for personal and fragile parties to maintain that type of leadership in systems of indirect representation (i.e., in democratic systems of government) and especially difficult where a single-member constituency parliamentary government is in operation. It is extremely useful to observe personal and fragile parties, which develop out

¹³ The term "charismatic" has become ill used. Charisma is a most unusual phenomenon and does simply refer to personal magnetism on the part of a leader. Properly speaking, charisma involves special qualities of grace and legitimization which are deeply spiritual and profound (see Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. Alexander Morell Henderson and Talcott Parsons [Edinburgh: William Hodge & Co., 1947]).

¹⁴ The Spanish example is instructive here, since Generalissimo Franco has apparently chosen to restore the monarchy (i.e., personal and durable leadership) to succeed himself.

of nationalist movements, in underdeveloped territories where colonial oligarchical governments have been displaced by European parliamentary forms of indirect representative government.

It is very difficult for personal and durable parties to operate for long periods in governments with indirect representation without changing the format of government to at least a nominal oligarchical format, as in Portugal. Equally, personal and durable parties can be transformed into bureaucratic and durable parties by a conflict between a monarchical system and leaders of personal and durable parties. This expresses itself simultaneously in a widening of recruitment to the political party and in demands for more representative government. It helps to explain the phenomenon of Tory radicalism in nineteenth-century England and the expansion of constitutional monarchy.

Personal and fragile political parties usually develop out of political movements catering to wide segments of the social stratification system. Personal and durable political parties usually develop out of select political associations having a narrow recruiting base in the social stratification system. Personal and durable parties are often associated with religious legitimacy, in which the role of the leader has personal characteristics of a sacral nature, while the occupant of the role may change.¹⁵ In personal and fragile parties, it is the person occupying the leadership position who carries with him these characteristics; hence the difficulty of succession.

Bureaucratic and fragile parties are particularly significant where the stratification system is widely disjointed or membership is not on the basis of a movement but upon familiar linkages of social groups normally in contact with one another, such as with political associations based upon members of certain clubs, universities, occupational groups, and religious groups. Normally, they are held together by their overlapping membership in significant reference

groups rather than by individual leaders, and they show a marked tendency to fission and realignment with simply a reallocation of defined roles between members. Middle-class nationalist parties in colonial territories show that these propensities and parties break up and re-form with the same old faces and with only the party name being changed. Parliamentary party associations in nineteenth-century England showed some of these characteristics until they sought a more durable base among wider segments of the population dispersed throughout a social stratification system in which middle ranges were increasing. The same has been true in British colonial territories. A mass following helps produce a more stable bureaucracy in party leadership.

Very often, as a symptom as well as a cause of declining membership, a bureaucratic and durable party will transform itself into a bureaucratic and fragile party. This is particularly the case where substantial changes going on in the stratification system are not manifested in changes in the content of decisions in government, if such a party is in government, or if the government does not hold itself accountable to the party. If the index of commitment to the stratification system declines, then fission and fractionalization occurs in the bureaucratic and durable party, changing it into a bureaucratic and fragile one. Normally, this is accompanied by a growth of personal and fragile parties, especially those having a revolutionary ideology.

The type of party leadership, then, depends a great deal upon what is going on in the region of social stratification (i.e., its sources of recruitment) and its means and manner of representing those groups in relation to government. Personal and fragile parties have an affinity for oligarchical or dictatorial forms of government. Bureaucratic and durable parties have affinities for indirect representation systems of government. If the stratification system is such that the top positions are relatively narrow and closed, yet achievement criteria prevail

¹⁵ An excellent example of this in the United States is afforded by the Mormons.

with widely developed groups in the population having obtained such achievements, a personal and fragile movement is possible. This would promise, in itself, to become a social stratification system, since by virtue of membership it accords both power and prestige. Such situations are normally revolutionary, and, when the movement succeeds and takes over the government, it directs its effort to drastic economic and social reform. If it is to be successful, such reforms must accord a significant number of followers the fruits of revolution at the expense of former high-ranking status-holders. Most bloody revolutions are of this character. On the other hand, if the movement becomes a party and the index of commitment to the system is high enough, it may be possible to satisfy enough of the followers by giving them political appointments without changing the social stratification system. Both instances are normally found in association with some form of state socialism. In the first instance, the new stratification system comes into being by the party capturing the government, changing its format if necessary, and substantially altering property relations via massive nationalization. In the second instance, property relations are not basically altered, but positions are created in conjunction with the already existing high status positions to be found. The first instance is characteristic of the Communist pattern and the second of the Fascist pattern.

Bureaucratic and durable parties normally are pushed along the same lines by the same impulses in the social stratification system. However, if they are working within the framework of parliamentary government, progressive reform rather than revolutionary change is characteristic. Much then depends upon the format of government itself and upon how the structures of government are operated. Government may use its powers of taxation and revenue allocation to minimize conflict in the social stratification sphere; indeed, it may do so drastically. But if the social stratification system is such that important groups in the

population are highly resistant to such reform (such as in the case of modern France), it is quite possible that government will not be able to carry out its functions. Such impotence will provide opportunities for a drastic change in the society itself.

Personal and fragile parties and movements thrive when changes in social stratification produce uncertainty in social and economic life and in their most extreme case establish a system of legitimacy at variance with that of government. They can produce chaos by making it impossible for the government to carry out any or all of the structural requisites of government. If bureaucratic and durable parties are to be able to cope with such conditions in the social stratification system (which may be produced by depression, or plague, or a host of circumstances), they require a format of government in which the structure of accountability and consent and the structure of authoritative decision-making reflect both the needs and the demands of the population. Normally, a bureaucratic and durable party has a better awareness of incipient discontent in the members of the society and can reflect that awareness within the decision-making apparatus of a representative system of government. Totalitarian or oligarchical governments reach their maximum efficiency just after there has been a dramatic system change and the leaders are in close identification with the public, and, increasingly, they grow remote from the needs and the requirements of the public. Hence they grow increasingly restrictive, and, normally, decision-making is in terms of a postponed goal which has a sentimental and historical attachment to the issues which gave rise to the movement or party in the first place, while they seek to demonstrate their achievements in the future rather than the present.

If these totalitarian or oligarchical governments can accord sufficient satisfactions throughout a changing social stratification system to keep the public reasonably happy, it is possible for them to make their governmental format more representative, in-

crease the accountability of the government, and change the party into a more bureaucratic and durable type. Some observers see signs of this process occurring in the social stratification system in the U.S.S.R. In some underdeveloped territories where a personal and fragile political movement has been transformed into a party operating a parliamentary government, either there must be enough commitment to the social stratification system for governmental activities to be not the exclusive concerns of members of society or the government system must be made oligarchic or dictatorial.¹⁶ When economic entrepreneurship is possible as a major means of reform, this is normally the case. Otherwise the political entrepreneurs transform themselves into economic entrepreneurs through the mechanism of state enterprise.

The impulses thus deriving from types of political group leadership strongly affect the way in which both government format and social stratification will be manifested in society. The activities of government and the social stratification system give rise to types of political group leadership. Such leadership reflects ideological positions which range in their degree of commitment to the social stratification system. The range

itself, as a reflection of political group identification with the stratification system, can be specified as follows: *revolutionary*, (i.e., a complete system change) and *progressiste* (i.e., extensive alteration in social stratification in any of the categories which describe it, such as changes from achievement rather than ascriptive eligibility to status, or extending or narrowing the range of participation). A *conservative* ideology involves maintenance of substantially the same structure of social stratification with only minor changes. A *revivalist* ideology seeks to restore an already altered social stratification system. Political ideas can serve under more than one of these categories. For example, Communist political ideas are conservative in the contemporary U.S.S.R., according to this usage of ideology, but are revolutionary in the French Cameroons. Political groups of various types can subscribe to various of these ideological positions and can change over time. The National Socialist party of Germany, for example, showed elements of revivalism in its mythology, "revolutionaryism" before the SA purge, and conservatism for most of its governmental tenure. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain in French West Africa shows considerable Marxist influence yet remains *progressiste* in its ideology, and has a pragmatic approach aimed at gauging public demands for changes in the social stratification system without allowing Communist dogma to direct party programs and actions.

Types of leadership can strongly affect the type of ideological position taken, particularly in the case of personal and fragile political groups which (1) feed on crises of increasing intensification, (2) make manifest latent disaffiliation of the public from the system of social stratification, and (3) if they push the government to decisions which contradict their position, or make active the structure of coercion and punishment, are forced to an increasingly revolutionary position. This is particularly true where they seek by means of strikes or paramilitary operations to make the structure

¹⁶ When personal and fragile leaders working within a parliamentary system need to change the format of government in order to preserve their leadership, the modern pattern of Populist or radical totalitarianism (which in modern times begins with Napoleon) produces leaders who prefer totalitarianism to oligarchy on the grounds that the former is more "democratic" or at least more compatible with fervent ideals. An oligarchy tends to create a specially privileged group in the social stratification system, while with radical dictatorships oligarchies can be removed. Indeed, this is implicit in the communism of both Leninists and Titoists, and only when it is discovered that a new oligarchy can emerge not based on actual ownership of property is there awareness of how "mischievous" is the doctrine. A good, yet pathetic, example of this "awareness" is to be found in Milovan Djilas, *The New Class* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957). See also Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1946).

of coercion and punishment inoperative, hence making government inoperative. Such political groups would require a revolutionary ideology both to justify their position with their following and to seek to create a new kind of society. In underdeveloped areas nationalist movements are normally not of this type. They seek to throw out oligarchical colonial regimes, making them representative, and, by the use of electoral machinery, to take control and then seek reform. Thus they are mostly *progressiste*, although the actual slogans and ideas may sound revolutionary. An excellent example of this is the case of Ghana, where the Convention People's party is today in control of an independent country within a British-type parliamentary system of government, pushing toward moderate reform in the social stratification system. However, if under such circumstances the personal leadership of the party should fail, and the party, becoming more bureaucratic, show signs of fragility, it is possible that the government bureaucracy and the apparatus of state power can be transformed into the personal weapon of the party leader, and the format of government can change to dictatorship or oligarchy, carrying a revolutionary ideology. The social stratification system would be altered or constrained as the case might be.

However, the range of possibilities open to political leaders is not only dependent upon the social stratification system and the format of government. Much depends on the characteristics of political group membership.¹⁷

The structure of membership.—Variations in leadership patterns and ideology reflect the type of membership which obtains in a political group, whether a movement, a party, or an association. The first basic distinction is whether or not the political group is an *elite* or a *mass* organization. Normally, elite political groups are composed of narrow segments of the social stratification system or of people who have

by some means "removed" themselves from it, as in the case of the bourgeois origins of many Communist party members. Where they seek a mass following, they form a party within a movement. An elite political group may or may not have strict rules of membership. Communist or Fascist parties normally do so; so may some nationalist parties which have their roots in situations where they were originally proscribed by governments and therefore show earmarks of operating illegally. Some elite parties openly do not want mass followings, for example, a political party in Uganda which identified itself as a party of "leaders" (i.e., the best people). Such an elite is a "weightier part" type of organization which seeks to influence others by the distinction of the membership.

Many of the characteristics of party leadership will also depend upon whether the organization, elite or mass as the case might be, is *urban* or *rural* dominant, *territorial*

¹⁷ A diagram of leadership and ideological characteristics can be made as follows:

		SYSTEMS					
		A		B		C	
IDEOLOGY	Revol.	Bur.	dur.				
		Pers.	frag.				
		Bur.	frag.				
		Pers.	dur.				
	Prog.	Bur.	dur.				
		Pers.	frag.				
		Bur.	frag.				
		Pers.	dur.				
	Conser.	Bur.	dur.				
		Pers.	frag.				
		Bur.	frag.				
		Pers.	dur.				
	Reviv.	Bur.	dur.				
		Pers.	frag.				
		Bur.	frag.				
		Pers.	dur.				

or *supraterritorial* in those it seeks to affiliate, and *ethnic* or *regional* in its scope.¹⁸

Ethnic and/or regional groups, particularly if they are rural-dominant, mass political movements or political parties, tend to push for local autonomy within a given territory and demand a federal system of government if they support a system of indirect representation and if the ethnic group is smaller than the government of the entire country. They may vary in their ideology, but, if the rural population is poor and disgruntled, and the leadership is urban-dominant, they normally push toward a *progressiste* system of reformism. If the leadership is personal and fragile, and especially if the membership is predominantly rural, this may quickly take the form of a revivalist ideology.

Urban-dominant elite parties, normally territorial in scope, may, depending upon how they recruit from the social stratification system, produce a bureaucratic and fragile leadership, as in the classic case of small, middle-class political parties which show fission and fusion and a conservative or *progressiste* ideology. If they recruit from a disinherited and disenfranchised group in the social stratification system, and if they are barred by an oligarchical government from effective participation, they are likely to produce a personal and fragile leadership moving toward a revolutionary ideology; while an equivalent group which is rural-dominant and ethnic-dominant is normally personal and durable in its leader-

ship and revivalist in its ideology. This is particularly the case in some tribal societies existing in the context of a colonial oligarchical regime, such as the Bataka party in Uganda, and, among right-wing monarchical rural parties in some European countries having indirect representation, for example, in prewar France and Weimar Germany.

Occasionally, a situation exists in which an elite party forms an elect within a political movement, with a personal and durable leadership, an elite membership urban-dominant and supraterritorial in its scope. Communist parties show some of these characteristics, the binding force being a revolutionary ideology reinforced by government actions which use against them the structures of decision-making, coercion and punishment, and sometimes revenue assessment and allocation. Their relative strength depends in large part upon the index of commitment to stratification. If it is high, Communist parties are relatively powerless, and, if it is low, they can be relatively powerful. Insofar as systems of government having indirect representation with bureaucratic and durable parties are normally most capable of determining what the index of commitment is, they are usually the most effective in resisting party activities. The least effective are oligarchical or totalitarian systems, unless they are constantly transforming the social stratification system.¹⁹

There are special problems when dealing with political parties which are themselves elites, such as a Communist party which bases its ultimate strength upon a number of factors which might be crucial for the Communist party, but for no other party which would normally abide by the more general rules of the game. Hence tactics and strategy for a Communist party, and often a Fascist party, in a parliamentary setting has dangers to that setting which do not normally obtain. However, elite parties

¹⁸ Structure of political groups:

	SYSTEMS					
	Elite A	Mass	Elite B	Mass	Elite C	Mass
Urban dom.						
Rural dom.						
Terr.						
Supra terr.						
Ethnic						
Regional						

¹⁹ They may do this by dramatic economic change (difficult without weakening the entire system), purges, changes in role occupants but not roles, etc.

which are revolutionary in their ideology require a mass following, that is, people who may belong to a movement but are not, strictly speaking, allowed into the party itself. Now a characteristic of a movement is that, while it may have a well-defined goal, the goal must be ideologically diffuse. It cannot be narrowly programmatic, since movements usually recruit from a wide range of groups having relatively different positions in the social stratification system. The only exception is where a system has a dominant single class, like a working class, more or less permanently disbarred from high positions, as in classic Marxian doctrine. In practice this has been not very rare. Even in Asia movements have been rural in recruitment and urban in leadership with propensities for splitting apart with an increase in programing and scheduling political targets.

Communist parties, particularly in Europe, have the special problem of defining goals more narrowly for their members than for their followers, that is, for those in the movement which support the party. This increases the need for secrecy among party members and builds characteristics of control and discipline into the party which complement other reasons for control and discipline, such as subversion or capturing control of voluntary associations.

In addition, movements, as we have said, are normally "mass type." In classic Leninist doctrine, Communist party membership must remain small and fulfil vanguard functions. Party discipline does not extend to the movement. Hence there must be a considerable degree of symbolic representation of both persons and issues and a high degree of personalization of leadership, which is done less for the sake of party members than for the followers of the movement. A Communist party, therefore, becomes an elect inside a movement with a double standard of behavior, one for members of the party acting as party members and another for members of the party working to rally the movement. Indeed, this situation prevailed in the U.S.S.R. to a large extent.

Stalin's crime was to personalize himself to party members as well as to followers of the movement—hence the special sense of outrage in decrying the cult of personality.

Movements are characteristic of certain types of nationalist political groups. In underdeveloped areas they encompass members having wide regional and ethnic affiliations as well. In Nigeria this has produced political parties which range in their ideology from (1) conservative (the Northern People's party), (2) *progressiste* but dominated by a bureaucratic and durable chiefs' and middle-class leadership (Action Group), and (3) *progressiste* with a more radical program and a clearly urban leadership (the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons).

There can be considerable confusion between the broadly based, mass political party, such as those in this country, and a movement. Normally, mass political parties do not require much participation by members except at election time. A movement, on the other hand, tends to be aroused by an issue or series of issues which challenge the status quo in some fundamental manner; while mass parties in substance require the maintenance of the system as it stands. Hence mass parties do not challenge the legitimacy of government, although they might question its activities, that is, they will seek to manipulate and change the content of decisions but not the structure of decision-making. Movements, furthermore, require periodic manifestations of the loyalty of followers in a variety of activities and institutions (protest, strikes, petitions, special organizations like special schools, etc.). They surround their leaders with a mystique. They need considerable solidarity, which mass political parties do not. Their leadership is ordinarily personal and fragile or personal and durable.

Movements are characteristic of those societies in which commitment to the social stratification is low, and they normally change into parties of a mass type, or disintegrate. When an elect exists inside the movement, it tends to become dangerous,

because it is difficult to control except by dramatic changes in the social stratification system which are normally brought about by the elect capturing the government and promulgating drastic reconstruction in society or by becoming extraterritorial in scope. Egypt under President Nasser is a case in point; here the extraterritorial basis of the movement is along ethnic lines (pan-Arabism), internal reform is extremely difficult, and the symbolic mystique of the leader personal and fragile. Leadership could become personal and durable, as is true of some other Arab groups, by increasing the religious nature of its leadership, and a pseudo-papal Islamic religious role could be made out of the leadership position.

These additional aspects of political group structure, then, set limiting conditions upon the development of leadership and ideology in political groups. Each of the possible combinations produce different possible consequences and, taken together with the other elements of this comparative scheme, should (a) increase the ability of a research worker to make predictions about the outcome of a given state of affairs in politics and (b) generate theories on the basis of comparative treatment.

It should be possible to outline major consequences of structural relations between types of party organizations and types of government format, for example, modified by the performances of each, the seriousness of which can be measured in the degree to which they support or hinder government in carrying out its structural requisites—in turn, crucial for the maintenance of a given system. For example, when there are bureaucratic and fragile parties participating in a system of government which is indirectly representative (of the parliamentary type), party tendencies to fission produce multiple parliamentary party situations. Multiple parliamentary party situation emphasize differences between parties. Emphasis on difference produces (1) coalitions for government-forming purposes and (2) appeals to voters at the two opposite

ends of the political spectrum (i.e., appeals to extremes). Appeals to extremes are modified by immediate coalition prospects and by electoral support, plus potential support of uncommitted voters to an opposition coalition. This is in large part determined by the degree of commitment which exists in the social stratification system.

Bureaucratic and durable parties tend to form middle-spectrum coalitions when there is a multiple-party system in parliament. Where there is a two-party system in parliament, the programs of the government party and the opposition party tend constantly to identity up to the point where marginal voters cease to prefer one or other party.

Personal and durable parties tend toward a high degree of "traditionalistic" authoritarianism in which tendencies toward fission within the party are regarded as tantamount to treason. In a parliamentary setting they normally form a solid bloc and rarely have wide support, except in theocratic types of societies, and they prefer oligarchical government to indirect representative government.

Personal and fragile parties are dependent upon their degree of deviation from the social stratification system as it stands and cannot long endure under conditions of parliamentary government. They therefore seek to undermine it or else to transform themselves into bureaucratic and durable parties with the same leadership maintained intact. This has been particularly true of political parties which have developed out of a special "struggle," whether in Europe, where the struggle was against a given form of oligarchy with changes sought in both the system of stratification and the format of government, or in underdeveloped areas attacking colonialism and, as a result, achieving self-government. Ghana, Indonesia, and Malaya are all interesting countries to compare in this latter regard.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing represents a "prolegomene" to a comparative method. It seeks to produce theories by developing a scheme in

which, by comparative treatment of many instances, it is possible to see combinations of these variables in action. If comparative analysis is to be effective, some such treatment is essential. The essence of this approach involves an examination of sample issues which are thrown up for government to deal with, particularly those which imply threats to the structural requisites of any government. Any research done in these terms would therefore, first of all, require a delimitation of core issues which, related to social stratification, on the one hand, and manifested in political group activity, on the other, specify how differing governments, in differing formats, deal with them. The structural requisites of any government then give a guide to the limits of variation to which governments may be subject without being destroyed, and their actual operations in terms of these structures give a guide to how well they are able to perform.

The possible empirical combinations of these variables are very great. Only a few possible combinations have been discussed. In this respect, as we have indicated, the scheme is very inelegant. It does not have precision. Much of it would be difficult, though hopefully not impossible, to operationalize for fine treatment. A wide variety of research techniques would be appropriate

to its use. Refinements in comparative criteria would be essential.

Most of all, a careful comparison of differing societies and their governments can indicate some of the conditions necessary for the working of democracy, an especially acute question in those parts of the world where democratic institutions are new, their social bases weak, and governments are in the position of seeking social change while remaining able to control it. Oligarchical governments and totalitarianism are common, and we know some of the pressures which produce them. Can some of these same pressures be utilized for the working of modern democratic governments as well? In this respect we know far less about the potentialities of democracy than oligarchy. It is through the comparative analysis of democracies under widely differing conditions and through time that we can learn something about their potentialities and ultimate compatability with drastic social change. Equally, a study of some of the newer governments round the world should help to produce a genuine theory of democratic government—a theory having practical as well as ethical implications for our times.

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THE POWER ELITE—RECONSIDERED¹

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ABSTRACT

The Power Elite has had a wide emotional appeal because of its rhetoric and its tough-minded "unmasking" of naïve, Populist illusions about democratic checks on power. But a detailed, textual analysis of the book shows a loose and confusing use of terminology. Its conceptual scheme draws from European experiences which do not apply in American life. Its method is static and ahistorical. Power, as Mills defines it, is violence, but this avoids more problems than it illuminates. The book fails to deal with the nature of interests or to define the character of political decisions.

C. Wright Mills's *The Power Elite* is one of those rare books in recent sociology that deals with the "world of causality" as against mere description. Power is a difficult subject; its effects are more observable than its causes. Even the power-wielders often do not know what factors shaped their decisions. By seeing power through a peculiar configuration of elites, Mills provides a frame to locate the sources of behavior. It is, in addition, something else: a political book whose loose texture and powerful rhetoric have allowed different people to read their own emotions into it. For the young neo-Marxists in England (*vide* the group around the *Universities and Left Review*) and the old, orthodox Marxists in Poland (*vide* the reception by Adam Schaff, the party's official philosopher), it has become a primer for the understanding of American policy and motives. This is curious, since Mills is not a Marxist, and, if anything, his method and conclusions are anti-Marxist. But because it is tough-minded and "unmasks" the naïve, Populist illusions about power, it has won a ready response among radicals. Yet *The Power Elite* is not an empirical analysis of power in the United States, though many readers have mistaken its illustrations for such an analysis, but a *scheme* for the analysis of power; and a close reading of its argument will show, I think, how confusing and unsatisfactory this scheme is.

¹ This is a revised version of a paper presented before the Faculty Colloquium of the Columbia University Sociology Department in May, 1958.

THE MOOD AND THE INTENT

The mood that pervades Mills's book, and most of his work, provides some clue to the response. In writing about labor (*The New Men of Power*), the white-collar class, and now the power elite, Mills is writing not a whole human comedy but one aspect of it, what Balzac called the *étude de mœurs*, "the comedy of morals." Some of the Balzac method is there: Balzac sought to reconcile the discoveries of science with poetry and to build up visual effects by the massing of factual detail. Mills writes in vivid metaphors and surrounds them with statistic after statistic. But more than stylistic analogy is involved. Balzac lived at a time very much like ours—a time of upheaval when old mores were called into question, when for the first time individual social mobility was becoming possible, when Stendhal's Julien Sorel, the young man from the provinces, could seek to move into the world of the upper class. Balzac's heroes, Louis Lambert, Rastignac, and, most of all, Vautrin (a lateral descendant of Macheath, from John Gay's *Beggar's Opera*), begin as mobile men, seeking a place in society, but end by hating the bourgeois society they found. Their stance is that of the outsider, and their world (Vautrin's underworld is a countersociety to the upper world, as is Bert Brecht's *Three Penny Opera*) is built on the premise that the public morality, its manners and ideals, is all a fraud. It is interesting that Mills quotes with approval Balzac's dictum, "Behind every fortune is a crime,"

and sees it as a judgment which applies equally today. Mills, too, is an outsider.

But, whatever its initial impulse, Mills's book is molded by more direct intellectual progenitors. These are Veblen, from whom the rhetoric and irony is consciously copied; Weber, for the picture of social structure, not however of classes, but of vertical orders, or *Standen*; and, most crucially, Pareto, but not for the definition of elite, which is much different from Mills's, but the method. From Pareto is drawn the scorn for ideas and the denial that ideology has any operative meaning in the exercise of power. By seeing power as an underlying "combination of orders," Mills parallels in method what Pareto was doing in seeing social groups as "combination of residues." This leads, I think, despite the dynamism in the rhetoric, to a static, ahistorical approach.²

THE ARGUMENT

If one seeks to relate sequence to argument as it unfolds in Mills's opening chapter (the others are largely uneven illustrations rather than development or demonstration of the thesis), there is a perplexing shuttling back and forth on the key problem of how power is wielded. One can only show this by some detailed quotation, a difficult but necessary burden for exposition.³

Within American society, says Mills, major national power "now resides in the economic, political and military domains."

The way to understand the power of the American elite lies neither solely in recognizing

the historical scale of events, nor in accepting the personal awareness reported by men of apparent decision. Behind such men and behind the events of history, linking the two, are the major institutions of modern society. These hierarchies of state and corporation and army constitute the means of power: as such, they are now of a consequence not before equalled in human history—and at their summits, there are now those command posts of modern society which offer us the sociological key to an understanding of the role of the higher circles in America [p. 5].

This power, to be power, apparently means control over the institutions of power:

By the powerful, we mean, of course, *those who are able to realize their will, even if others resist it*. No one, accordingly, can be truly powerful unless he has access to the command of major institutions, for it is over these institutional means of power that the truly powerful are, in the first instance, powerful [p. 9].

It is shared by only a few persons:

By the power elite, we refer to those political and economic and military *circles* which as an intricate set of overlapping cliques *share decisions having at least national consequences*. Insofar as national events are decided, the power elite are those who decide them [p. 18].

But these people are not the "history makers" of the time. The "power elite" is not, Mills says (p. 20), a theory of history. History is a complex net of intended and unintended decisions.

The idea of the power elite implies *nothing about the process of decision-making as such*: it is an attempt to delimit social areas within which that process, *whatever its character*, goes on. It is a conception of *who* is involved in the process [p. 21].

But decisions are made:

In our time the pivotal moment does arise, and at that moment small circles do decide or fail to decide. In either case, they are an elite of power . . . [p. 22].

Does the elite then make history? Sometimes it is role-determined, sometimes role-determining (pp. 24–25). But

² My own masters, in this respect, are Dewey and Marx: Dewey, for his insistence on beginning not with structure but with problems; with the question of why something is called into question; why things are in change and what people did; Marx, for the interplay of ideology and power; for the emphasis on history, on crises as transforming moments, on politics as an activity rooted in concrete interests and played out in determinable strategies.

³ All italics, unless otherwise indicated, are mine. They are intended to underline key statements. All citations are from C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

it was no historical necessity, but a man named Truman, who with a few other men, decided to drop a bomb on Hiroshima. It was no historical necessity, but an argument, in then a small circle of men that defeated Admiral Radford's proposal to send troops to Indochina before Dienbienphu fell [p. 25].

If all this has a residue, it is that a smaller number of men than ever before, holding top positions in government, economic life, and the military, have a set of responsibilities and decision-making powers that are more consequential than ever before in United States history. This, in itself, does not tell us very much. But crucial to Mills's analysis are a set of operative terms—"institutions" (with which are interchanged freely "domains," "higher circles," and "top cliques"), "power," "command posts," and "big decisions"—and it is the rhetorical use of these terms that gives the book its persuasiveness. These are the key modifiers of the term "elite." What do they mean?

THE TERMS

a) *Institutions, domains, etc.*—In only one place, in a long footnote on page 366, among his notes, Mills tries to straighten out the confusions created by the profuse interchange of terms. He says that he defines elite on the basis of "institutional position" rather than "statistics of selected values," "membership in clique-like sets of people," or "morality of certain personality types." He wants to locate the structural power centers in society.

But, actually, the military, the economic, and the political, as Mills uses these terms, are not institutions, but sectors, or what Weber calls "orders," or vertical hierarchies—each with their inclosed strata—of society. To say that this sector or order is more important than that—that in some societies, for example, the religious orders are more important than the political—is to give us large-scale boundaries of knowledge. But surely we want and need more than that.

Nor do we obtain any clear idea of what

Mills means by an *institution*. Mills's usage of "the military," "the political directorate," etc., is extraordinarily loose. It would be hard to characterize these as institutions. Institutions derive from *particular, established* codes of conduct, which shape the behavior of *particular* groups of men who implicitly or otherwise have a loyalty to that code and are subject to certain controls (anxiety, guilt, shame, expulsion, etc.) if they violate the norms. If the important considerations of power are *what people do with that power*, then we have to have more particularized ways of identifying the groupings than "institutionalized orders," "domains," "circles," etc.

b) *Power*.—There is a curious lack of definition all the way through the book of the word "power." Only twice, really, does one find a set of limits to the word:

By the powerful we mean, of course, those who are able to realize their will, even if others resist it [p. 9].

All politics is a struggle for power: the ultimate kind of power is violence [p. 171].

It is quite true that violence, as Weber has said, is the ultimate sanction of power, and, in extreme situations (e.g., the Spanish Civil War, Iraq, etc.), control of the means of violence may be decisive in seizing or holding power. But neither is power the inexorable, implacable, granitic force that Mills and others make it to be. (Merriam once said: "Rape is not evidence of irresistible power, either in politics or sex.") And is it true to say that *all* politics is a struggle for power? Are there not ideals as a goal? And if ideals are realizable through power—though not always—do they not temper the violence of politics?

Power in Mills's terms is domination. But we do not need an elaborate discussion to see that this view of power avoids more problems than it answers—particularly once one moves away from the outer boundary of *power as violence* to *institutionalized power*, with which Mills is concerned. For in society, particularly constitutional regimes, and *within* associations, where violence is

not the rule, we are in the realm of norms, values, traditions, legitimacy, consensus, leadership, and identification—all the modes and mechanisms of command and authority, their acceptance or denial, which shape action in the day-to-day world *without violence*. And these aspects of power Mills has eschewed.

c) *The command posts*.—It is rather striking, too, given Mills's image of power, and politics, as violence, that the metaphor to describe the people of power be a military one. We can take this as a clue to Mills's implicit scheme—that the military is for him the model of power. But little more than a metaphor, it still tells us little as to *who* has power. The men who hold power, he says, are those who run the *organizations* or *domains* which have power. But how do we know they have power or what power they have? This is taken simply as a postulate: (1) the organization or institution has power; (2) *position in it gives power*. How do we know? Actually, we can only know if power exists by what people *do* with their power.

What powers people have, what decisions they make, how they make them, what factors they have to take into account in making them—all these come into the question of whether position *can* be transferred into power. But Mills has said:

The idea of the power elite implies nothing about the process of decision-making as such—it is an attempt to delimit the social areas within which that process, *whatever its character*, goes on. It is a conception of who is involved in the process [p. 21].

So we find ourselves stymied. *Who* depends upon position? But position, as I have argued, is meaningful only if one can define the character of the decisions made with such power. And this problem Mills eschews.⁴

Mills says further that he wants to avoid the problem of the self-awareness by the power-holders or the role of such self-awareness in decisions: "The way to understand the power of the elite lies neither in recognizing the historic scale of events or the

personal awareness reported by men of apparent decision behind the men and the institutions" (p. 15). But if the power elite is *not* the history-maker (p. 20), as Mills sometimes implies, *then what is the meaning of their positions as members of the power elite?* Either they can make effective decisions or not. It is true that many men, like Chanticleer the Cock, crow and believe that they have caused the sun to rise; but, if such power is only self-deception, that is an aspect, too, of the meaning of power.

So far we have been accepting the terms "command posts" and "power elite" in Mills's own usage. But now a difficulty enters: the question not only of *who* constitutes the power elite but of how *cohesive* they are. Although Mills contends that he does not believe in a conspiracy theory, his loose account of the centralization of power among the elite comes suspiciously close to it. (It is much like Jack London's *The Iron Heel*—the picture of the American oligarchs—which so influenced Socialist imagery and thought before World War I.

We can only evaluate the meaning of any centralization of power on the basis of what people do with their power. What *unites* them? What *divides* them? And this in-

⁴In his extraordinary story of policy conflicts between the Army, Air Force, and Navy on strategic concepts—policy issues such as reliance on heavy military bombers and all-out retaliation, against tactical nuclear weapons and conventional ground forces for limited wars, issues which deeply affect the balance of power within the military establishment—General James Gavin provides a striking example of the helplessness of some of the top Army brass against the entrenched bureaucracy within the Department of Defense. "With the establishment of the Department of Defense in 1947," he writes, "an additional layer of civilian management was placed above the services. Furthermore, by the law, military officers were forbidden to hold executive positions in the Department of Defense. As a result the Assistant Secretaries of Defense relied heavily on hundreds of civil service employees, who probably have more impact on decision-making in the Department of Defense than any other group of individuals, military or civilian" (*War and Peace in the Space Age* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1958], reprinted in *Life*, August 4, 1958, pp. 81–82).

volves a definition of *interests*. To say, as Mills does, that "*all* means of power tend to become *ends* to an elite that is in command of them. And that is why we may define the power elite in terms of power—as those who occupy the command posts" (p. 23)—is circular.

What does it mean to say that power is an end in itself for the power elite? If the elite is cohesive, and facing another power group, the maintenance of power may be an end in itself. But is the elite cohesive? We do not know without first coming back to the question of interests. And the nature of interests implies a selection of values by a group, or part of a group, over against others, and this leads to a definition of the priorities of importance of values, of the distribution of particular privileges, etc.

Certainly, one cannot have a power elite, or a ruling class, without *community of interests*. Mills implies one: the interest of the elite is in the maintenance of the capitalist system as a *system*. But this is never really discussed or analyzed in terms of the meaning of capitalism, the impact of political controls on the society, or the changes in capitalism in the last twenty-five years.

But, even if the interest be as broad as Mills implies, one still has the responsibility of identifying the conditions for the maintenance of the system and the issues and interests which attend these. Further, one has to see whether there is or has been a *continuity of interests*, in order to chart the cohesiveness or the rise and fall of particular groups.

One of the main arguments about the importance of the *command posts* is the growing centralization of power which would imply something about the nature of interests. Yet there is almost no sustained discussion of the forces leading to centralization. These are somewhat assumed, and hover over the book, but are never made explicit. Yet only a sustained discussion of these tendencies would, it seems to me, uncover the *locales* of power and their shifts. For example: (a) the role of technology and increasing capital costs as a chief factor in

the size of enterprise; (b) the need for regulation and planning on a national scale because of increased communication, complexity of living, social and military services, and the managing of the economy as forces in the federalization of power; and (c) the role of foreign affairs. (Curiously, Soviet Russia is not even mentioned in the book, although so much of our posture has been dictated by Russian behavior.)

Since his focus is on *who* has power, Mills spends considerable effort in tracing the social origins of the men at the top. But, in a disclaimer toward the end of the book (pp. 280–87), he says that the conception of the power elite does not rest upon common social origins (a theme which underlies, say, Schumpeter's notion of the rise and fall of classes) or upon personal friendship but (although the presumption is not made explicit) upon their "institutional position." But such a statement begs the most important question of all: *the mechanisms of co-ordination among the power-holders*. One can say obliquely, as Mills does, that they "meet each other," but this tells us little. If there is a "built-in" situation whereby each position merges into another, what are they? One can say, as Mills does, that the new requirements of government require increased recruitment to policy positions from outside groups.⁵ But, then, what are they—and what do they do? At one point Mills says that the Democrats recruited from Dillon-Reed; the Republicans, from Kuhn-Loeb. But the point is never developed, and it is hard to know

⁵ One key theoretical point, for Marxists, which Mills, surprisingly, never comes to, is the question of the ultimate source of power. Is the political directorate autonomous, or the military independent? If so, how come? What is the relation of economic power to the other two? Mills writes: "In so far as the structural clue to the power elite today lies in the enlarged and military state, that clue becomes evident in the military ascendancy. The warlords have gained decisive political relevance, and the military structure is now in considerable part a political structure" (p. 275). If so, what is one to say, then, about the other crucial proposition by Mills that the capitalist system in the United States is essentially unchanged (see below).

what he means. One could equally say that in the recruitment of science advisers the Democrats took from Chicago and Los Alamos; the Republicans, from Livermore—but if this means anything, and I think it does, one has to trace out the consequences of this different recruitment in the *actions* of the different people. Mills constantly brings the story to the point where analysis has to begin—and stops.

d) *The big decisions*.—Mills says that the power elite comes into its own on the “big decisions”; only they can effect them. Those who talk of a new social balance, or pluralism, or the rise of labor, he says, are talking, if at all correctly, about the “middle levels” of power. They fail to see the big decisions. But, curiously, except in a few instances, Mills fails to specify what the big decisions are. And, when he does, they seem to be a few—namely, the steps leading to intervention in World War II; the decision to drop the atom bomb; the declaration of war in Korea; the *indecisions* over Quemoy and Matsu; the hesitation over Dienbienphu.

It is quite striking (and it is in line with Mills's conception of politics) *that all the decisions he singles out as the “big decisions” are connected with violence*. These are, it is true, the ultimate decisions a society can make: the commitment or refusal to go to war. And, in this regard, Mills is right. They *are* big decisions. But what is equally striking in his almost cursory discussion of these decisions is the failure to see that these decisions are not made by the power elite, either. They are the decisions which, in our constitutional system, are vested specifically in one individual who must bear the responsibility for the decision—the President. And, rather than being a usurpation of power, so to speak, this is one of the few instances in the Constitution in which such responsibility is specifically defined and accountability is clear. Naturally, a President will consult with others. And, in the instances Mills has cited, the President did. Richard Rovere has supplied a detailed analysis of the decisions which Mills has named⁶

and refuted the notion that a “power elite” was really involved—certainly, as Mills defines this elite broadly. Rovere points to the few persons other than the President involved in these decisions: on the atom bomb, Stimson, Churchill, and a few physicists; on Korea, a small group of men like Acheson and Bradley, whose counsel was divided; on Quemoy and Matsu, specifically by Eisenhower; and on Dienbienphu, the military and the Cabinet—and, in this instance, “the” power elite, narrowly defined, were for intervention, while Eisenhower alone decided against it, principally, says Rovere, because of public opinion.

Now it may well be that crucial decisions of this importance should not be in the hands of a few men. But short of a system of national initiative and referendum such as was proposed in 1938–39 in the Ludlow amendment, or short of reorganizing the political structure of the country to insist on party responsibility for decision, it is difficult to see what Mills's shouting is about. To say that the leaders of a country have a constitutional responsibility to make crucial decisions is a fairly commonplace statement. To say that the power elite makes such decisions is to invest the statement with a weight and emotional charge that is quite impressive but of little meaning.

In this preoccupation with elite manipulation, Mills becomes indifferent to the question of what constitutes problems of power in the everyday life of the country. This is quite evident in the way he summarily dismisses all other questions, short of the ones described above, as “middle level,” and presumably, without much *real* meaning. *Yet are these not the stuff of politics*—the issues which divide men and create the interest conflicts that involve people in a sense of ongoing reality: labor issues, race problems, tax policy, and the like?

THE EUROPEAN IMAGE

The peculiar fact is that, while all the illustrations Mills uses are drawn from

⁶ *The Progressive*, XX, No. 4 (June, 1956), 33–35.

American life, the key concepts are drawn from European experiences; and this accounts, I believe, for the exotic attractiveness—and astigmatism—of the power elite idea.⁷

Having defined politics and power in terms of an ultimate sanction of violence, Mills then raises the provocative question: Why, then, have the possessors of the means of violence—the military—not established themselves in power more than they have done in the West? Why is not military dictatorship the more normal form of government?

Mills's answer is to point to the role of status: "Prestige to the point of honor, and all that this implies, has, as it were, been the pay-off for the military renunciations of power" (p. 174).

Now, to the extent that this is true, and I think as a general statement it can stand, this fact applies primarily to the *European* scene. But does it to the United States? Where in the United States have the military (the Navy apart) been kept in check by *honor*? The military has not had the power—or status—in American life for a variety of vastly different reasons: the original concept of the Army as a people's militia; the Populist image of the Army man, often as a "hero"; the "democratic" recruitment to West Point; the reluctance to accept conscription; the low esteem of

soldiering so against moneymaking; the tradition of civil life; etc.

All this Mills sees and knows. But if "honor" and "violence" are not meaningful in our past, why *conceptualize* the problem of the military in terms of *violence* and *honor* as a general category when the problem does not derive from the American scene in those terms? Unless Mills assumes, as many intellectuals did in the thirties, that we shall, yet, follow the European experience.

A similar pitfall can be found in the treatment of prestige. Mills says: "All those who succeed in America—no matter what their circle of origin or their sphere of action—are likely to become involved in the world of the celebrity." (The celebrities are the names that need no further identification.) He says:

With the incorporation of the economy, the ascendancy of the military establishment, and the centralization of the enlarged state, there have arisen the national elite, who, in occupying the command posts, have taken the spotlight of publicity and become subjects of the intensive build-up. *Members of the power elite are celebrated because of the positions they occupy and the decisions they command* [p. 71].

Are the relationships of celebrity, prestige, status, and power as direct as Mills makes them out to be? Glamour, celebrities, etc., are the concomitants, or the necessary components, *not* of an elite, but of a *mass-consumption* society. A society engaged in selling requires such a system of lure and appeal. But why assume that positions of power involve one in this system of glamour?

One reason, perhaps, is that the usages by Mills stem from older, European conceptions of prestige, whereby prestige was identified with *honor* and with *deference*.⁸

⁸ Mills, like E. A. Ross of Wisconsin, drew much of this from the classic study of L. Leopold on prestige. Ross even went to the extent of writing: "The class that has the most prestige will have the most power." How many readers of the *Journal* could quickly identify the presidents and board chairmen of the top ten corporations on the *Fortune* magazine list of the five hundred largest corpo-

⁷ This is a refractory problem which has distorted much of American sociological thinking. Through the 1930's American intellectuals constantly expected that United States social development, particularly in the emergence of fascism, would inevitably follow that of Europe. To a great extent this was a product of mechanical Marxism which saw all politics as a reflex of economic crises and postulated common stages of social evolution. Even as late as 1948, Laski would write that "the history of the United States, would, despite everything, follow the general pattern of capitalist democracy in Europe" (Harold Laski, *The American Democracy* [New York: Viking Press, 1948], p. 17). And even so brilliant an observer as Joseph Schumpeter, in his *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, could, with sleight of hand, mix American experiences with European concepts to achieve his gloomy predictions.

Those who held power could claim honor and deference. This was true in Europe. But has it been so in the United States? When Lasswell first attempted in the late thirties to use deference as a key symbol, it already had a false ring. Mills, in effect, substitutes glamour or celebrity for deference, but it is doubtful if, in the mass-consumption society, the notions of celebrity, glamour, and prestige and power have the kind of connotations, or are linked, as Mills suggests.

HISTORY AND IDEAS

If one is concerned with the question about changes in the source and style of power or in the synchronization and centralization of power, one would have to examine the problem historically. Yet, except in one or two instances, Mills ignores the historical dimensions. In one place he speaks of a periodization of American history wherein political power has replaced economic power. But this is too loose to be meaningful. In another, the only concrete discussion of social change in historical terms, he cites an interesting statistic:

In the middle of the nineteenth century—between 1865 and 1881—only 19 per cent of the men at the top of government began their political career at the national level; but from 1905 to 1953 about one-third of the political elite began there, and in the Eisenhower administration some 40 per cent started in politics at the national level—a high for the entire political history of the U.S. [p. 229].

Even in its own terms, it is hard to figure out the exact meaning of the argument, other than the fact that more problems are centered in Washington than at the states and that for this reason more persons are drawn directly to the national capital than before. Surely there is a simple explanation for much of this. During World War II,

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rations, the top-ranking members of military staffs (e.g., the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the head of the Army, the Naval Chief of Operations, Air Chief of Staff, General of the Strategic Air Command, etc.), or the members of the Cabinet?

with a great need both for national unity and for specialists, more outsiders were co-opted for Cabinet posts and the Executive Branch than before. And, in 1952, since the Republicans had been out of top office for twenty years, they would have fewer persons who had a career in government, and they would bring in a high proportion of outsiders.

But what is interesting in the use of these kinds of data is the methodological bias it reveals. In using such data—and variables like lower or national levels—there is a presumption that, in the different kind of recruitment, one can chart differences in the character of the men at top—which may be—and that therefore the *character of their politics* would be different too. Mills seems to imply this but never develops it other than to say that, today, the *political outsider* has come into the ascendant.

As a counter methodology, it would seem to me that one would start not with recruitment or social origins but with the *character of the politics*. Has something changed, and, if so, what and why? Is the change due to differences in recruitment (differential class and ethnic backgrounds) or some other reason? But, if one asks these questions, one has to begin with an examination of *ideas and issues*, not social origins.

But Mills, at least here, is almost completely uninterested in ideas and issues. The questions in politics that interest him are: In what way have strategic positions changed, and which positions have come to the fore? *Changes in power, then, are for Mills largely a succession of different positions.* As different structural or institutional positions (i.e., military, economic, political) combine, different degrees of power are possible. *The circulation of the elite*—by which Pareto meant the change in the composition of groups with different “residues”—is transformed here into the *succession of institutional position.*

But how does this apply to people? Are people—character, ideas, values—determined by their *positions*? And, if so, in what

way? More than that, to see political history as a shift in the power position of "institutions," rather than, say, concrete interest groups, or classes, is to read politics in an extraordinarily abstract fashion. It is, at first point again, to ignore the changes in ideas and interests. This is one of the reasons why Mills can minimize, in the striking way he does, the entire twenty years' history of the New Deal and Fair Deal. For him these twenty years were notable *only* in that they fostered the centralizing tendencies of the major "institutions" of society, notably the political.

In this neglect, or even dismissal, of ideas and ideologies one finds a striking parallel in Pareto's explanation of social changes in Italy. For Pareto the rise of socialism in Italy was a mere change in the "derivations" (i.e., the masks or ideologies), while the basic combination of residues remained (No. 1704).⁹ In effect the shifts of temper from nationalism to liberalism to socialism reflected shifts in the distribution of Class II residues (i.e., the residues of group persistence). Thus changes in the political class were simply the circulation of sociopsychological types. All ideologies, all philosophical claim, were masks "for mere purposes of partisan convenience in debate. [They are] neither true nor false; [but] simply devoid of meaning" (No. 1708).

Similarly, for Mills, changes in power are changes in combinations of institutional position; and this alone, presumably, is the only meaningful reality.

Except for the unsuccessful Civil War, changes in the power system of the United States have not involved important challenges to basic legitimations. . . . Changes in the American structure of power have generally come about by institutional shifts in the relative positions of the political, the economic and the military orders [p. 269].

Thus the extraordinary changes in American life, the changes in the concepts of property, managerial control, responsibility of government, and the changes in moral temper created by the New Deal become "reduced" to institutional shifts. But have

there been no challenges to basis legitimations in American life? Let us take up the question of the corporation.

THE CONTINUITY OF POWER

If, in his analysis of politics, Mills draws from Pareto, in his image of economic power he becomes a mechanical Marxist. Mills notes:

The recent social history of American capitalism does not reveal any distinct break in the continuity of the higher capitalist class. . . . Over the last half-century in the economy as in the political order, there has been a remarkable *continuity of interests*, vested in the *types* of higher economic men who guard and advance them [p. 147].

Although the language is vague, one can only say that an answer to this proposition rests not on logical or methodological arguments but on empirical grounds. I can only outline the kind of answer necessary.

The singular fact is that in the last seventy-five years the established relations between the systems of property and family, which, Malthus maintained, represented the "fundamental laws" of society, have broken down. The reasons for this breakdown are fairly obvious: the growth of romanticism, the high premium on individual attachment and free choice, the translation of passion into secular and carnal terms—all worked against the system of arranged marriage. The emancipation of women meant, in one sense, the disappearance of one of the stable aspects of "bourgeois" society. But it also meant the breakup of "family capitalism," which has been the social cement of the bourgeois class system.¹⁰

Capitalism is not only, as Marx saw it, an economic system with employer-worker relations and classes formed on strictly economic lines but a social system, wherein

⁹ V. I. Pareto, *The Mind and Society* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935). The numbering follows the notation system used by Pareto for his paragraphs. The sections cited here can be found in Vol. III (pp. 1146-56).

¹⁰ For an elaboration of this argument see my note, "The Break-up of Family Capitalism in America," *Partisan Review*, Vol. XXIV (Summer, 1957).

power has been transmitted through the family and where the satisfactions of ownership lay, in part, in the family name (e.g., X & Sons) by which the business enterprise was known.

The social organization of the family rested on property and the "dynastic" marriage. Property, sanctioned by law and reinforced by the coercive power of the state, meant power; the "dynastic" marriage was a means through inheritance laws of transmitting property and preserving the continuity of the family enterprise. Through the fusion of the two institutions, a class system was maintained: people met at the same social level, had similar educations, mingled in specific milieux—in short, created a distinctive style of life.

Beyond the emancipation of women, there are reasons more indigenous to the economic system why the mode of family capitalism has given way. Some are general: the decline of the extended family or clan narrowed the choice of heirs competent to manage the enterprise; the increasing importance of professional techniques placed a high premium on skill rather than blood relationship.

In the United States, however, one can point to even more specific factors. The breakup of family capitalism came, roughly, around the turn of the century, when American industry, having overextended itself, underwent a succession of crises. At this point the bankers, with their control of the money and credit market, stepped in and reorganized and took control of many of the country's leading enterprises. The great mergers at the turn of the century, typified by the formation of United States Steel, marked the emergence of "finance capitalism" in this country. By their intervention the investment bankers, in effect, tore up the social roots of the capitalist order. By installing professional managers—with no proprietary stakes in the enterprise and therefore unable to pass along their power automatically to their sons and accountable to outside controllers—the bankers effected a radical separation of property and family.

In time, however, the power of the bankers, too, declined. Important was the enforced separation, by the New Deal, of investment and banking functions, which limited the investment bankers' control of the money market. More recently, the tremendous growth of American corporations enabled them to finance their expansion from their own profits rather than by borrowing on the money market, and so the managerial groups have won a measure of independence.

Mills says: "In general . . . the ideology of the executives . . . is conservatism without any ideology because they feel themselves to be 'practical' men" (p. 169).

I find this somewhat puzzling—particularly in the light of a whole slew of books in recent years to establish an ideology for managers as a moral justification of their role. The older property capitalists had a theory of "natural rights" as a philosophical sanction. The newer managers could not claim this foundation. But power requires legitimation, and rules and authority have to be invested with a sense of "justice." The fact that the new managers have lacked a class position buttressed by tradition has given rise to a need on their part to justify their enormous power. In no other capitalist order, as in the American, therefore, has this drive for an ideology been pressed so compulsively. As we have had in the corporation the classic shift on the economic level from ownership to managerial control, so, on the symbolic level, we have the shift from "private property" to "enterprise," as the justification of power.

THE COMMUNITY OF POWER

In his summation of economic control, Mills paints an extraordinary picture:

The top corporations are not a set of splendidly isolated giants. They have been knitted together by explicit associations within their respective industries and regions and in supra-associations such as the NAM. These associations organize a unity among the managerial elite and other members of corporate ranks. . . . They translate narrow economic powers

into industry-wide and class-wide power; and they use these powers first on the economic front, for example, with reference to labor and its organizations; and second, on the political front, for example in their large role in the political sphere. And they infuse into the ranks of smaller businessmen the views of big business [p. 122].

This is a breathtaking statement more sweeping than anything in the old TNEC reports or Robert Brady's theory of *Spitzenverbände* (or peak associations) in his *Business as a System of Power*. That there is some co-ordination is obvious; but co-ordination of this magnitude—and smoothness—I would doubt and certainly would like to see any evidence.

Mills speaks of "their large role in the political sphere." But against whom are the members of the power elite united, and what kinds of issues unite them in the political sphere? I can think of only one issue on which the top corporations would be united: tax policy. In almost all others, they divide. They are divided somewhat on labor. There are major clashes in areas of self-interest such as those between railroads, truckers, and the railroads and the airlines; or between coal and oil, and coal and natural-gas interests. Except in a vague, ideological sense, there are relatively few issues on which the managerial elite are united.

The problem of *who unites with whom on what* is an empirical one, and this consideration or clues to it, is missing from Mills's work. If such co-ordination as Mills depicts does exist, a further question is raised as to how it comes about. We know, for example, that, as a consequence of bureaucratization, career lines within corporations become lengthened, and as a consequence there is shorter tenure of office for those who reach the top. Within a ten-year period, American Telephone and Telegraph has had three executive officers, all of whom had spent thirty to forty years *within* the corporation. If men spend so much time *within* their corporate shells, how do members of the "elite" get acquainted?

The use of the term "elite" poses another

question about the utility of its limits on discussing powers. Why use the word "elite" rather than "decision-makers" or even "rulers"? To talk of "decision-making," one would have to discuss policy formulation, pressures, etc. To talk of "rule," one would have to discuss the nature of rule. But, if one talks of an "elite," one needs only discuss institutional position, and one can do so only if, as Mills assumes, *the fundamental nature of the system is unchanged*, so that one's problem is to chart the circulation at the top. The argument that the fundamental nature of the system—i.e., that of basic legitimations, of continuity of the capitalist class—is unchanged is a curious one, for, if power has become so centralized and synchronized, as Mills now assumes, is this not a fundamental change in the system?

Yet, even if one wants to talk in terms of elites, there have been key shifts in power in American society—the breakup of family capitalism (and this is linked to a series of shifts in power in Western society as a whole). Family capitalism meant social and political, as well as economic, dominance; the leading family used to live in the "house on the hill." It does so no longer. Nor is there any longer, if once there was, America's "Sixty Families." Many middle-sized enterprises are still family owned, with the son succeeding father, and many towns, like St. Louis and Cincinnati, still reveal the marks of the old dominance by families. But, by and large, the system of family control is finished. So much so that a classic study of American life like Robert Lynd's *Middletown in Transition*, with its picture of the "X" family dominating the town, has in less than twenty years become history rather than contemporary life. (Interestingly enough, in 1957, the Ball family, Lynd's "X" family, took in professional management of its enterprises, since the family lineage was becoming exhausted.)

Two "silent" revolutions in the relations between power and class position in modern society seem to be in process. One is a change in the *mode of access* to power inso-

far as inheritance alone is no longer all-determining; the other is a change in the *nature of power-holding itself* insofar as technical skill rather than property and political position rather than wealth have become the bases on which power is wielded.

The two "revolutions" proceed simultaneously. The chief consequence, politically, is the breakup of the "ruling class." A ruling class may be defined as a power-holding group which has both an established *community* of interest and a *continuity* of interest. Being a member of the "upper class" no longer means that one is a member of the *ruling group*. The means of passing on the power which the modern ruling groups possess, or the institutionalization of any specific modes of access to power (the political route or military advancement), is not yet fully demarked and established.

THE TYPES OF DECISIONS

If one wants to discuss power, it seems to me more fruitful to discuss it in terms of types of decisions rather than elites. And, curiously, Mills, I would argue, ultimately agrees, for the real heart of the book is a polemic against those who say that decisions are made democratically in the United States. Mills writes:

More and more of the fundamental issues never came to any point of decision before Congress . . . much less before the electorate [p. 255].

Insofar as the structural clue to the power elite today lies in the political order, that clue is the decline of politics as genuine and public debates of alternative decisions. . . . America is now in considerable part more a formal political democracy [p. 224].

Now, to some extent, this is true, but not, it seems to me, with the invidious aspect with which Mills invests the judgment.

In many instances even the "interested public" feels itself "trapped," so to speak, by its inability to affect events. Much of this arises out of the *security* nature of problems, so that issues are often fought out in a bureaucratic labyrinth. The decision on the H-bomb was one such issue. Here we

had groups of scientists versus a section of the military, particularly the Strategic Air Command. Unless one assumes that everyone ever involved in decision-making is a member of the power elite—which is circular—we have to locate the source of such divisions, for these are the central problems of a sociology of power.

But another, equally important, reason for being unable to affect events is the onset of what one can only call, inaptly, "technical decision-making"—the fact that, once a policy decision is made, or once a technological change comes to the fore, or once some long crevice change has become manifest, a number of other consequences, if one is being "functionally rational," almost inevitably follow.¹¹ Thus shifts of power become "technical" concomitants of such "decisions." And the problem of a sociology of power further is to identify the kinds of consequences which follow the different kinds of decisions.

The fundamental policy issues which Mills talks about are primarily, as I pointed out before, decisions to be involved in war or not—or, more broadly, that of foreign policy. But how can one discuss this question—and Mills ducks completely the question of foreign policy—without discussing the cold war *and the extent to which our posture is shaped by the Russians!* United States foreign policy since 1946—or, more specifically, since Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, which reversed our position on weakening Germany—was not a reflex of any *internal* social divisions or class issues in the United States but was *based on an estimate of Russia's intentions*.

Nor was this estimate made, in the first instance, by "the power elite." It was an estimate made by American *scholarly experts*, most notably by George Kennan and

¹¹ The elaboration of this argument which was made in the initial presentation would take too much space. The examples cited dealt with the "dual economy" and the forced expansion of capital plant after the Korean invasion: the shifts in economic and military expenditures and power created by new weapons and the role of the federal budget as an economic gyroscope.

the policy planning staff of the State Department. It was a judgment that Stalinism as an ideological phenomenon and Russia as a geopolitical power were aggressively, militarily, and ideologically expansionist and that a policy of containment, including a rapid military buildup, was necessary in order to implement that containment. This underlay Truman's Graeco-Turkish policy, and it underlay the Marshall Plan and the desire to aid the rebuilding of the European economy. These policies were not a reflex of power constellations within the United States. They were estimates of national interest and of national survival.

From the first decision, many others followed: the creation of a long-distance striking arm in the air (SAC), the establishment of a West European Defense Community (EDC), and, following its failure, NATO, etc. This is not to say that every strategic step followed inexorably from the first decision (after France rejected EDC, we had to rely more on Germany for military support) *but that the broad imperatives were clear.*

Once these broad lines were laid down, interest groups were affected, and Congress was used—often disastrously—to pass measures which gave pressure groups larger allocations of aid money (e.g., the Bland Act—pressured both by the unions and by the maritime industry—that 50 per cent of all Marshall Plan aid had to be carried in American bottoms) or to hinder the flexibility of the State Department (e.g., the Battle Act, which forbade trade with the Soviet bloc and, in effect, crippled Ceylon, when it was our ally, by threatening to stop aid of Ceylon-sold rubber to China).

To ignore the problems of this type of "imperative" decision-making is, it seems to me, to ignore the stuff of politics—and the new nature of power in contemporary society.

¹² See my article, "The Theory of the Mass Society," *Commentary*, XXII (July, 1956), 75–83.

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Much of Mills's work is motivated by his enormous anger at the growing bureaucratization of life—this is his theory of history—and its abettors; and this gives the book its enormous power and pathos. Many people do feel helpless and ignorant and react in anger. But the sources of helplessness ought to be made clear, lest one engage, as I think Mills does, in a form of "romantic protest" against modern life. (The Sorelian tones of Power as violence and the Populist imagery of power as closed conspiracy find disturbing echo in Mills's book.)

Complexity and specialization are inevitable in the multiplication of knowledge, the organization of technical production, and the co-ordination of large territorial areas of political society. That these should lead to "bureaucratization" of life is not necessarily inevitable, particularly in a society of growing education, rising incomes, and multiplicity of tastes.¹² More importantly, such ambiguous use of terms like "bureaucratization" and "power elites" often reinforces a sense of helplessness and belies the resources of a free society: the variety of interest conflicts, the growth of public responsibility, the weight of traditional freedoms (*vide* the Supreme Court, an institution that Mills fails to discuss), the role of volunteer and community groups, etc. Like the indiscriminate use by the Communists of the term "bourgeois democracy" in the thirties, or by Burnham of "managerial society" in the forties, or of the term "totalitarianism" in the fifties, *particular and crucial* differences between societies are obscured. This amorphousness leads, as in the case of *The Power Elite*, with its emphasis on "big" decisions, to a book which discusses power but rarely politics. And this is curious, indeed.

THE LOCAL COMMUNITY AS AN ECOLOGY OF GAMES*

NORTON E. LONG

ABSTRACT

The local community can be usefully conceptualized as an ecology of games. In the territorial system a variety of games goes on: banking, newspaper publishing, contracting, manufacturing, etc. The games give structures, goals, roles, strategies, tactics, and publics to the players. Players in each game make use of players in the others for their particular purposes. A banker uses the politician, the newspaperman, or the contractor in his game and is, in turn, used by them in theirs. The interaction of the games produces unintended but systemically functional results for the ecology. An over-all top leadership and social game provide a vague set of commonly shared values that promotes co-operation in the system though it does not provide a government.

The local community whether viewed as a polity, an economy, or a society presents itself as an order in which expectations are met and functions performed. In some cases, as in a new, company-planned mining town, the order is the willed product of centralized control, but for the most part the order is the product of a history rather than the imposed effect of any central nervous system of the community. For historic reasons we readily conceive the massive task of feeding New York to be achieved through the unplanned, historically developed co-operation of thousands of actors largely unconscious of their collaboration to this individually unsought end. The efficiency of this system is attested to by the extraordinary difficulties of the War Production Board and Service of Supply in accomplishing similar logistical objectives through an explicit system of orders and directives. Insofar as conscious rationality plays a role, it is a function of the parts rather than the whole. Particular structures working for their own ends within the whole may provide their members with goals, strategies, and roles that support rational action. The results of the interaction of the rational strivings after particular ends are in part col-

lectively functional if unplanned. All this is the well-worn doctrine of Adam Smith, though one need accept no more of the doctrine of beneficence than that an unplanned economy can function.

While such a view is accepted for the economy, it is generally rejected for the polity. Without a sovereign, Leviathan is generally supposed to disintegrate and fall apart. Even if Locke's more hopeful view of the naturalness of the social order is taken, the polity seems more of a contrived artifact than the economy. Furthermore, there is both the hangover of Austinian sovereignty and the Greek view of ethical primacy to make political institutions seem different in kind and ultimately inclusive in purpose and for this reason to give them an over-all social directive end. To see political institutions as the same kind of thing as other institutions in society rather than as different, superior, and inclusive (both in the sense of being sovereign and ethically more significant) is a form of relativistic pluralism that is difficult to entertain. At the local level, however, it is easier to look at the municipal government, its departments, and the agencies of state and national government as so many institutions, resembling banks, newspapers, trade unions, chambers of commerce, churches, etc., occupying a territorial field and interacting with one another. This interaction can be conceptualized as a system without reducing the interacting institutions and individuals to mem-

* This paper is largely based on a year of field study in the Boston Metropolitan area made possible by grants from the Stern Family Foundation and the Social Science Research Council. The opinions and conclusion expressed are those of the author alone.

bership in any single comprehensive group. It is psychologically tempting to envision the local territorial system as a group with a governing "they." This is certainly an existential possibility and one to be investigated. However, frequently, it seems likely, systems are confused with groups, and our primitive need to explain thunder with a theology or a demonology results in the hypostatizing of an angelic or demonic hierarchy. The executive committee of the bourgeoisie and the power elite make the world more comfortable for modern social scientists as the Olympians did for the ancients. At least the latter-day hypothesis, being terrestrial, is in principle researchable, though in practice its metaphysical statement may render it equally immune to mundane inquiry.

Observation of certain local communities makes it appear that inclusive over-all organization for many general purposes is weak or non-existent. Much of what occurs seems to just happen with accidental trends becoming cumulative over time and producing results intended by nobody. A great deal of the communities' activities consist of undirected co-operation of particular social structures, each seeking particular goals and, in doing so, meshing with others. While much of this might be explained in Adam Smith's terms, much of it could not be explained with a rational, atomistic model of calculating individuals. For certain purposes the individual is a useful way of looking at people; for many others the role-playing member of a particular group is more helpful. Here we deal with the essence of predictability in social affairs. If we know the game being played is baseball and that X is a third baseman, by knowing his position and the game being played we can tell more about X's activities on the field than we could if we examined X as a psychologist or a psychiatrist. If such were not the case, X would belong in the mental ward rather than in a ball park. The behavior of X is not some disembodied rationality but, rather, behavior within an organized group activity that has goals, norms strategies,

and roles that give the very field and ground for rationality. Baseball structures the situation.

It is the contention of this paper that the structured group activities that coexist in a particular territorial system can be looked at as games. These games provide the players with a set of goals that give them a sense of success or failure. They provide them determinate roles and calculable strategies and tactics. In addition, they provide the players with an elite and general public that is in varying degrees able to tell the score. There is a good deal of evidence to be found in common parlance that many participants in contemporary group structures regard their occupations as at least analogous to games. And, at least in the American culture, and not only since Eisenhower, the conception of being on a "team" has been fairly widespread.

Unfortunately, the effectiveness of the term "game" for the purposes of this paper is vitiated by, first, the general sense that games are trivial occupations and, second, by the pre-emption of the term for the application of a calculus of probability to choice or decision in a determinate game situation. Far from regarding games as trivial, the writer's position would be that man is both a game-playing and a game-creating animal, that his capacity to create and play games and take them deadly seriously is of the essence, and that it is through games or activities analogous to game-playing that he achieves a satisfactory sense of significance and a meaningful role.

While the calculability of the game situation is important, of equal or greater importance is the capacity of the game to provide a sense of purpose and a role. The organizations of society and polity produce satisfactions with both their products and their processes. The two are not unrelated, but, while the production of the product may in the larger sense enable players and onlookers to keep score, the satisfaction in the process is the satisfaction of playing the game and the sense in which any activity can be grasped as a game.

Looked at this way, in the territorial system there is a political game, a banking game, a contracting game, a newspaper game, a civic organization game, an ecclesiastical game, and many others. Within each game there is a well-established set of goals whose achievement indicates success or failure for the participants, a set of socialized roles making participant behavior highly predictable, a set of strategies and tactics handed down through experience and occasionally subject to improvement and change, an elite public whose approbation is appreciated, and, finally, a general public which has some appreciation for the standing of the players. Within the game the players can be rational in the varying degrees that the structure permits. At the very least, they know how to behave, and they know the score.

Individuals may play in a number of games, but, for the most part, their major preoccupation is with one, and their sense of major achievement is through success in one. Transfer from one game to another is, of course, possible, and the simultaneous playing of roles in two or more games is an important manner of linking separate games.

Sharing a common territorial field and collaborating for different and particular ends in the achievement of over-all social functions, the players in one game make use of the players in another and are, in turn, made use of by them. Thus the banker makes use of the newspaperman, the politician, the contractor, the ecclesiastic, the labor leader, the civic leader—all to further his success in the banking game—but, reciprocally, he is used to further the others' success in the newspaper, political, contracting, ecclesiastical, labor, and civic games. Each is a piece in the chess game of the other, sometimes a willing piece, but, to the extent that the games are different, with a different end in view.

Thus a particular highway grid may be the result of a bureaucratic department of public works game in which are combined, though separate, a professional highway engineer game with its purposes and critical

elite onlookers; a departmental bureaucracy; a set of contending politicians seeking to use the highways for political capital, patronage, and the like; a banking game concerned with bonds, taxes, and the effect of the highways on real estate; newspapermen interested in headlines, scoops, and the effect of highways on the papers' circulation; contractors eager to make money by building roads; ecclesiastics concerned with the effect of highways on their parishes and on the fortunes of the contractors who support their churchly ambitions; labor leaders interested in union contracts and their status as community influentials with a right to be consulted; and civic leaders who must justify the contributions of their bureaus of municipal research or chambers of commerce to the social activity. Each game is in play in the complicated pulling and hauling of siting and constructing the highway grid. A wide variety of purposes is subserved by the activity, and no single overall directive authority controls it. However, the interrelation of the groups in constructing a highway has been developed over time, and there are general expectations as to the interaction. There are also generalized expectations as to how politicians, contractors, newspapermen, bankers, and the like will utilize the highway situation in playing their particular games. In fact, the knowledge that a banker will play like a banker and a newspaperman like a newspaperman is an important part of what makes the situation calculable and permits the players to estimate its possibilities for their own action in their particular game.

While it might seem that the engineers of the department of public works were the appropriate protagonists for the highway grid, as a general activity it presents opportunities and threats to a wide range of other players who see in the situation consequences and possibilities undreamed of by the engineers. Some general public expectation of the limits of the conduct of the players and of a desirable outcome does provide bounds to the scramble. This public expectation is, of course, made active through the

interested solicitation of newspapers, politicians, civic leaders, and others who see in it material for accomplishing their particular purposes and whose structured roles in fact require the mobilization of broad publics. In a sense the group struggle that Arthur Bentley described in his *Process of Government* is a drama that local publics have been taught to view with a not uncritical taste. The instruction of this taste has been the vocation and business of some of the contending parties. The existence of some kind of over-all public puts general restraints on gamesmanship beyond the norms of the particular games. However, for the players these are to all intents as much a part of the "facts of life" of the game as the sun and the wind.

It is perhaps the existence of some kind of a general public, however rudimentary, that most clearly differentiates the local territorial system from a natural ecology. The five-acre woodlot in which the owls and the field mice, the oaks and the acorns, and other flora and fauna have evolved a balanced system has no public opinion, however rudimentary. The co-operation is an unconscious affair. For much of what goes on in the local territorial system co-operation is equally unconscious and perhaps, but for the occasional social scientist, unnoticed. This unconscious co-operation, however, like that of the five-acre woodlot, produces results. The ecology of games in the local territorial system accomplishes unplanned but largely functional results. The games and their players mesh in their particular pursuits to bring about over-all results; the territorial system is fed and ordered. Its inhabitants are rational within limited areas and, pursuing the ends of these areas, accomplish socially functional ends.

While the historical development of largely unconscious co-operation between the special games in the territorial system gets certain routine, over-all functions performed, the problem of novelty and breakdown must be dealt with. Here it would seem that, as in the natural ecology, random adjustment and piecemeal innovation are

the normal methods of response. The need or cramp in the system presents itself to the players of the games as an opportunity for them to exploit or a menace to be overcome. Thus a transportation crisis in, say, the threatened abandonment of commuter trains by a railroad will bring forth the players of a wide range of games who will see in the situation opportunity for gain or loss in the outcome. While over-all considerations will appear in the discussion, the frame of reference and the interpretation of the event will be largely determined by the game the interested parties are principally involved in. Thus a telephone executive who is president of the local chamber of commerce will be playing a civic association, general business game with concern for the principal dues-payers of the chamber but with a constant awareness of how his handling of this crisis will advance him in his particular league. The politicians, who might be expected to be protagonists of the general interest, may indeed be so, but the sphere of their activity and the glasses through which they see the problem will be determined in great part by the way they see the issue affecting their political game. The generality of this game is to a great extent that of the politician's calculus of votes and interests important to his and his side's success. To be sure, some of what Walter Lippmann has called "the public philosophy" affects both politicians and other game-players. This indicates the existence of roles and norms of a larger, vaguer game with a relevant audience that has some sense of cricket. This potentially mobilizable audience is not utterly without importance, but it provides no sure or adequate basis for support in the particular game that the politician or anyone else is playing. Instead of a set of norms to structure enduring role-playing, this audience provides a cross-pressure for momentary aberrancy from gamesmanship or constitutes just another hazard to be calculated in one's play.

In many cases the territorial system is impressive in the degree of intensity of its particular games, its banks, its newspapers,

its downtown stores, its manufacturing companies, its contractors, its churches, its politicians, and its other differentiated, structured, goal-oriented activities. Games go on within the territory, occasionally extending beyond it, though centered in it. But, while the particular games show clarity of goals and intensity, few, if any, treat the territory as their proper object. The protagonists of things in particular are well organized and know what they are about; the protagonists of things in general are few, vague, and weak. Immense staff work will go into the development of a Lincoln Square project, but the twenty-two counties of metropolitan New York have few spokesmen for their over-all common interest and not enough staff work to give these spokesmen more substance than that required for a "do-gooding" newspaper editorial. The Port of New York Authority exhibits a disciplined self-interest and a vigorous drive along the lines of its developed historic role. However, the attitude of the Port Authority toward the general problems of the metropolitan area is scarcely different than that of any private corporation. It confines its corporate good citizenship to the contribution of funds for surveys and studies and avoids acceptance of broader responsibility. In fact, spokesmen for the Port vigorously reject the need for any superior level of structured representation of metropolitan interests. The common interest, if such there be, is to be realized through institutional interactions rather than through the self-conscious rationality of a determinate group charged with its formulation and attainment. Apart from the newspaper editorial, the occasional politician, and a few civic leaders the general business of the metropolitan area is scarcely anybody's business, and, except for a few, those who concern themselves with the general problems are pursuing hobbies and causes rather than their own business.

The lack of over-all institutions in the territorial system and the weakness of those that exist insure that co-ordination is largely ecological rather than a matter of conscious rational contriving. In the metropolitan

area in most cases there are no over-all economic or social institutions. People are playing particular games, and their playgrounds are less or more than the metropolitan area. But even in a city where the municipal corporation provides an apparent over-all government, the appearance is deceptive. The politicians who hold the offices do not regard themselves as governors of the municipal territory but largely as mediators or players in a particular game that makes use of the other inhabitants. Their roles, as they conceive them, do not approach those of the directors of a TVA developing a territory. The ideology of local government is a highly limited affair in which the office-holders respond to demands and mediate conflicts. They play politics, and politics is vastly different from government if the latter is conceived as the rational, responsible ordering of the community. In part, this is due to the general belief that little government is necessary or that government is a congeries of services only different from others because it is paid for by taxes and provided for by civil servants. In part, the separation of economics from politics eviscerates the formal theory of government of most of the substance of social action. Intervention in the really important economic order is by way of piecemeal exception and in deviation from the supposed norm of the separation of politics and economics. This ideal of separation has blocked the development of a theory of significant government action and reduced the politician to the role of register of pressure rather than responsible governor of a local political economy. The politics of the community becomes a different affair from its government, and its government is so structured as to provide the effective actors in it neither a sense of general responsibility nor the roles calling for such behavior.

The community vaguely senses that there ought to be a government. This is evidenced in the nomination by newspapers and others of particular individuals as members of a top leadership, a "they" who are periodically called upon to solve community problems

and meet community crises. Significantly, the "they" usually are made up of people holding private, not public, office. The pluralism of the society has separated political, ecclesiastical, economic, and social hierarchies from one another so that the ancient union of lords spiritual and temporal is disrupted. In consequence, there is a marked distinction between the status of the holders of political office and the status of the "they" of the newspapers and the power elite of a C. Wright Mills or a Floyd Hunter. The politicians have the formal governmental office that might give them responsible governing roles. However, their lack of status makes it both absurd and presumptuous that they should take themselves so seriously. Who are they to act as lords of creation? Public expectation neither empowers nor demands that they should assume any such confident pose as top community leaders. The latter position is reserved for a rather varying group (in some communities well defined and clear-cut, in others vague and amorphous) of holders for the most part of positions of private power, economic, social, and ecclesiastical. This group, regarded as the top leadership of the community, and analogous to the top management of a corporation, provides both a sense that there are gods in the heavens whose will, if they exercise it, will take care of the community's problems and a set of demons whose misrule accounts for the evil in the world. The "they" fill an office left vacant by the dethronement of absolutism and aristocracy. Unlike the politicians in that "they" are only partially visible and of untested powers, the top leadership provides a convenient rationale for explaining what goes on or does not go on in the community. It is comforting to think that the executive committee of the bourgeoisie is exploiting the community or that the beneficent social and economic leaders are wearying themselves and their digestions with civic luncheons in order to bring parking to a congested city.

Usually the question is raised as to whether *de facto* there is a set of informal power-holders running things. A related question

is whether community folklore holds that there is, that there should be, and what these informal power-holder should do. Certainly, most newspapermen and other professional "inside dopesters" hold that there is a "they." In fact, these people operate largely as court chroniclers of the doings of the "they." The "they," because they are "they," are newsworthy and fit into a ready-made theory of social causation that is vulgarized widely. However, the same newspaperman who could knowingly open his "bird book" and give you a run-down on the local "Who's Who" would probably with equal and blasphemous candor tell you that "they" were not doing a thing about the city and that "they" were greatly to be blamed for sitting around talking instead of getting things done. Thus, as with most primitive tribes, the idols are both worshiped and beaten, at least verbally. Public and reporters alike are relieved to believe both that there is a "they" to make civic life explicable and also to be held responsible for what occurs. This belief in part creates the role of top leadership and demands that it somehow be filled. It seems likely that there is a social-psychological table of organization of a community that must be filled in order to remove anxieties. Gordon Childe has remarked that man seems to need as much to adjust to an unseen, socially created spiritual environment as to the matter-of-fact world of the senses.

The community needs to believe that there are spiritual fathers, bad or good, who can deal with the dark: in the Middle Ages the peasants combated a plague of locusts by a high Mass and a procession of the clergy who damned the grasshoppers with bell, book, and candle. The Hopi Indians do a rain dance to overcome a drought. The harassed citizens of the American city mobilize their influentials at a civic luncheon to perform the equivalent and exorcise slums, smog, or unemployment. We smile at the medievals and the Hopi, but our own practices may be equally magical. It is interesting to ask under what circumstances one resorts to DDT and irrigation

and why. To some extent it is clear that the ancient and modern practice of civic magic ritual is functional—functional in the same sense as the medicinal placebo. Much of human illness is benign; if the sufferer will bide his time, it will pass. Much of civic ills also cure themselves if only people can be kept from tearing each other apart in the stress of their anxieties. The locusts and the drought will pass. They almost always have.

While ritual activities are tranquilizing anxieties, the process of experimentation and adaptation in the social ecology goes on. The piecemeal responses of the players and the games to the challenges presented by crises provide the social counterpart to the process of evolution and natural selection. However, unlike the random mutation of the animal kingdom, much of the behavior of the players responding within the perspectives of their games is self-conscious and rational, given their ends in view. It is from the over-all perspective of the unintended contribution of their actions to the forming of a new or the restoration of the old ecological balance of the social system that their actions appear almost as random and lacking in purposive plan as the adaptive behavior of the natural ecology.

Within the general area of unplanned, unconscious social process technological areas emerge that are so structured as to promote rational, goal-oriented behavior and meaningful experience rather than mere happenstance. In these areas group activity may result in cumulative knowledge and self-corrective behavior. Thus problem-solving in the field of public health and sanitation may be at a stage far removed from the older dependence on piecemeal adjustment and random functional innovation. In this sense there are areas in which society, as Julian Huxley suggests in his *The Meaning of Evolution*, has gone beyond evolution. However, these are as yet isolated areas in a world still swayed by magic and, for the most part, carried forward by the logic of unplanned, undirected historical process.

It is not surprising that the members of

the "top leadership" of the territorial system should seem to be largely confined to ritual and ceremonial roles. "Top leadership" is usually conceived in terms of status position rather than specifiable roles in social action. The role of a top leader is ill defined and to a large degree unstructured. It is in most cases a secondary role derived from a primary role as corporation executive, wealthy man, powerful ecclesiastic, holder of high social position, and the like. The top-leadership role is derivative from the other and is in most cases a result rather than a cause of status. The primary job is bank president, or president of Standard Oil; as such, one is naturally picked, nominated, and recognized as a member of the top leadership. One seldom forgets that one's primary role, obligation, and source of rational conduct is in terms of one's business. In fact, while one is on the whole pleased at the recognition that membership in the top leadership implies—much as one's wife would be pleased to be included among the ten best-dressed women—he is somewhat concerned about just what the role requires in the expenditure of time and funds. Furthermore, one has a suspicion that he may not know how to dance and could make a fool of himself before known elite and unknown, more general publics. All things considered, however, it is probably a good thing for the business, the contacts are important, and the recognition will be helpful back home, in both senses. In any event, if one's committee service or whatever concrete activity "top leadership" implies proves wearing or unsatisfactory, or if it interferes with business, one can always withdraw.

A fair gauge of the significance of top-leadership roles is the time put into them by the players and the institutionalized support represented by staff. Again and again the interviewer is told that the president of such-and-such an organization is doing a terrific job and literally knocking himself out for such-and-such a program. On investigation a "terrific job" turns out to be a few telephone calls and, possibly, three luncheons a month. The standard of

"terrific job" obviously varies widely from what would be required in the business role.

In the matter of staffing, while the corporation, the church, and the government are often equipped in depth, the top-leadership job of port promotion may have little more than a secretary and an agile newspaperman equipped to ghost-write speeches for the boss. While there are cases where people in top-leadership positions make use of staff from their own businesses and from the legal mill with which they do business, this seems largely confined to those top-leadership undertakings that have a direct connection with their business. In general, top-leadership roles seem to involve minor investments of time, staff, and money by territorial elites. The absence of staff and the emphasis on publicity limit the capacity of top leadership for sustained rational action.

Where top leaderships have become well staffed, the process seems as much or more the result of external pressures than of its own volition. Of all the functions of top leadership, that of welfare is best staffed. Much of this is the result of the pressure of the professional social worker to organize a concentration of economic and social power sufficient to permit him to do a job. It is true, of course, that the price of organizing top leadership and making it manageable by the social workers facilitated a reverse control of themselves—a control of whose galling nature Hunter gives evidence. An amusing sidelight on the organization of the "executive committee of the bourgeoisie" is the case of the Cleveland Fifty Club. This club, supposedly, is made up of the fifty most important men in Cleveland. Most middling and even upper executives long for the prestige recognition that membership confers. Reputedly, the Fifty Club was organized by Brooks Emery, while he was director of the Cleveland Council on World Affairs, to facilitate the taxation of business to support that organization. The lead time required to get the august members of the Fifty Club together and their incohesiveness have severely limited its possibilities as a

power elite. Members who have tried to turn it to such a purpose report fairly consistent failure.

The example of the Cleveland Fifty Club, while somewhat extreme, points to the need on the part of certain activities in the territorial system for a top leadership under whose auspices they can function. A wide variety of civic undertakings need to organize top prestige support both to finance and to legitimate their activities. The staff man of a bureau of municipal research or the Red Feather Agency cannot proceed on his own; he must have the legitimatizing sponsorship of top influentials. His task may be self-assigned, his perception of the problem and its solution may be his own, but he cannot gain acceptance without mobilizing the influentials. For the success of his game he must assist in creating the game of top leadership. The staff man in the civic field is the typical protagonist of things in general—a kind of entrepreneur of ideas. He fulfils the same role in his area as the stock promoter of the twenties or the Zerkendorfs of urban redevelopment. Lacking both status and a confining organizational basis, he has a socially valuable mobility between the specialized games and hierarchies in the territorial system. His success in the negotiation of a port authority not only provides a plus for his taxpayers federation or his world trade council but may provide a secure and lucrative job for himself.

Civic staff men, ranging from chamber of commerce personnel to college professors and newspapermen, are in varying degrees interchangeable and provide an important network of communication. The staff men in the civic agencies play similar roles to the Cohens and Corcorans in Washington. In each case a set of telephone numbers provides special information and an effective lower-echelon interaction. Consensus among interested professionals at the lower level can result in action programs from below that are bucked up to the prestige level of legitimization. As the Cohens and Corcorans played perhaps the most general and

inclusive game in the Washington bureaucracy, so their counterparts in the local territorial system are engaged in the most general action game in their area. Just as the Cohens and Corcorans had to mobilize an effective concentration of top brass to move a program into the action stage, so their counterparts have to mobilize concentrations of power sufficient for their purposes on the local scene.

In this connection it is interesting to note that foundation grants are being used to hire displaced New Deal bureaucrats and college professors in an attempt to organize the influentials of metropolitan areas into self-conscious governing groups. Professional chamber of commerce executives, immobilized by their orthodox ideology, are aghast to see their members study under the planners and heretics from the dogmas of free-enterprise fundamentalism. The attempt to transform the metropolitan appearance of disorder into a tidy territory is a built-in predisposition for the self-constituted staff of the embryonic top metropolitan management. The major disorder that has to be overcome before all others is the lack of order and organization among the "power elite." As in the case of the social workers, there is a thrust from below to organize a "power elite" as a necessary instrument to accomplish the purposes of civic staff men. This is in many ways nothing but a part of the general groping after a territorial government capable of dealing with a range of problems that the existing feudal disintegration of power cannot. The nomination of a top leadership by newspapers and public and the attempt to create such a leadership in fact by civic technicians are due to a recognition that there is a need for a leadership with the status, capacity, and role to attend to the general problems of the territory and give substance to a public philosophy. This involves major changes in the script of the top-leadership game and the self-image of its participants. In fact, the insecurity and the situational limitations of their positions in corporations or other institutions that provide the primary roles

for top leaders make it difficult to give more substance to what has been a secondary role. Many members of present top leaderships are genuinely reluctant, fearful, and even morally shocked at their positions' becoming that of a recognized territorial government. While there is a general supposition that power is almost instinctively craved, there seems considerable evidence that at least in many of our territorial cultures responsibility is not. Machiavellian *virtu* is an even scarcer commodity among the merchant princes of the present than among their Renaissance predecessors. In addition, the educational systems of school and business do not provide top leaders with the inspiration or the know-how to do more than raise funds and man committees. Politics is frequently regarded with the same disgust as military service by the ancient educated Chinese.

It is possible to translate a check pretty directly into effective power in a chamber of commerce or a welfare agency. However, to translate economic power into more general social or political power, there must be an organized purchasable structure. Where such structures exist, they may be controlled or, as in the case of *condottieri*, gangsters, and politicians, their hire may be uncertain, and the hired force retains its independence. Where businessmen are unwilling or unable to organize their own political machines, they must pay those who do. Sometimes the paymaster rules; at other times he bargains with equals or superiors.

A major protagonist of things in general in the territorial system is the newspaper. Along with the welfare worker, museum director, civic technician, etc., the newspaper has an interest in terms of its broad reading public in agitating general issues and projects. As the chronicler of the great, both in its general news columns and in its special features devoted to society and business, it provides an organizing medium for elites in the territory and provides them with most of their information about things in general and not a little of inside tidbits about how individual elite members are doing. In a

sense, the newspaper is the prime mover in setting the territorial agenda. It has a great part in determining what most people will be talking about, what most people will think the facts are, and what most people will regard as the way problems are to be dealt with. While the conventions of how a newspaper is to be run, and the compelling force of some events limit the complete freedom of a paper to select what events and what people its public will attend to, it has great leeway. However, the newspaper is a business and a specialized game even when its reporters are idealists and its publisher rejoices in the title "Mr. Cleveland." The paper does not accept the responsibility of a governing role in its territory. It is a power but only a partially responsible one. The span of attention of its audience and the conventions of what constitute a story give it a crusading role at most for particular projects. Nonetheless, to a large extent it sets the civic agenda.

The story is told of the mayor of a large eastern metropolis who, having visited the three capital cities of his constituents—Rome, Dublin, and Tel Aviv—had proceeded home via Paris and Le Havre. Since his staff had neglected to meet the boat before the press, he was badgered by reporters to say what he had learned on his trip. The unfortunate mayor could not say that he had been on a junket for a good time. Luckily, he remembered that in Paris they had been having an antinoise campaign. Off the hook at last, he told the press that he thought this campaign was a good thing. This gave the newsmen something to write about. The mayor hoped this was the end of it. But a major paper felt in need of a crusade to sponsor and began to harass the mayor about the start of the local antinoise campaign. Other newspapers took up the cry, and the mayor told his staff they were for it—there had to be an antinoise campaign. In short order, businessmen's committees, psychiatrists, and college professors were mobilized to press forward on a broad front the suppression of needless noise. In vindication of administrative ra-

tionality it appeared that an antinoise campaign was on a staff list of possibilities for the mayor's agenda but had been discarded by him as politically unfeasible.

The civic technicians and the newspapers have somewhat the same relationship as congressional committee staff and the press. Many members of congressional committee staffs complain bitterly that their professional consciences are seared by the insistent pressure to seek publicity. But they contend that their committee sponsors are only impressed with research that is newsworthy. Congressional committee members point out that committees that do not get publicity are likely to go out of business or funds. The civic agency head all too frequently communicates most effectively with his board through his success in getting newspaper publicity. Many a civic ghost-writer has found his top leader converted to the cause by reading the ghosted speech he delivered at the civic luncheon reported with photographs and editorials in the press. This is even the case where the story appears in the top leader's own paper. The need of the reporters for news and of the civic technicians for publicity brings the participants of these two games together. As in the case of the congressional committee, there is a tendency to equate accomplishment with publicity. For top influentials on civic boards the news clips are an important way of keeping score. This symbiotic relation of newsmen and civic staff helps explain the heavy emphasis on ritual luncheons, committees, and news releases. The nature of the newspapers' concern with a story about people and the working of marvels and miracles puts a heavy pressure for the kind of story that the press likes to carry. It is not surprising that civic staff men should begin to equate accomplishment with their score measured in newspaper victories or that they should succumb to the temptation to impress their sponsors with publicity, salting it to their taste by flattering newspaper tributes to the sponsors themselves. Despite the built-in incapacity of newspapers to exercise a serious governing re-

sponsibility in their territories, they are for the most part the only institutions with a long-term general territorial interest. In default of a territorial political party or other institution that accepts responsibility for the formulation of a general civic agenda the newspaper is the one game that by virtue of its public and its conventions partly fills the vacuum.

A final game that does in a significant way integrate all the games in the territorial system is the social game. Success in each of the games can in varying degrees be cashed in for social acceptance. The custodians of the symbols of top social standing provide goals that in a sense give all the individual games some common denominator of achievement. While the holders of top social prestige do not necessarily hold either top political or economic power, they do provide meaningful goals for the rest. One of the most serious criticisms of a Yankee aristocracy made by a Catholic bishop was that, in losing faith in their own social values, they were undermining the faith in the whole system of final clubs. It would

be a cruel joke if, just as the hard-working upwardly mobile had worked their way to entrance, the progeny of the founders lost interest. The decay of the Union League Club in *By Love Possessed* is a tragedy for more than its members. A common game shared even by the excluded spectators gave a purpose that was functional in its time and must be replaced—hopefully, by a better one. A major motivation for seeking membership in and playing the top-leadership game is the value of the status it confers as a counter in the social game.

Neither the civic leadership game nor the social game makes the territorial ecology over into a structured government. They do, however, provide important ways of linking the individual games and make possible cooperative action on projects. Finally, the social game, in Ruth Benedict's sense, in a general way patterns the culture of the territorial ecology and gives all the players a set of vaguely shared aspirations and common goals.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

PARTY ORGANIZATION IN PRIMARY ELECTIONS¹

PHILLIPS CUTRIGHT AND PETER H. ROSSI

ABSTRACT

This study of primary elections in an industrial city attempts to account for the vote of various candidates in four Republican and four Democratic primaries by using several measures of campaign organization and the notoriety of the candidates. In the Democratic primaries between 92 per cent and 81 per cent of the variation in the candidate vote was accounted for, while between 79 per cent and 28 per cent of the variation in Republican primaries can be accounted for using the same variables.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most unusual features of the American electoral system is the primary election. In the broad spectrum of electoral systems it is unusual in two senses. First, primary elections are held in the United States to determine the candidates for political parties which are private associations, as compared with the usually greater separation between state and political associations in democratic nations. Second, they are devices designed to bring the selection of candidates under popular control and to minimize the strength of party organizations, although it is usually recognized that this is at best a most imperfect device for this end. Perhaps the most important result of primary elections as a prominent feature of the American electoral system has been to strengthen the local units of the organized party at the expense of the over-all integration of the political parties. Indeed, some critics of our electoral set-up have suggested the abolition of the primary election as a means of strengthening the central party.

The manifest function of a primary election is to select the party's candidates in the next general election. Given the normal stability of the relative strengths of the two parties in many elections, the decisions as to who shall occupy a wide range of political

offices are made, in effect, in the primaries. This is obviously true for state and local offices in the one-party South, and it holds for a wide variety of offices on similar levels in northern communities where the normal balance of strength between the parties is one-sided. Even in communities where politics is competitive, primary elections are of considerable importance in the political process.

Despite this importance, few studies have been made of primaries, in contrast with the many made of general elections. To be sure, Key's² well-known studies of southern states have made the southern primary famous, but the ordinary "run-of-the-mill" primary election in other areas has not been the subject of much research. True, primary elections are not the most dramatic of political phenomena, and much research has been directed toward that most glamorous of American elections, the general election of a President. But there are additional obstacles to the study of primary elections. For one thing, primary elections occur within each major party. Each party is a relatively homogeneous group, as compared with the variation in a wide number of socioeconomic characteristics between parties. Hence the factors which help to account for so much of the variation in the vote garnered by each candidate in a general election do not apply in primary elections.

To illustrate this point, we present the correlations found between selected demographic characteristics and the vote in three

¹ The research reported here was carried out under a grant from the Committee on Political Behavior of the Social Science Research Council, whose aid and support is gratefully acknowledged. We are also grateful for the helpful advice of Professors Leo A. Goodman and Duncan MacRae, Jr.

² V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950).

elections for a middle-sized midwestern city (see Table 1). In the two primary elections the correlations are uniformly much smaller in size than in the general election. Table 1 indicates that we have to look to a considerably different set of variables for the explanation of the vote in primary elections.

Primary elections have been viewed traditionally as that part of the political arena which is dominated by the organized arms of political parties and factions within them. The empirical investigation of this view of primary elections is the purpose of this article. We attempt to see how the support achieved by various candidates in primary elections among the official cadres of the

curred since that time. The majority of the labor force is employed in heavy industry and manufacturing. Ethnically, the city's population is divided into three groups of nearly equal size: Negroes; new immigrants, mainly Catholics of eastern European origin; and old immigrants, mainly Protestants of northern European and British origin. Politically, the city has consistently favored the Democratic party since 1930 on the national and state levels, although a Republican is occasionally elected to city or county office in the wake of a particularly notorious local scandal. However, the Republican party is the normal majority party in the state, a fact which

TABLE 1
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND
THE VOTE IN PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1955*

Selected Demographic Characteristic	General Election		
	for Mayor: Per Cent Democratic	Republican Mayorality Primary	Democratic City Judge Primary
Per cent old immigrant	-.919	-.356	-.074
Median rental	-.874	-.426	-.105
Per cent Negro	+.729	+.532	+.249

* In the Republican mayorality primary the dependent variable was the percentage of the two-candidate vote for the winning candidate. In the Democratic primary it was the percentage of the five-candidate vote received by the winning candidate. The signs of the coefficients are arbitrary and depend on which candidate's vote was taken as the dependent variable. Correlations are between the vote and the demographic characteristics of clusters of precincts.

party and among the interested portions of the general population affected their abilities to garner votes. In other words, we devise measures of the organizational support achieved by candidates in a number of primary elections and assess the effects of that support on the outcomes of these elections.³

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The analysis of primary elections reported in this article is part of a larger study of the organization of political parties in a middle-sized industrial city in the Midwest.⁴ In 1950 the population was approaching 140,000, and considerable growth has oc-

seems to be of some comfort, but little aid, to local Republicans.

The data to be analyzed come principally from two independent sources: official election returns by precincts and interviews with precinct captains of both parties. In addition, we also make use of data obtained from interviews with a sample of voters. The plan of the analysis is to account for variations in the votes received by different candidates in the primaries by the varying amounts of support each received in different areas of the city.

During the summer of 1957, 264 members of the Democratic and Republican party organizations were interviewed. Among

³ See "Grass Roots Politicians and the Vote," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (April, 1958), 171-79, for a similar study by the present authors of the roles played by party organizations in the 1956 presidential election.

⁴ Because the data for this study were collected under a guaranty of anonymity to respondents, it is not possible to reveal publicly the name of the community.

other things, each precinct captain was asked to report on what occurred in his precinct during the 1955 and 1956 primary and general elections. The precinct captains were questioned about the support which they personally gave to different candidates and about other support achieved by the same candidates in their precincts. The specific primary campaigns studied were selected on the basis of two criteria: First, only primary campaigns were used in which the "official" party organization was divided in its support of candidates. Second, the campaign should be characterized by active competi-

he had in each precinct: the degree of precinct captain support, the number of workers, and the number of house parties he attended. A fourth variable we use measures the notoriety of each candidate. A sample of residents in each of the city's six wards was given a list containing the names of our candidates. The percentage of the sample who recognized his name gives us a measure of the candidate's notoriety in the ward.

PARTY ACTIVITY IN THE PRIMARY

Party activity in a primary election takes place on several levels. In the top political circles in the community there is much jockeying for the support of major party figures and for the support of the central party organization in the community and at the higher organizational levels of county and state. Candidates for different offices attempt to trade support and to construct slates of candidates which would be most attractive to the voters. At the lower organizational levels, with which we are primarily concerned—those levels which most directly impinge on the voter—candidates attempt to gain the support of precinct captains and other persons in the precinct who might drum up sentiment in their favor. The candidates also attempt to reach the voters directly through campaigns in the mass media and through precinct house parties. The latter are financed by the candidate and conducted by his workers and are designed to bring the candidate face to face with voters in an informal context.

Table 2 presents a measure of the intensity of the partisanship of the precinct captains in the two parties. A little more than a third of the precinct captains engaged in door-to-door campaigning for the candidates whom they supported in the primary. Another third talked only to friends and to people whom they knew well in their precincts. The remaining third only revealed their own choices if asked or did nothing at all. Note that the two parties contrast strongly: the Democratic precinct captains were considerably more partisan than their Republican counterparts. The effect of this

TABLE 2
INTENSITY OF PARTISAN CANDIDATE SUPPORT
BY PRECINCT CAPTAINS IN 1956
PRIMARY ELECTIONS
(Per Cent)

Intensity of Support	Democrat	Republican	Total
No support.....	1	16	9
Minor support: told voters whom he supported if asked; handed out literature at polling place.....	23	38	31
Medium support: talked to friends and people he knew.....	35	20	27
Strong support: went door to door campaigning for candidates.....	46	27	36
N.....	(100)	(116)	(216)

tion between two or more candidates seeking nomination. These criteria assured that there would be variations in the support for candidates from place to place within the city.

For each race, precinct captains were asked which candidate they supported, how many workers each of the candidates had in the precincts, and how many house parties each of the candidates attended in the precinct. The captain was also asked what he did in the thirty-day period preceding the primary, and his responses to these questions were coded on a scale from "inactive" to "active participation" in the primary campaign.

For each candidate in each campaign we now have three measures of the "in-puts"

difference, as we will see later on, is to lessen the weight of the precinct captains in the Republican primaries.

Table 3 presents data on the number of political workers (other than precinct captains) commanded by the candidates in different primary elections and the number of house parties held in the same elections. It must be remembered that these are estimates provided by the precinct captains and are of unknown accuracy. If, however, we take these reports as given, in the usual contested primary race some five hundred individuals, outside the two-hundred-odd precinct captains, become involved in the

them. We may note again, however, the expected differences between the parties—the Democratic candidates had more house parties than the Republican candidates.

The consistent differences between the two parties reflect in part the greater interest in the majority party primaries. They also reflect the amount of money that candidates spend in their campaigns. By and large, Republican precinct captains and workers are unpaid volunteers in the areas of the city occupied by whites. A very large proportion of the precinct captains and workers in the Democratic primaries are paid for their support by the candidates—

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF POLITICAL WORKERS AND PRECINCT HOUSE PARTIES
BY PARTY AND PRIMARY CAMPAIGN, 1955 AND 1956

A. DEMOCRATIC				
	County Surveyor (1956)	County Commission (A) (1956)	County Commission (B) (1956)	City Judge (1955)
Number of workers.....	234	359	237	353
Number of house parties.....	127	145	115	170
Number of reporting precincts....	[78]	[81]	[80]	[80]
B. REPUBLICAN				
	Congress (1956)	County Commission (1956)	Mayor (1955)	City Judge (1955)
Number of workers.....	114	122	310	140
Number of house parties.....	76	90	179	127
Number of reporting precincts....	[84]	[84]	[87]	[83]

face-to-face attempts at influencing voters in the primary. Thus, if there are five contested primary races within each of the two parties in an election, some two to three thousand individuals may become involved in the task of influencing the vote, or about 1.5–2 per cent of the total population. Table 3 also indicates that more of the citizenry become involved in the Democratic primaries than the Republican, showing again the difference between the majority and minority parties.

To give concrete meaning to the data on house parties is somewhat harder. We know little about these social affairs in ways that might enable us to evaluate their worth—for example, the number of voters attending them or the activities which take place at

or, at least, such are the accounts our field workers heard from both sides.

ORGANIZATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF THE PRIMARY VOTE

In order to assess how these partisan activities affected the outcome of primary elections, we shall present the correlations between each of the different types of support and the votes received by a candidate. The correlations are taken over clusters of precincts and refer to votes obtained by each of the candidates in a particular race.⁵

⁵ Precincts were clustered in order to raise the reliability of the reports of precinct captains—each captain's reports being pooled with those of four or five others—and in order to raise the reliability of the vote, since the vote for a particular candi-

Eighteen clusters of precincts are used in the Democratic primary races and nineteen in the Republican, each cluster consisting of a group of contiguous precincts.

Each candidate in a particular race was given a score on each of the variables derived from the precinct captain's reports. These scores were then made relative within each race by computing the ratio this score represented to the highest score received by any candidate in any precinct cluster in that race. The ratios so computed remove the differences between races and between par-

ability of a candidate to obtain recognition from a sample of voters—is poorly related to measures of support and the vote. Note that among the support measures it is best related to the number of workers a candidate had. Similar tables of intercorrelations were computed for each of the eight primary races under study. In order to conserve space, we shall not present these additional tables. The pattern of relationships shown in Table 4 obtains for all eight campaign races, except that in the Republican primaries the values of the coefficients of meas-

TABLE 4
CORRELATIONS AMONG CANDIDATE IN-PUTS AND CANDIDATE VOTE
DEMOCRATIC COUNTY COMMISSIONER (A) PRIMARY, 1955

	Support (1)	Workers (2)	House Parties (3)	Notoriety (4)	Candidate Vote
Captain support.69	.69	.31	.86
Workers.73	.49	.80
House parties.34	.72
Notoriety.52

TABLE 5
MULTIPLE CORRELATION AND BETA WEIGHTS: DEMOCRATIC RACES

Campaign	No. of Candi- dates	Support	Workers	House Parties	Notoriety	$R_{y,1234}$
City judge.	5	.187	.292	.020	.559	.96
Commissioner (B).	5	.484	.411	-.055	.321	.90
Commissioner (A).	4	.579	.269	.060	.193	.93
Surveyor.	4	.492	.354	-.014	.237	.93

ties, the differences between the score values obtained by candidates being primarily a function of his support.

Table 4 presents the correlations for one primary election among the measures of support and of each support measure with the primary vote. Note that the measures of support obtained from the precinct captain's reports—variables 1, 2, and 3—are correlated highly with each other and also with the vote. The notoriety of a candidate—the

ures of support with the vote were less for the Republican primaries as a group.

In order to assess the joint contributions of these variables to the success of a candidate in a primary election, we have resorted to multiple-correlation analysis. In Table 5 we examine the beta weights (not the regression coefficients) and R for each of the Democratic campaigns. R ranges from .96 to .90; this means that at least 80 per cent of the variation in the votes among candidates in each Democratic campaign has been accounted for by our four predictor variables.

Table 6 presents the rank order of the beta weights *within* each campaign. The rank order of these beta weights are almost

date in any one precinct may be a very small number, especially in those precincts where turnout was very slight. Thus the N for any primary race correlation is the number of clusters times the number of candidates in that race. A three-candidate Republican primary race is thus based on an N of 57.

consistent from race to race. The support of the committeemen is first, followed by workers, notoriety, and house parties. The single deviation from this pattern (city judge) is interesting, but as yet we cannot account for it.

Beta weights and R 's for Republican primaries are presented in Table 7. As com-

cases, a small negative weight) than any other variable. Thus, although the zero-order correlation of house parties with the vote is moderately strong, or even high, this correlation partials out when the other variables are added into the equation. Perhaps another way to think about house parties is as a measure of individual candidate activity, as opposed to mass activities on the behalf of the candidate by others.

A second comparison of considerable interest is the shift in the importance of notoriety; it assumes a more important role in accounting for the vote in Republican primaries than it does in Democratic primaries. This observation seems to be in line with the previously observed differences between the two parties shown in Tables 2

TABLE 6
RANK ORDER OF BETA WEIGHTS:
DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGNS

Campaign	Support	Workers	House Parties	Notoriety
City judge.....	3	2	4	1
Commissioner (B).....	1	2	4	3
Commissioner (A).....	1	2	4	3
Surveyor.....	1	2	4	3

TABLE 7
MULTIPLE CORRELATION AND BETA WEIGHTS: REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGNS

Campaign	No. of Candidates	Support	Workers	House Parties	Notoriety	$R_{y.1234}$
Congress.....	3	.758	-.054	-.157	.422	.89
Mayor.....	2	.913	-.070	-.423	.400	.68
City judge.....	3	.277	.461	-.089	.339	.67
Commissioner.....	3	-.066	.442	-.108	.390	.53

pared with Democratic primaries, R tends to be much smaller, and the amount of variation in the vote among the candidates that is related to our input variables ranges from a high of 79 per cent to a low of 28 per cent. The rank order of the beta weights maintains a certain degree of consistency with those previously examined, as shown in Table 8. In spite of the rather wide fluctuations in multiple R , the beta-weight rank order of house parties and notoriety remains the same for each of these Republican campaigns. The fluctuation in the importance of support and workers is of considerable interest to us, but the best we can say about this at the present time is that either one or the other is the most important of the four beta weights. The reasons for this fluctuation remain unknown.

Comparison of Tables 6 and 8 shows that for both parties house parties consistently carry less weight (and, in a majority of

TABLE 8
RANK ORDER OF BETA WEIGHTS
REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGNS

Campaign	Support	Workers	House Parties	Notoriety
Congress.....	1	3	4	2
Mayor.....	1	3	4	2
City judge.....	3	1	4	2
Commissioner...	3	1	4	2

and 3. Those tables revealed that the Democratic precinct organization is far more active in primary elections and that, in general, Democratic campaigns involved more political workers and more candidate activity in the form of house parties. Given this higher level of party and candidate activity in the Democratic party, a relative difference in the importance of the notoriety of candidates might be expected.

A third comparison between the parties shows that either workers or support occupy the first rank in seven out of eight primary

elections, the support variable being in first place five out of eight times. In two of the three cases where support was dislodged from the first position, its place was taken by workers. In other words, it is the door-bell-ringing, face-to-face contact which appears to win primary elections in this city.

DIFFERENCES AMONG CANDIDATES

A candidate in a primary election is something more than the combination of the organization behind him and his notoriety. Often a candidate is also the incumbent official or a resident of one of the areas in which voting will take place. In this section we consider the effects of these two candidate characteristics on the votes received.

Even in the best predicted race among the Democratic primaries, some of the vari-

It seems clear that the incumbents, as compared with other candidates, do not deviate systematically or substantially from zero. Incumbent candidates do not receive more than the expected vote, when we take into account their superior organizational inputs. Although all three incumbents won nomination, in two of these races the incumbents had considerably *lower* notoriety than their closest competitors. Their superior organization seems to have carried them to victory in the primary.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE GAINED OR LOST BY RESIDENTS AND NON-RESIDENTS OF CLUSTERS

BY PARTY AND CAMPAIGN

A. DEMOCRATIC

	Residents	Non-Residents
City judge.....	+ 5.72 _[5]	-0.70 _[20]
Commissioner (B)....	+ 2.97 _[11]	-7.85 _[4]
Commissioner (A)....	+ 0.46 _[3]	-4.36 _[9]
Surveyor.....	- 2.55 _[11]	+0.40 _[3]
Total group.....	+ 2.95 _[10]	-2.29 _[36]

B. REPUBLICAN

	Residents	Non-Residents
Mayor.....	+ 8.16 _[5]	-4.65 _[5]
City judge.....	+ 1.75 _[4]	-5.33 _[8]
Commissioner.....	+11.90 _[3]	-4.20 _[6]
Congress.....	- 0.85 _[2]	-3.06 _[4]
Total group.....	+ 5.98 _[14]	-4.49 _[23]

TABLE 9

MEAN RESIDUALS OF INCUMBENT CANDIDATES

Office of Incumbent	Residual
Commissioner (A).....	+0.01
Commissioner (B).....	-1.37
Surveyor.....	+0.17

ation in the vote from cluster to cluster was left "unexplained." The plan is in this section to see how incumbency and residence can be used to explain the residual variation left after the analysis in the previous section. This is accomplished by employing the regression equations of the previous section to compute an expected value of the vote which, when compared with the actual vote for a candidate by cluster, yields a residual value indicating the extent to which the actual vote is above or below the estimated vote. In the tables which follow, a *positive* difference indicates that the candidate received *more* than expected on the basis of his organizational and notoriety in-puts in the area. A negative difference tells us how much less than predicted he received.

Table 9 shows us the mean residuals for candidates who were incumbents at the time of the primary election. There were no Republican incumbents, and the Democratic city-judge nominee was not an incumbent.

Localism in primary voting has been documented on the county level.⁶ Analysis of candidate residuals should help us determine whether the same patterns occur in urban "machine politics" as well as in less urban areas of the country. One important difference is that we are not looking at the level of a candidate's vote but at the difference between what he could have been expected to receive in the area on the basis of his in-puts and what he actually received. Thus it is usually the case that a candidate has the support of the precinct captain in his home precinct; he has workers in this area, even though he may not receive much support outside this area of the city. Naturally, these activities raise the level of his vote. The question here is: Does this added organizational activity adequately account

⁶ Key, *op. cit.*

for this increase in the level of the resident candidate's vote?

Table 10 presents the mean residuals of resident and non-resident candidates. To compute the residual of residents in each race, the residuals of the home clusters of the candidates were found, and in these same clusters the residuals of the non-residents were calculated. The results provide strong support for the effectiveness of the appeal of friends and neighbors in primary voting in urban areas.

A comparison of the two parties shows that the residence effect is greater for Republicans than it is for Democratic candidates, and this may be another indicator of how a more vigorous party organization alters the "natural" tendencies in primary voting.

CONCLUSION

The preceding discussion has considered the organization of a primary campaign in terms of relatively detached and autonomous precinct captains and has, therefore, neglected to point up the attachments of the precinct captains to a larger organization. What we have been examining is, in a sense, the end product of top-level party and candidate strategies and tactics. Why does one candidate rather than another get the official support of "the organization"? We have examined the relation between precinct-captain support and the vote, but we have not explained why the captains

supported one rather than another of the candidates.

Another important point which has been neglected is the strong impression we have that "party organization" often means *candidate* organization. In several of the campaigns we analyzed, the support of the precinct captains was divided almost equally among the candidates, and there are campaigns in which each of the candidates has just about equal worker strength. In short, some candidates seem to be able to split the official party organization and organize an effective campaign organization without the blessing of the top party leaders. In fact, the top leadership of both parties frequently waits until a day or so before the election before giving the "word" on which candidate to support. This seems to be the case for the *minor* city and county offices. One might note that, by the time the campaign has reached this stage, it is usually clear which of the candidates has the better organization. In close elections, however, the official organization can swing a decisive vote in favor of one of two competing candidates, and in such cases this decision is of overwhelming importance to the outcome of the election.⁷

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⁷ A detailed analysis of the organization of the Democratic and Republican parties in this community is now under way and will appear in a forthcoming publication.

SMALL BUSINESSMEN, POLITICAL TOLERANCE, AND SUPPORT FOR McCARTHY¹

MARTIN TROW

ABSTRACT

A study done in Bennington, Vermont, in 1954 found that McCarthy received disproportionately strong support from small businessmen and relatively little support from salaried employees with the same education. By contrast, occupation was found to have little bearing on political tolerance, as compared with the strong relationship between political tolerance and educational achievement. A comparison of McCarthy's popular support in 1954 with that of the Nazis before they took power suggests that small businessmen in both situations were reacting against the main defining features of modern industrial society, while salaried employees in both situations were responding to the success or failure of the economy.

In the past few years social scientists have responded to the threat symbolized by but by no means confined to Joseph McCarthy and have made efforts to explain the variety of illiberal and repressive movements that flourished during much of the first decade following World War II. Such social scientists as Parsons, Reisman, Shils, Hofstadter, and Lipset have written books or essays on the men, sentiments, and movements that came to be known as the "radical right."² These writings, and especially the essays that were collected in the volume *The New American Right*,³ show an impressively high measure of agreement on the nature of the social forces underlying such diverse popular movements as McCarthyism, the movement for the Bricker amendment, and the many organized ac-

tions against "subversion" in schools, libraries, the mass media, and elsewhere. In addition to the generally high measure of agreement (or at least convergence) in these essays, they are also, taken together, both highly persuasive and based on almost no empirical evidence at all, at least so far as their efforts to explain the popular support of these movements are concerned.

The essayists in *The New American Right* treated McCarthyism as one manifestation of the new "radical right," largely assumed its close connection with political intolerance, and discussed the nature and sources of both as part of their interpretation of the larger phenomenon. And they saw the rise of this "radical right" as largely a consequence (or manifestation) of the increasing importance during the postwar years of "status politics"—the projection of people's status anxieties and frustrations onto the political arena—and the correlative decline in the relative importance of class or "interest" politics. Moreover, say the writers, the "status politics" which underlies the rise of the "radical right" tends to flourish in prosperous times, as "interest politics" is associated with depression and economic discontent. And the essayists deal with the "radical right's" mass support chiefly by speculating on the likely locations in our society of pockets of acute status anxieties or concerns.⁴ They do this job so thoroughly

¹ Revised version of a paper read at the Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, May, 1957.

² Talcott Parsons, "McCarthyism and American Social Tension: A Sociologist's View," *Yale Review*, XLIV (December, 1954), 226-45; David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, "The Intellectuals and the Discontented Classes," *Partisan Review*, XXII (Winter, 1955), 47-72; Edward A. Shils, *The Torment of Secrecy* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955); Richard Hofstadter, "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," *American Scholar*, XXIV (Winter, 1954), 9-27; S. M. Lipset, "The Radical Right: A Problem for American Democracy," *British Journal of Sociology*, VI (June, 1955), 176-209.

³ Daniel Bell (ed.), *The New American Right* (New York: Criterion Books, 1955).

⁴ In the absence of data, these writers also attempted to deduce the character and composition of

that they have left little room for surprise regarding the social composition of McCarthy's popular support. The essays show, and quite persuasively, how and why McCarthy got disproportionate support almost everywhere: among old Americans and among new Americans; among the upwardly mobile, the downwardly mobile, and the low status non-mobile; among Catholics, Yankee Protestants, and rural fundamentalists; among workers, small businessmen, the new middle class, and the "new rich," etc. This kind of analysis, which explains every possible or supposed appearance of the phenomenon, is, of course, in part a function of the paucity of data on the issue. But, while such an analysis precludes surprises, it also explains a good deal too much. Unless we can account for the actual distribution of support for a given issue or for a leader or spokesman of this political tendency, without finessing the crucial questions of "more or less," then our analysis loses much of its power and cogency.

A study done in Bennington, Vermont, during 1954 provided data for an intensive analysis of some of the social and social-psychological characteristics of McCarthy supporters in the general population.⁵ And though the movement and its leader are no longer part of the American political scene, the Bennington study indicates that the social forces that made for support of McCarthy did not die with his power or his person but remain available to other illiberal and repressive men and movements of the radical right. If that is so, then the study of McCarthy's popular support not merely is of interest to the antiquarian but may shed light on one aspect of the continuing vulnerability of a mass democratic society to radical, right-wing movements.

McCarthy's popular following from their analyses of the movement's economic and historical context and from the ideology of the movement's more prominent spokesmen. But the mass support for a movement and the grounds on which that support is granted may differ very greatly from what we would expect on the basis of an analysis of the public pronouncements of prominent men.

The study, part of which is reported in this paper,⁶ aimed to investigate the social characteristics of McCarthy's supporters in its sample and on this basis make some inferences regarding the social sources of his popular support.⁷ At the same time we were

⁵ This study of McCarthy's support was part of a larger study of political orientations and formal and informal communications carried out under the over-all direction of Dr. Robert D. Leigh and supported by a grant from Columbia University. The data reported in this paper were gathered through one- to two-hour structured interviews with men living in the Bennington area. Nearly eight hundred such interviews were conducted in the area during the spring and summer of 1954, during and just after the McCarthy-Army hearings, when McCarthy was at or near the peak of his popularity and power. A national survey done in August of that year found a third of its sample giving McCarthy their support (see Charles H. Stember, "Anti-democratic Attitudes in America: A Review of Public Opinion Research" [Publication of the Bureau of Applied Social Research (New York: Columbia University, 1954) p. 52] [mimeographed]). In Bennington over half of the men we interviewed approved of McCarthy's activities, while some 40 per cent approved of his methods of investigation—that aspect of his activities which had come under sharpest criticism. Incidentally, interest in and knowledge about McCarthy were very high during the period in which these interviews were collected. In Bennington, fewer than 5 per cent of the respondents answered "Don't know" to any of the questions about McCarthy.

⁶ For fuller information on this study and its methods of investigation see Martin A. Trow, "Right-Wing Radicalism and Political Intolerance: A Study of Support for McCarthy in a New England Town" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1957).

⁷ Information on attitudes toward McCarthy was gathered through three questions in the interview: questions bearing on his activities, his methods of investigation, and the value of his investigating committee. Although these three questions could have been combined in a scale of "support for McCarthy," the decision was made to use the single question, "Just speaking of Senator McCarthy's *methods* of investigation, how do you feel about them? Do you strongly favor them, mildly favor them, mildly oppose them, or strongly oppose them?" In most of the tabulations those who favored his methods, whether strongly or mildly, were compared with those who opposed them. For the reasons this item alone was used see Trow, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-15.

able to look into correlates of "political tolerance,"⁸ explore the nature and sources of McCarthy's support and "political tolerance" separately and simultaneously, and, by contrast and comparison, throw into bold relief the similarities and differences in the forces underlying these two different sets of sentiments.⁹

MC CARTHY'S SUPPORT AND POLITICAL TOLERANCE

The widespread assumption that support for McCarthy was almost always associated with political intolerance seems to gain em-

Carthy gained much of his popular support from poorly educated, lower-class people who are, as many studies tell us, also least likely to be tolerant of unpopular political minorities and views.

But the matter becomes not quite so routine when we examine the relationship between support for McCarthy and political tolerance holding formal education constant. When we do this, the relationship between intolerance and support for McCarthy almost or wholly disappears (Table 1). On every educational level McCarthy's supporters were about as likely as his opponents to

TABLE 1
SUPPORT FOR MCCARTHY BY POLITICAL TOLERANCE,
HOLDING FORMAL EDUCATION CONSTANT
(Per Cent)

Education.....	GRADE SCHOOL		SOME HIGH SCHOOL		HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATE		SOME COLLEGE AND MORE	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Political Tolerance.....								
Favor McCarthy's methods	51	63	44	44	43	45	23	18
N.....	(54)	(94)	(55)	(68)	(113)	(62)	(197)	(33)

pirical support when we observe that support for McCarthy and political intolerance were both strongly related to the amount of formal education completed. There is nothing very startling about this: we hardly need an extensive study to know that Mc-

Carthy have been tolerant toward the exercise of free speech by political dissidents. In other words, while support of McCarthy and political intolerance were both related to for-

⁸ The measure of "political tolerance" was an index based on the three questions: "In peacetime, do you think the Socialist party should be allowed to publish newspapers in this country?" "Do you think newspapers should be allowed to criticize our form of government?" "Do you think members of the Communist party in this country should be allowed to speak on the radio?"

While these three specific attitudes were highly related to one another, there was, as we might expect, least support for the right of members of the Communist party to speak on the radio and most support for the rights of newspapers to criticize our form of government. But, on further examination, it appeared that these three questions tapped a common, more basic sentiment regarding the rights of people and groups hostile to our political and economic system to make their criticisms known through the media of public communication. Political tolerance involves, at a minimum, a willingness to grant to others the right to propagate their political views. The willingness to grant this right to unpopular political minorities is the senti-

ment common to these three items and is the sentiment we are calling "political tolerance."

The index was constructed by assigning a score of 2 to "Yes" responses, 1 to "Yes, qualified," and 0 to "No." In these tabulations the index was dichotomized, with those having a total score of 3 or more comprising the "High" group.

Identically worded questions have been included in a number of national surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in recent years and provide comparisons with the Bennington sample. For further discussion of this measure see Trow, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

⁹ This investigation explored the relations between support for McCarthy and political tolerance and economic class, occupation, religious identification, union membership and identification, political party preference, and attitudes toward various national and foreign policy issues. The bearing of formal education on McCarthy's support and political tolerance was analyzed separately; since it was so highly related to both these sentiments, it was controlled in the analysis of all the other relationships.

mal education, they were very little related to each other.

The implications of this finding are many. In its simplest terms it means that, whatever the character and content of the *public* fight between McCarthy and his more prominent opponents, the sources of his support and popularity in the population at large appear to have had little relation to how strongly people support the principles of free speech.

The division over McCarthy in the population at large, at least in Bennington, was not a division between the supporters of and encroachers upon civil liberties. To see it that way is to overlook the very genuine elements of "radicalism"—of anticonservatism—in the McCarthy appeal. On the one hand, many of those who disapproved of McCarthy and his methods did so not out of any particular concern for the preservation of civil liberties or freedom of speech for unpopular minorities but rather out of a feeling that what is done to suppress "subversion" be done in conservative ways through regular legislative or judicial or administrative procedures. But these men, as their responses to our questions show, were often no more concerned with the preservation of freedom of speech than McCarthy himself and much less so than many of his followers. For many of these latter, the majority of them lower class, with little formal schooling, McCarthy's appeal was not that of a man *repressing* free speech but of a man *exercising* it, in what appeared to be bold and fearless ways. Moreover, much of his boldness, violence, and aggression was directed precisely against the conservative authorities and institutions—the "big shots," the "stuffed shirts," the "bureaucrats"—against whom many of his supporters felt anger and resentment. The men who opposed McCarthy, by and large, were solid, better educated, middle-class citizens who identified with the authorities and institutions which were McCarthy's chief targets of attack by the summer of 1954. Many an executive or engineer who watched McCarthy alternately patronize and bully

Army Secretary Stevens felt, and not without reason, that he himself and men like him were also under attack.

Our finding that McCarthy's support and political intolerance were not strongly related to each other does not rest solely or even primarily on the one tabulation which shows that the apparent relationship disappears when education is held constant. That finding did indeed stimulate further inquiry in that same direction, but, as evidence accumulated, it became apparent in many other ways that the social forces underlying McCarthy's popular support were simply not the same as those making for political intolerance. And, like most empirical findings, this one posed a question: If support for McCarthy were not simply an expression of political intolerance, what were its social sources, and how did they differ from the social sources of political intolerance?

Before proceeding to report one part of our investigation into that question, it may be useful to summarize briefly some of its more general findings. In *précis*, we found that political tolerance is a norm or cluster of norms, very strongly related to cultural sophistication, or "cosmopolitanism," and thus to the level of formal education achieved—and to *very little else*. By contrast, popular support for McCarthy can best be understood as the channeling of certain dissatisfactions with aspects of the social, economic, and political orders. There are two elements present in that formulation: the presence of considerable discontent and dissatisfaction and the ways and directions in which those dissatisfactions are channeled. We found the highest levels of support for McCarthy in social classes and categories which, on one hand, show considerable hostility toward important elements in the social structure and, on the other hand, do not have their hostilities and discontents channeled into and through existing political and economic institutions. By contrast, neither the *level* of discontent nor the *channeling* of discontent appeared to have appreciable bearing on the levels

of political tolerance characteristic of these same classes and social categories.

MC CARTHY'S SUPPORT, POLITICAL TOLERANCE, AND OCCUPATION

Part of the evidence on which these general propositions are based bears on the relation of economic class and occupation to the sentiments in question. When we divide our sample into the two broad categories of "manual" and "non-manual" workers, the latter including both salaried and self-employed white-collar people, we find little or no difference between them in their support of McCarthy, holding formal education constant. Even when we divide

employees who did. Among the men who had been to college the differences by occupational group are smaller but still substantial: where one in three of these better-educated small businessmen supported McCarthy, only a little over one in five of the salaried employees with this education did.

There are a number of possible interpretations of this finding, some of which were investigated and rejected in light of the Bennington data.¹⁰ The interpretation that gained strongest support from the data can be summarized in the hypothesis that small businessmen in our society disproportionately tend to develop a generalized hostility toward a complex of symbols and processes

TABLE 2
SUPPORT FOR MCCARTHY BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP,
HOLDING FORMAL EDUCATION CONSTANT
(Per Cent)

Education..... Occupation.....	LESS THAN 4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL			HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATE			SOME COLLEGE AND MORE		
	Man.*	Sal.*	S.B.*	Man.	Sal.	S.B.	Man.	Sal.	S.B.
Favor McCarthy's methods	53	38	65	49	36	58	32	22	32
N.....	(188)	(53)	(52)	(59)	(78)	(38)	(35)	(124)	(44)

* Occupation: "Man.": manual workers; "Sal.": salaried employees, including lower and upper white collar, salaried professionals, and executives; "S.B.": small businessmen, including merchants and other small proprietors. Free professionals, farmers, unemployed, and retired people are excluded.

the "non-manual" category into "lower-" and "upper-middle-class" categories, on the basis of income, we still find no appreciable differences in attitudes toward McCarthy within educational categories. But when we distinguish *within* the middle class between salaried and self-employed men, we found marked differences in their respective levels of support for McCarthy (Table 2).

In every educational category the small businessmen showed a distinctly higher proportion of McCarthy supporters than did the salaried men of similar education, and, among those who had not been to college, the small businessmen were even more pro-McCarthy than the manual workers. And the differences were substantial. For example, among the men who did not finish high school, two-thirds of the small businessmen supported McCarthy, as compared with only half the workers who did and only a little more than a third of the salaried em-

bound up with industrial capitalism: the steady growth and concentration of government, labor organizations, and business enterprises; the correlative trend toward greater rationalization of production and distribution; and the men, institutions, and ideas that symbolize these secular trends of modern society. These trends and their symbols were, we believe, McCarthy's most persuasive targets.¹¹ Quite apart from the

¹⁰ For example, it has been suggested that small businessmen, as a result of their economic experience and interests, tend to hold extremely conservative economic views and that these views led them into the radical right and support of McCarthy. A somewhat different hypothesis suggests that small businessmen identify with, and tend to take over what they believe to be, the values of big business, which are also the values of the radical right. Neither of these hypotheses is supported by the Bennington data.

¹¹ For an analysis of McCarthy's ideology and rhetoric see Bell (ed.), *op. cit.*, especially the essays by Bell, Parsons, Viereck, and Lipset.

questions of Communists in government, and blunders or worse in foreign policy, the congruence between McCarthy's attacks on and small businessmen's hostility to the dominant characteristics and tendencies of modern society account, we believe, for much of the disproportionate support McCarthy gained from small businessmen.¹²

This hypothesis can be explored further by looking at the connections between support for McCarthy and attitudes toward the most characteristic economic institutions of our society, that is, large corporations and trade unions. A simple but serviceable typology emerges from responses to questions asking how the respondent feels about big companies and trade unions and permits us to distinguish empirically four important and easily recognizable patterns of orientations toward the dominant economic institutions in the population at large.¹³ The group which expressed approval of labor unions but suspicion of the power of big companies, (I), is closest to the familiar "labor-liberals," who in this country gave their support to the labor-oriented, administrative liberalism of the New Deal and its descendants. The pro-big business, antiunion group, (IV), resemble the equally familiar "right-wing conservatives." The orientation I have

called "moderate conservatism," (III), is held by people who are reconciled to the continued existence both of big companies and of trade unions; this is the dominant political orientation of both major parties today.

To the student of right-wing radicalism the most interesting of these four orientations is that which expresses hostility toward both big business and trade unions (II). At the risk of some distortion, I have called this orientation "nineteenth-century liberalism." In the middle of the twentieth century the important thing about this orientation is not its intellectual content but rather its emotional tone, its diffused anger, and its generalized suspicion toward modern tendencies of all kinds. Among our respondents, this nineteenth-century liberalism appears both as a wistful nostalgia for a golden age of small farmers and businessmen and also as an expression of a strong resentment and hatred toward a world which makes no sense in terms of older ideas and which is conducted in apparent violation of old truths and values of economic and political life.¹⁴

If we look at the distribution of McCarthy support among the holders of these four political orientations (and we did this separately for better- and less-well-educated men), we find that there were scarcely any differences among holders of three of the four orientations in their proportions of McCarthy supporters (Table 3).

But among the poorly educated, as among the better educated, the nineteenth-century liberals gave McCarthy distinctly higher proportions of support than any of the other three orientations we examined. Among the men who had less than four years of high

¹² The free professionals, chiefly doctors and lawyers, not shown in this table, were markedly low in their support of McCarthy; only one in five gave him his support. These professions, as Parsons has noted, have developed relatively well-institutionalized ways of dealing with rapid social change, so that "the dynamic process of which they are agents is not so disturbing to them" (Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949], p. 267). Nor do they experience the insecurities flowing from the progressive rationalization of economic life that the small businessmen do. They are, in this respect, more like the salaried employees, especially the managers, technicians, and salaried professionals.

¹³ The two questions were: "Do you agree or disagree that: The way they are run now, labor unions do this country more harm than good," and "Big companies control too much of American business."

BIG COMPANIES CONTROL TOO MUCH OF AMERICAN BUSINESS

THE WAY THEY ARE RUN NOW, LABOR UNIONS DO THIS COUNTRY MORE HARM THAN GOOD	Disagree . . .	Agree . . .	Disagree III	Agree IV
			I	II

¹⁴ Much has been said about this perspective, and its illiberal tendencies, most recently by Shils (*op. cit.*, pp. 98-104) and Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), pp. 3-22, 60-93, and *passim*, in connection with populism. See also C. W. Mills, *White Collar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 34-59, and John H. Bunzel, "The General Ideology of American Small Business," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXX (March, 1955), 87-102.

school, the difference between the nineteenth-century liberals and all the others in the proportions supporting McCarthy is the difference between two-thirds and a half. Among the better educated, the difference is between a half as compared with a third of all others who gave McCarthy their support.

There are two findings here which are perhaps of equal interest to the student of right-wing radicalism. The first—that there was little difference in the support McCarthy gained among labor-liberals, moderate conservatives, and right-wing conservatives—contradicts the widespread liberal assumption that McCarthy got much of his mass support from the traditional right-wing con-

moderate conservatives have everything else. It is precisely the political orientation which has no institutionalized place on the political scene, little representation or leadership in the major parties, which sought that voice and place through McCarthy. And he expressed for them their fear and mistrust of bigness and of the slick and subversive ideas that come out of the cities and the big institutions to erode old ways and faiths.

It should come as no surprise to find that the small businessmen in our sample were distinctly more likely than manual workers or salaried employees to hold nineteenth-century liberal views regarding trade unions and large corporations (Table 4). Where

TABLE 3
MCCARTHY'S SUPPORT BY DOMESTIC POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS,
AMONG BETTER- AND LESS-WELL-EDUCATED MEN
(Per Cent)

Education..... DPO*.....	LESS THAN 4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL				4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL AND MORE			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Favor McCarthy's methods..	44	67	51	51	32	50	29	32
N.....	(90)	(84)	(53)	(43)	(101)	(58)	(137)	(97)

* DPO Type I: Labor-liberal (pro-union; anti-big business)
II: Nineteenth-century liberal (anti-union; anti-big business)
III: Moderate conservative (pro-union; pro-big business)
IV: Right-wing conservative (anti-union; pro-big business)

servatives.¹⁵ The other finding, with which we are chiefly concerned here, is that men holding the nineteenth-century liberal orientation toward big business and trade unions showed a markedly greater vulnerability to McCarthy's appeal. These men, as I have noted, are often angrily confused and deeply resentful of a world that continually offends their deepest values. But as important is the fact that this particular well of resentment and indignation has no effective and institutionalized channels of expression. Right-wing conservatives have substantial power in the business community and the Republican party; labor-liberals are a strong force in the trade unions, some big-city machines, and are well represented in the Democratic party; and the

small businessmen comprised only one-fifth of the men in these occupational categories in our sample, they contributed a third of the nineteenth-century liberals. Moreover, the small businessmen who *held* these views gave McCarthy a very high measure of support.¹⁶ The very highest proportion of

¹⁵ Even those small businessmen who held other orientations gave McCarthy more support than did workers and salaried employees with the same orientations. Looked at from another perspective, nineteenth-century liberals among workers and salaried men gave McCarthy more support than did men in similar occupations holding different orientations toward big business and trade unions. Occupation and these politico-economic orientations worked independently and cumulatively in their bearing on McCarthy's support.

In this study we are primarily concerned with the relationships and forces underlying McCarthy's popular support. But our findings that support for McCarthy was not highly related to political in-

¹⁶ Further investigation of holders of very conservative economic attitudes supports this finding.

McCarthy supporters among these categories was found among the poorly educated small businessmen holding these nineteenth-century liberal attitudes; almost three out of four of these men were McCarthy supporters. Here is evidence that a generalized fear of the dominant currents and institutions of modern society was an important source of McCarthy's mass appeal, not *only* among small businessmen, but perhaps especially among a group like small businessmen whose economic and status security is

historical backgrounds and in the social, political, and economic contexts of right-wing radical movements in Europe and the United States. All the observers of nazism are agreed that lower-middle-class tradesmen, shopkeepers, and artisans gave the Nazis a disproportionately large measure of their support before the Nazis took power. And they did so, these observers agree, because of their deep-seated fear of radical proletarianism, on one hand, and of the rapid rationalization of production and dis-

TABLE 4
DOMESTIC POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP,
FOR BETTER- AND LESS-WELL-EDUCATED MEN

Education	LESS THAN 4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL			4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL AND MORE		
	Man.*	Sal.*	S.B.*	Man.	Sal.	S.B.
DPO†						
Group I	42	27	19	48	20	21
Group II	29	25	41	12	12	18
Group III	18	25	19	25	40	36
Group IV	11	23	21	15	28	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	(180)	(52)	(52)	(87)	(191)	(80)

* See note to Table 2.

† DPO:

Group I: Labor-liberals

Group II: Nineteenth-century liberals

Group III: Moderate conservatives

Group IV: Right-wing conservatives

continually threatened by those currents and institutions.

One can hardly consider the connection between economic class and right-wing radicalism in America without thinking of the analysis of the Nazi party's mass support before Hitler took power, an analysis developed by such men as Erich Fromm, Sigmund Neumann, Karl Mannheim, Emil Lederer, and Alfred Meusal.¹⁷ The comparison suggests itself despite, or perhaps even because of, the very great differences in the

tribution—that is to say, the large corporation and the department store—on the other. (These fears involved their concern with *both* material and status security.) To the small German proprietor, Hitler promised

¹⁷ On the social character and political orientations of the lower middle class in Germany as shaped by their insecure and continually deteriorating social and economic positions before the rise of Hitler see Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941), pp. 211–16; Sigmund Neumann, *Permanent Revolution* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942), p. 28; Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), p. 102, *passim*; Emil Lederer, *The State of the Masses* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1940), pp. 51–53; and Alfred Meusal, "Middle Class," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1933), X, 407–15.

tolerance and that McCarthy gained disproportionate support from small businessmen should not obscure the fact that *most* of McCarthy's supporters were (a) intolerant and (b) manual workers. Our findings and the latter observations, of course, do not contradict one another.

to crush radical proletarianism and control big business.

Nothing could seem further from the social scene that these writers were speaking of—societies undergoing almost continuous crisis, experiencing intense class conflicts and increasingly wide desperation and despair—than the general climate in a relatively prosperous, small New England town in 1954. The chief characteristic of Bennington's social and political climate was an absence of intense class conflict or conflict of any kind; rather there was a very considerable amount of tolerance, good humor, and the appearance of widespread optimism about the future. Similarly, nothing could seem more inappropriate to the political orientations of Benningtonians than the apocalyptic analysis applied to pre-Hitler Europe. What is perhaps surprising is that in this climate of optimism, good humor, and low-temperature politics, small businessmen in Bennington were apparently responding to the pressures of industrial capitalism in ways not wholly unlike their beleaguered cousins in the Middle Europe of twenty-five years ago, though at much lower levels of intensity.¹⁸

MC CARTHY'S SUPPORT AND SALARIED EMPLOYEES

But this comparison of the social sources of Hitler's popular support with McCarthy's shows one very striking anomaly. Students of nazism usually speak of the disproportionate support the Nazis got from the Ger-

man lower middle class, in which they lump small tradesmen, artisans, and businessmen, together with lower white-collar salaried employees. The evidence would seem to justify their approach: Hans Gerth's study of the membership of the Nazi party in 1933 shows that both small proprietors and salaried employees were disproportionately represented in the membership of the Nazi party and to about the same degree, both groups supplying about twice the proportion of Nazi party members as compared with their representation in the population at large.¹⁹ And the students of nazism explain Hitler's support among the salaried white-collar workers in much the same way they explain the support the Nazis got from the small proprietors: largely in terms of their status anxieties—anxieties arising especially out of the discrepancy between their precarious and deteriorating economic positions and their status claims and aspirations.²⁰

By contrast, in Bennington the salaried employees not only were not as pro-McCarthy as the small businessmen but were strikingly low in the support they gave him, as indicated above. This was true not only of the better-educated managers, executives, technicians, and salaried professionals who might be expected to identify with McCarthy's high-status targets. It was also true of the less-well-educated and low-income white-collar men. Less than 30 per cent of the very large group of salaried employees gave McCarthy their approval and support, as compared with over half of all the small businessmen and merchants.

How can we account for the fact that, while the analysis of the anxieties and politics of small businessmen in pre-Hitler Ger-

¹⁸ This is not to identify McCarthy with Hitler, or American right-wing movements with nazism or fascism, though this is not the place to discuss the very great differences between these movements. Nor is it meant simply to equate the role of small businessmen in the mass support for those movements. Their differing historical developments and the different political situations and structures within which these movements developed heavily conditioned their actual political consequences. Our concern here is not with the manifold factors that affect the translation of political sentiments into action (i.e., with their consequences) but rather with the nature of those sentiments and with their location and sources in the social structure. And here, the evidence suggests, there are certain important parallels in the two situations.

¹⁹ Hans Gerth, "The Nazi Party: Its Leadership and Composition," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (January, 1940), 517-41, especially Table 1.

²⁰ For example, see Sigmund Neuman, "Germany: Changing Patterns and Lasting Problems," in Neumann (ed.), *Modern Political Parties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 36-67. See also Lederer, *op. cit.*, and Hans Speier, "The Salaried Employee in Modern Society," in his *Social Order and the Risks of War* (New York: George W. Stewart, 1952), pp. 68-85.

many is not irrelevant to our understanding of the political orientations of small businessmen in Bennington in 1954, the behaviors of the salaried employees in the two situations were almost diametrically opposite? The answer seems to lie in the general orientation of the two classes to modern industrial society. Salaried employees, whether in Germany or the United States, or in the new countries of the Near and Far East,²¹ are in general *not* alienated from the dominant trends and institutions of modern society; these trends and developments of concentration, specialization, rationalization, and bureaucratization have created the class of salaried employees and are its natural habitat. But, while accepting the general shape and direction of modern society, the salaried employees in Europe responded violently to short-run crises in capitalist society—to inflation, depression, mass unemployment, and their consequent insecurities of livelihood and social status. In this light it is not surprising that the general orientation of white-collar people in a booming and expanding economy such as the United States has had since World War II should be moderate, conservative, and generally complacent about the political economy and its direction. And this because of, not despite, the fact that the tendencies toward concentration and centralization are great and swift-moving. In pre-Hitler Germany the same classes turned to Hitler in great numbers as the large organizations which structured their lives and careers proved increasingly incapable of providing the material and status security they de-

manded. Their response was not against large organization but against the collapse of bureaucratic society and toward a man and a party which promised to revive and extend it.²²

By contrast, small businessmen react not so much to short-run crises in the economy as to its long-range tendencies and direction of development—against the society itself rather than merely to failures of its economy. The tendencies which small businessmen fear—of concentration and centralization—proceed without interruption in depression, war, and prosperity and irrespective of the party in power;²³ thus they are

²² One study whose findings support this interpretation reports a relationship between the proportion of unemployed among white-collar workers in German cities and the Nazi vote (S. Pratt, "The Social Basis of Nazism and Communism in Urban Germany," unpublished M.A. thesis, Michigan State College, 1948).

²³ See, e.g., Kurt Mayer, "Small Business as a Social Institution," *Social Research*, XIV (September, 1947), 332–49.

Lipset and Bendix, in two articles in the *American Journal of Sociology* (January and March, 1952), point to the very high turnover of small business in this country. Using Department of Commerce figures, they observe that "even during the postwar boom of 1945–48 almost 30 per cent of the businesses in the United States were discontinued," the bulk of these, of course, being small businesses (S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, "Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns. II. Social Mobility," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII [March, 1952], 500). Translated into occupational career patterns, the high rate of business turnover reflects itself in the fact that nearly 20 per cent of their sample of Oakland, California, men who were not then proprietors had at one time owned their own businesses: And they present further data showing that many businessmen who fail fall back into the ranks of manual labor. It is probable that an awareness of these dangers constitutes a continuing threat to many small proprietors.

Rush Welter finds similar high rates of turnover among the predominantly small- and medium-sized manufacturing firms that have established themselves in Bennington (Rush Welter, "Bennington, Vermont: An Economic History" [Bennington College, 1956] [mimeographed]). Welter has no comparable data on non-manufacturing concerns, specifically the roughly 150 retail shops in the town. But these, in Bennington as elsewhere, are hard pressed by chain stores and the big mail-order

²¹ Asoka Mehta has pointed out that in the "underdeveloped areas" of Asia the Communists make their first and chief appeal not to the peasants or industrial workers but to the emerging strata of salaried employees, who respond in large numbers precisely to the promise of rapid industrialization and bureaucratization under Communist direction and to the opportunities that will be thus opened up to them (Asoka Mehta, "Can Asia Industrialize Democratically," *Dissent*, I [Spring, 1955], 152–70). See also Morris Watnick, "The Appeal of Communism to the Peoples of Underdeveloped Areas," in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status, and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 651–62.

always disaffected, though probably the acute pinch they feel in depressions makes their anxieties and angers sharper and more pointed. In this light, the small businessmen in prosperous Bennington of 1954 were not so fundamentally different in their response to the social and economic pressures of modern society from the equivalent strata in pre-Hitler Germany, or from their opposite members in the France of Poujade.

OCCUPATION AND POLITICAL TOLERANCE

It remains to be said, and with some emphasis, that the disproportionate support

political game: in the United States this, in turn, is closely related to general political awareness and sophistication, acquired in part through formal education and through exposure to the serious political media which support those norms, rather than through economic or occupational experience.²⁴ Where political tolerance for the most part is a norm held and enforced in the sub-cultures of sophisticated men, most of whom have been to college, popular support for McCarthy, by contrast, seemed to have been largely the channeled expression of various kinds of socially engendered discontents.²⁵

TABLE 5
POLITICAL TOLERANCE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP,
HOLDING EDUCATION CONSTANT
(Per Cent)

Education..... Occupation.....	LESS THAN 4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL			HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATE			SOME COLLEGE AND MORE		
	Man.*	Sal.*	S.B.*	Man.	Sal.	S.B.	Man.	Sal.	S.B.
High Political tolerance....	36	44	50	60	68	71	81	88	86
N.....	(181)	(52)	(46)	(55)	(78)	(35)	(36)	(120)	(43)

* See Table 2.

small businessmen gave to McCarthy is *not* evidence that they constitute a pool of repressive and illiberal sentiments of all kinds. On the contrary, we can see that, despite their vulnerability to a right-wing demagogue like McCarthy, small businessmen are no more politically intolerant than are salaried employees or manual workers of similar education (Table 5). Here again we find that occupation and economic class, and all the varied discontents that flow from membership in different class and occupational groups, seem to have little bearing on political tolerance, certainly as compared with the bearing of formal education and cultural sophistication. By contrast with support of McCarthy, tolerance of dissidence appears to be almost wholly a function of the degree to which men have learned and internalized the rules of the democratic

THE "RADICAL RIGHT" AND POPULAR SENTIMENTS

Our findings clearly indicate that students of public opinion on political issues might

²⁴ The free professionals, whom we noted were very low in their support for McCarthy, were no more politically tolerant than other men who had been to college.

²⁵ The kind of discontent we have been dealing with in this essay takes the form of a fearful and suspicious hostility toward the main defining features of modern society. Another kind, not discussed in this essay, is a simpler, more direct envious resentment of the status order and of high-status individuals and groups.

A closer study of politically relevant discontents and their social sources also involves a study of the forces that *channel* them—that determine who become the targets and who the spokesmen for the hostilities of a given group. To identify the nature and social location of discontent is not in itself sufficient to identify its targets, for it cannot be assumed that the conditions which channel hostilities are necessarily identical with the conditions that generate them. On this see Trow, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-15.

houses. All in all, small proprietors earn their livelihood under conditions of considerable economic insecurity and respond to these conditions in some of the ways we have been describing in this essay.

well be wary of such concepts as the "radical right" and its "pseudo-conservative" members, with all the assumptions regarding a coherent if latent structure of attitudes in the general population that those terms imply. Supporters of the "radical right" have been seen not only as having supported McCarthy but also as hostile to the New Deal, organized labor, the graduated income tax, and the United Nations, as authoritarian in character, intolerant of political non-conformists, and prejudiced against racial and religious groups. Whatever may be

²⁰ See W. A. Kerr, "Untangling the Liberalism-Conservatism Continuum," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXXV (1952), 111-25; G. H. Smith, "Liberalism and Level of Information," *Journal of Education Psychology*, XXXIX (February, 1948), 68-81; William McPhee, *Bibliography and Critique of Quantitative Research on Syndromes, Clusters and Factors in Social Attitudes* (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1954); and Robert J. Williams, "Attitude Dimensions in Public Opinion Questionnaire Material" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1953).

These studies report a number of distinct dimensions of "liberalism," some of which are independent, others inversely related in the general population. Our own findings, in parallel fashion, suggest at least two distinct dimensions of "radical rightism," one a general intolerance of minority groups, political, racial, and otherwise; the other a more directly *political* "radical rightism," a propensity to support movements and leaders of the McCarthy-Poujade type. These dimensions, on at least our preliminary findings, seem to be unrelated, or only slightly related, to each other in the general population.

said or learned regarding the leaders and activists of right-wing radical movements, it is not likely that these characteristics and sentiments will be found in close association in the population at large. In this respect "radical rightism" may be like "liberalism," whose articulate representatives are usually civil libertarians, internationalists, in favor of organized labor and social welfare programs, whereas in the population at large these supposed components of "liberalism" do not tend to be found together.²⁶

The relationship of public opinion to the political process is devious, indirect, and complicated. If it is misleading and dangerous to deduce the structure of political power and its behavior from the distribution of political attitudes in the population at large, as political scientists warn, it is equally erroneous to deduce the nature and distribution of public opinion from the forces and ideologies that clash on high. But the distributions of sentiments on public issues and about public leaders *can* be sensitive indicators to deep-running forces in society—social forces that have heavy political consequences, though *not* necessarily through the public opinions that reveal them. If this is so, then there is a potentially rich source of new knowledge for political sociology in the secondary analysis of existing survey research data.

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LOCAL PARTY SYSTEMS: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND A CASE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Using a functional definition of political party, local party systems may be typed according to conventional concepts of one-, two-, and multiparty systems. They may then be analyzed to determine the effect of national party identifications, social structure, and legal institutional prescriptions upon local political alignments. A case analysis of a local two-party system demonstrated the strong relationship between national party identifications and local party preferences despite legal provisions calculated to eradicate that relationship. The effect of a strong religious cleavage also suggested that, insofar as legal devices might have reduced the national-local party relationship, this major social division in the community was enhanced as a foundation for a continuing local two-party system.

The local political arena is a fertile field for exploring the dimensions of political parties yet in recent years political scientists have written relatively little aimed at general propositions about local party systems.¹ They have most frequently been studied, perhaps, from the point of view of the municipal reformists, who frequently seek to rescue local politics from the "politicians," a view which tends to narrow and obscure the definition not only of "politicians" but of political parties. These studies often describe the success of citizens in organizing local political efforts against the denizens of Republican or Democratic organizations. To a great extent they are content to tabulate the triumphs of the forces of good (as defined by the criteria of the reform movement) in municipal government.²

The cultural, social, and economic diversity of American communities and the institutional heterogeneity of American governments have often been viewed as obstacles to systematic and comparable stud-

ies of local politics, yet the point may also be made that these same factors make for a variety of small political societies whose party systems might be analyzed with profit. Recent research has shown that party systems serve as useful common denominators in political analysis and that distinguishable party systems may be found at different office levels. This approach has been used to good effect in the analysis of state politics.³ Demonstration of the pos-

² See, e.g., Richard S. Childs, "500 Non-political Elections," *National Municipal Review*, XXXVIII (June, 1949), 278-82; L. H. Burke, "How One City Got a Manager Charter," *National Municipal Review*, XXXIX (March, 1950), 151-59; T. B. Lewis, "Politicians Lose Again," *National Municipal Review*, XXXIX (September, 1950), 389-94; H. R. Thompson, "Farewell to the Politicians," *National Municipal Review*, XXXVII (October, 1948), 480-84; and Childs, "It's a Habit Now in Dayton," *National Municipal Review*, XXXVII (September, 1948), 421-27.

³ E.g., V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), and *American State Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956); Austin Ranney and Willmoore Kendall, "The American Party Systems," *American Political Science Review*, XLVIII (June, 1954), 477-85; Allan Sindler, "Bifactional Rivalry as an Alternative to Two-Party Competition in Louisiana," *American Political Science Review*, XLIX (September, 1955), 641-62; Joseph A. Schlesinger, "A Two-dimensional Scheme for Classifying the States according to Degree of Inter-party Competition," *American Political Science Review*, XLIX (December, 1955), 1120-28; Leon D. Epstein, "A Two-Party Wisconsin?" *Journal of Pol-*

¹ Among the more provocative recent articles are: Charles R. Adrian, "Some General Characteristics of Non-partisan Elections," *American Political Science Review*, XLVI (September, 1952), 766-76; V. O. Key, Jr., "Non-partisanship and County Office: The Case of Ohio," *American Political Science Review*, XLVII (June, 1953), 525-32; and Eugene C. Lee, "The Politics of Nonpartisanship in California City Elections," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (New York, September, 1957) (mimeographed).

sibilities in studying state parties should lend hope to similar efforts with regard to local party systems. The success of these efforts, however, will require relating conceptions of local party systems to theory about political parties generally and a consequent attempt to state the problems of local party analysis in terms which reduce them to manageable proportions.

The first requirement is a working definition of what a local party is. Certainly the definition proffered by many municipal reformists is inadequate, since they assume too frequently that only Democrats or Republicans constitute political parties. They do not always accept the image of the typical "Citizens Good Government Association" as a political party. Yet any such association which backs candidates, raises money for and conducts a campaign, and espouses a platform *functions* as a party in the local political arena. Furthermore, there are other kinds of functional parties in local politics besides Republicans, Democrats, and citizens' associations. Some are quite ephemeral, composed of personal followers of a particular candidate or temporary organizations of aroused citizens or briefly allied community groups. Others are persistent organizations with very limited interests and objectives, functioning as parties at election time but acting mainly as interest or pressure groups in the interim. Functionally, a party is a group that coheres for electoral purposes, and it will have members who identify with it in different degrees and with different results: the casual followers, the workers, the leaders and organizers, etc. Consequently, a party may stick together over a long time or may soon disband. It may also evidence other purposes, but its main avenue to governmental control is through electing its candidates. In local

politics many different kinds of groups may meet this definition of a political party.

The logical and systematic study of local party systems will profit from their classification into working models such as the one-, two-, and multiparty types customarily used in party analysis at other levels of government. As this endeavor progresses, refinements in classification of local party systems should profitably occur along the dimensions of stability and cohesion. For the present it is sufficient merely to suggest these lines of development and to point out that, even if perfect prototypes of these models are hard to find, their utility for making sense out of the diffuse structure of local politics should not be overlooked. For example, in cities and villages dominated by a boss, by a local business group, or by some single association of people able to pre-empt the party function, to discourage opposition, and to maintain control in local politics, we have party systems sufficiently approximate to the one-party model to satisfy initial analytical needs. The two-party model is approximated by the electoral system for local offices in which Democrats and Republicans compete with each other without serious challenge by a third functional party. It is also approximated by any other local electoral system in which two functional parties—regardless of names—so compete. The multiparty model is probably the most frequently approximated of the three types, yet in such cases the parties are often difficult to recognize in the conventional sense, taking the form of ephemeral, opaque, *ad hoc*, or personally recruited clusters referred to previously. Many of the so-called non-partisan local electoral systems might better be understood if viewed as complex multiparty systems. If these organizations do not readily evoke our everyday stereotypes of what a party is, we may tend to overlook the applicability of the multiparty model to local political systems composed of them.

In searching for causal factors underlying local party systems, it is appropriate to resort to theories about party systems gen-

itics, XVIII (August, 1956), 427-58. I am indebted here and elsewhere to Avery Leiserson, John C. Wahlke, William H. Hunt, and Lewis E. Moore for suggestions and criticisms. See also Leiserson, "The Place of Parties in the Study of Politics," *American Political Science Review*, LI (December, 1957), 943-59.

erally and to select factors which seem most likely to explain and to be universally applicable. Most of the literature on voting alignments, especially at other levels than the local community, emphasizes the following factors: (a) the social structure of the community, particularly in its cultural, religious, and economic aspects, and (b) the institutional prescriptions bearing upon political organization in the community. The present study adds to these (c) the factor of local attitudes toward national party structure, measured by what has been generally recognized as party identification. The local community cannot be presumed to possess the autonomy characteristic of the national political community in the family of national states. Hence national party identification must be underscored as a factor of high potential relevance in determining the nature of the local party system.

Following some of the implications of the preceding propositions, one can turn to the problem of why a given community manifests a particular type of party system. It would be especially useful to examine local communities having party systems which approximate the two-party model to determine what factors seem to underwrite that kind of system in the community rather than some variation of the multiparty model. As working propositions, one might expect that local multiparty systems exist more often where the following conditions prevail:

1. Where the national party identifications are weak and muddled and the cleavage between the two major parties is not attitudinally and organizationally dramatized in the community.

2. Where the social structure (ethnic, religious, economic) of the community is diffuse and in a state of change so as to lend little stability to social cleavages.

3. Where the local election laws prohibit the national parties from officially participating in local elections.⁴

On the other hand, one might expect the local two-party model to be more frequently approximated under the following conditions:

1. Where the two national parties are both attitudinally and organizationally represented in the community with considerable strength.

2. Where the social structure of the community is characterized by one or more deep-seated cleavages related probably to urbanization, industrialization, and stratification of the cultural, religious, and economic structure.

3. Where the local election laws allow official participation of the national parties in local elections.

There is a further question which may be asked at this point: Which of the types of factors listed above is most relevant to the kind of party system that prevails? The hope of the municipal reform advocates—that they can shape the local party system primarily by alteration of the laws and thus sever the relationship between local electoral behavior and national party identification—seems predicated upon the assumption that institutional prescriptions are the controlling factors. On the other hand, some research into the determinants of national party systems emphasizes that the social structure is certainly more important than institutional formulas or laws in determining national party structure.⁵ Other research indicates that national party identification is important in determining presidential voting alignments, perhaps more so than any other single factor.⁶ Key has suggested that, while national and local partisanship are related, local partisans tend to exhibit some

⁴ Lee (*op. cit.*, *passim*) indicates that all these conditions exist in California to a considerable degree, where the local party systems he studied were largely composed of *ad hoc* parties, save in the larger cities where (a) national party lines were more stabilized and (b) possibly ethnic and economic cleavages were also relatively more clear cut and related to national party identification.

⁵ Leslie Lipson, "The Two-Party System in British Politics," *American Political Science Review*, XLVII (June, 1953), 358.

⁶ Angus Campbell, G. Guerin, and W. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston: Row, Peterson & Co., 1954).

degree of autonomy relative to national nominees in their local voting alignments.⁷

The hypotheses maintained here are that both national party identification and the social structure of the community will ordinarily be more determinative of the local party system than will be the laws governing local elections. As between the two more crucial factors—national party identification and social structure—it is difficult to state which will be the more important. This depends to some degree upon the relative congruence of the two, since one affects the other. To the extent that they are not congruent, however, one should expect that, when national party identification is less related to local party alignments, social cleavages in the community should be more strongly related to them. Hence the major consequence of local election laws attempting to keep national party identification from playing a part in local politics should be to enhance the effect of basic social cleavages upon the local party system.

"BAY CITY": A VARIATION OF THE TWO-PARTY MODEL⁸

The utility of the foregoing concepts and propositions can be demonstrated with respect to an example of a local two-party system in the case of "Bay City," pseudonym of a Massachusetts industrial city of nearly 50,000 population. Bay City is predominantly Democratic in national politics, but a strong Republican contingent remains from the earlier days of their dominance of affairs in the Bay State and in New England. Over the years the Republicans in

Bay City slowly lost strength as the Democrats gained in the battle of political demography. Predominantly composed of ethnic groups of Protestant affiliation prior to 1928, the Republicans found themselves facing an even more united array of ethnic groups of Catholic affiliation among the Democrats after Al Smith's candidacy in that year. Buttressing this development was the higher birth rate among Catholics and the appeal of the Democratic party to industrial workers during the 1930-50 period. In 1953 the Bay City Republican was typically Protestant, Yankee (of English, Scotch, or Welsh descent), white-collar, more educated, and older, while the Democrat was typically Catholic, non-Yankee (of French, Irish, or Italian descent), blue-collar, less educated, and younger.⁹

Historically, Bay City's local politics was officially divorced from its national politics by several legal devices prior to the time the data on local party identification were obtained. In the early 1930's the city adopted a "non-partisan" election form in which local candidates could not compete under the labels of the national parties.¹⁰ Furthermore, local elections were, by law, held in the odd-numbered years, a time when state and national races were not scheduled. In addition, a year prior to the time of the study the city adopted a "non-partisan" primary system for nominating candidates in local elections, prohibiting the formal use of local caucuses in the process.

⁹ These prototypes are, of course, no different from findings in many other studies of party affiliation in the non-southern American communities in this mid-century period, e.g., Paul Lazarsfeld, B. Berelson, and H. Gaudet, *The People's Choice* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1948); B. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, and W. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Campbell, Guerin, and Miller, *op. cit.*; and Samuel Eldersveld *et al.*, *Political Affiliation in Metropolitan Detroit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, 1957).

¹⁰ For information on this aspect of Massachusetts generally (thirty-seven of the thirty-nine cities in the state have this plan) see Earl Latham, *Massachusetts Politics* (Amherst, Mass.: Amherst College, 1956), p. 30.

⁷ Key, "Partisanship and County Office," *op. cit.*

⁸ The Bay City project, conducted at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, consists of an interrelated series of researches on community participation and opinion formation on local issues. Financed by a grant from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, the studies were conducted during the period 1952-55 by a professional staff consisting chiefly of Peter H. Rossi, Alice S. Rossi, James M. Ship-ton, and the present writer. Robert Sokol and Kermit Morrissey were also particularly helpful in many phases of the field work upon which this present analysis is based.

Political parties persisted, nevertheless, in the vacuum left in local politics by the official absence of Democrats and Republicans. Two local mass caucuses operated under the titles "Progressives" and "Non-partisans." These two local parties composed the basic party system in Bay City's municipal politics for many years, although the Progressives were intermittently split by a "third-party" candidate. Knowledgeable informants among the Non-partisan hierarchy were frank to admit that splitting the Progressives was part of the strategy of "divide and rule." A united Progressive party could usually produce a comfortable majority. It is known that certain Non-partisans have

citizens identify in large numbers, a favorable base seems to be laid for a two-party system in local politics, even though the local parties may adopt deceptive appellations.

Leaving the effect of national partisanship momentarily, we ask what the social foundations of Bay City's two-party system were. They were what one might expect, given the close association shown between national and local party identification in the city. Distinct local partisan preferences were related to the following factors, considered one at a time: (a) the citizens' religious affiliations, Catholic versus Protestant; (b) their ethnic groups, Italian, French, Irish, Finnish, or Yankee (English,

TABLE 1
BAY CITIZENS LOCAL PARTY PREFERENCES IN RELATION TO THEIR
NATIONAL PARTY IDENTIFICATIONS

	BAY CITIZENS NATIONAL PARTY IDENTIFICATIONS BY STRENGTH (PER CENT)				
	Strong Democrat	Weak Democrat	Neither	Weak Republican	Strong Republican
<i>Bay Citizens local party preferences, by strength:</i>					
Strong Progressive	70.6	26.6	7.9	7.4	4.4
Weak Progressive	16.7	21.3	10.1	14.8	4.4
Neither	7.9	42.5	53.9	31.5	8.3
Weak Non-partisan	0.9	5.3	13.5	20.4	17.8
Strong Non-partisan	3.6	4.3	14.6	25.9	64.9
N	(329)	(94)	(89)	(54)	(180)

not been above helping finance a discontented Progressive in his campaign as a third candidate. In sum, Bay City's local party structure basically conformed to the two-party model, with the minority party showing greater cohesion than the majority.

The data clearly show that this local party system was very strongly related to the national party system in the city. Not only was there a marked relationship between a citizen's identifying with the Democratic party in national politics and his preference for the Progressives in local politics but, the stronger his identification with the Democrats, the more likely his preference for the Progressives. Conversely, the same relationship held between identifying as a Republican and preferring the local Non-partisans (see Table 1).¹¹ Certainly, in a city where there are two organized and clearly competing national parties with which the local

Scotch, Welsh) ancestry; (c) occupation, blue-collar versus white-collar; and (d) education, low (less than high school) versus high (high-school graduate or more). In each of the four categories of factors just mentioned, the one cited first is positively associated with preference for the local Progressive party (see Table 2). In other words, the typical Bay City Progressive showed the same characteristics as did the typical Democrat described earlier in this article, and the typical Bay City Non-par-

¹¹ These data are based upon replies to questions directed at obtaining the national party identifications and local party preferences of a sample of 902 voting-age respondents in Bay City. The study was of a panel design, and the question on national party identification was asked in a different interview from that in which the question on local party was asked. Both sets of interviews were answered by 809 respondents.

tisan similarly shared the characteristics of the typical Republican.

These social correlates of Bay City's local party system demonstrated that several factors possibly operated in addition to the national party identifications to support a local two-party alignment. The findings supported the proposition that a social structure in which certain cultural, religious, or economic dichotomies are strong furnishes a favorable base for a local two-party system. Yet, since the factors examined were known to be related to national party iden-

in the community arena. They also represented an adaptation of partisanship to a dominant local social and cultural cleavage.

No other factors produced local partisan differences within national party types as strongly and consistently as did religion. The next factor in order of strength was occupational status, with blue-collar workers tending more toward the Progressives than white-collar workers. Since occupational status was, however, strongly related to religious affiliation, the apparent effect of the former could be largely regarded as

TABLE 2

LOCAL PARTY PREFERENCES OF BAY CITIZENS, IN RELATION TO (a) RELIGION, (b) ETHNICITY, (c) OCCUPATION, AND (d) EDUCATION (PER CENT)

	a) RELIGION		b) ETHNICITY				
	Catholic	Protestant	Italian	French	Irish	Finnish	Yankee
<i>Bay Citizens local party preferences by strength:</i>							
Strong Progressive.	51.8	14.2	58.5	45.2	42.8	35.9	19.8
Weak Progressive.	17.3	7.1	17.0	14.0	18.7	17.2	10.3
Neither.	18.8	18.3	11.3	22.9	22.0	18.7	15.7
Weak Non-partisan.	3.6	17.2	3.8	6.1	6.6	9.4	14.4
Strong Non-partisan.	8.2	43.3	9.4	11.7	9.9	18.7	39.7
N.	(439)	(268)	(53)	(179)	(91)	(64)	(146)
	c) OCCUPATION		d) EDUCATION				
	Blue-Collar	White-Collar	Less than High School	High School or More			
<i>Bay Citizens local party preferences by strength:</i>							
Strong Progressive.	44.1	22.4	44.1	27.0			
Weak Progressive.	12.9	14.6	13.2	13.8			
Neither.	19.4	20.9	21.3	17.0			
Weak Non-partisan.	6.6	12.3	4.6	13.8			
Strong Non-partisan.	16.7	29.5	16.5	28.2			
N.	(441)	(267)	(430)	(311)			

tification, it might have been that the local party system in Bay City had no discernible base other than the Democratic-Republican division. Therefore, it was necessary to examine the relation of these social factors to local party preference, holding national party identification constant.

In the main, Bay City data showed that, even with the type and strength of national party identification held constant, one major social factor—religious affiliation—produced a significant difference in citizens' preferences for a local party (see Table 3). Catholics gravitated toward the Progressives; Protestants, toward the Non-partisans. The local parties, then, were more than mere reflections of national party loyalties

a by-product of the latter. Furthermore, education did not differentiate local partisans within national party types as clearly as either religion or occupation. In fact, there was a slight indication that, the higher the education, the greater the tendency of national partisans to prefer their "same" parties locally, regardless of whether they were Democrats or Republicans. Presumably, the better educated person was a bit more capable of understanding the complexities of politics and therefore more capable of maintaining a consistent party position.¹²

¹² Since all the above factors could not be tested simultaneously, owing to the limited number of cases, the independent effect of each is not measurable. Obviously, within national party types, ethnic

It should be stressed at this point that religious affiliation, as such, is a variable largely subsuming another important factor, ethnicity, which could not be treated adequately due to the limited number of cases in the sample. Religious affiliation should not be regarded here so much as a general index of doctrinal differences in the community as one of broad social groupings. The differences evidenced among the ethnic groups (Table 2) in their attachment to local parties reflect a major cleavage between those ethnic types having Catholic

group membership could not be validly correlated with local party preferences for the same reason. Therefore, the most clearly sustained proposition has been utilized—that religious affiliation is the social factor most strongly associated with local party preferences when national party identifications are held constant.

affiliations and those having Protestant affiliations. Yet the evidence also warrants the speculation that ethnic attachments were related to local party preferences somewhat independently, too, within the two major religious categories of the city. This supports the contention often made in the city's political circles that the intermittent lack of cohesion in the Progressive party could be traced to competition among Italian, French, and Irish groups. Certainly, the possible defection of one or another ethnic segment of the Progressives was regarded by leaders of the Non-partisans as a major condition of their "divide and rule" strategy.

With the above qualifications in mind, certain general observations may be made about the local two-party system in Bay City. On the whole, it seemed primarily to be based upon national party identifications

TABLE 3

LOCAL PARTY PREFERENCES OF BAY CITIZENS IN RELATION TO (a) RELIGION, (b) OCCUPATION, AND (c) EDUCATION, WITH NATIONAL PARTY IDENTIFICATIONS HELD CONSTANT

BAY CITIZENS NATIONAL PARTY IDENTIFICATIONS BY STRENGTH (PER CENT)										
Strong Democratic		Weak Democratic		Neither		Weak Republican		Strong Republican		
Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	
<i>Bay Citizens local party preferences, by strength:</i>										
Strong Progressive...	72.4	59.5	28.1	25.9	9.6	6.5	11.5	3.8	16.7	2.1
Weak Progressive...	16.7	16.7	24.6	18.5	15.4	0.0	26.9	3.8	3.3	4.2
Neither.....	7.3	11.9	40.3	44.4	57.7	41.9	23.1	34.6	13.3	7.0
Weak Non-partisan..	0.7	2.4	3.5	7.4	7.7	25.8	15.4	26.9	13.3	19.7
Strong Non-partisan..	2.5	9.5	3.5	3.7	9.6	25.8	23.1	30.8	53.3	66.9
N.....	(274)	(42)	(57)	(27)	(52)	(31)	(26)	(26)	(30)	(142)
Blue Col-lar	White Col-lar	Blue Col-lar	White Col-lar	Blue Col-lar	White Col-lar	Blue Col-lar	White Col-lar	Blue Col-lar	White Col-lar	
<i>Local party:</i>										
Strong Progressive...	74.3	57.5	30.0	21.2	12.0	2.9	13.8	0.0	4.8	2.3
Weak Progressive...	13.2	26.4	20.0	24.2	10.0	11.4	24.1	4.0	4.8	3.4
Neither.....	7.3	11.5	38.3	48.5	62.0	42.9	27.6	36.0	9.6	6.9
Weak Non-partisan..	0.5	2.3	5.0	6.1	8.0	22.9	20.7	20.0	18.1	18.4
Strong Non-partisan..	4.6	2.3	6.7	0.0	8.0	20.0	13.8	40.0	62.6	68.9
N.....	(219)	(87)	(60)	(33)	(50)	(35)	(29)	(25)	(83)	(87)
Low*	High†	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	
<i>Local party:</i>										
Strong Progressive...	73.5	65.7	23.3	32.4	11.8	2.6	16.0	0.0	9.0	1.0
Weak Progressive...	12.9	25.0	20.0	23.5	11.8	7.9	20.0	10.3	7.7	2.0
Neither.....	8.3	6.5	45.0	38.2	54.9	52.6	36.0	27.6	12.8	4.9
Weak Non-partisan..	0.5	1.9	5.0	5.9	11.8	15.8	12.0	27.6	9.0	24.5
Strong Non-partisan..	4.6	0.9	6.7	0.0	9.8	21.0	16.0	34.5	61.5	67.6
N.....	(216)	(108)	(60)	(34)	(51)	(38)	(25)	(29)	(78)	(102)

* Less than high-school graduate.

† High-school graduate or more.

and religious affiliations within the community, with the former the stronger foundation, although the latter clearly functioned as an additional basis for local partisanship, especially where national party identification was nil. Specifically, among those citizens who identified with neither of the national parties, religion had its maximum effect in dividing people into the two local parties. It must also be emphasized that these two factors persevered in dividing "Bay Citizens" into a basically two-party system in local politics despite what might be considered nearly maximum legal provisions for so-called non-partisan local elections.

The Bay City variation of the two-party model therefore supports the following propositions:

1. Institutional devices are not likely to abolish a local two-party system in a city where attitudes toward the two major na-

tional parties are strongly structured and the relations between national and local party organizations are durable and persistent.

2. Insofar as legal devices may have some effect in disrupting the durable and persistent relationship between national and local party identifications, the foundations of the local party system will be altered in the direction of the dominant social divisions in the community. In Bay City's case this did not mean the destruction of the local two-party system but rather the conforming more closely to the divisions represented by Protestant and Catholic affiliations in the city. Divisions so represented were not necessarily of a doctrinal sort but rather were related to broad cleavages in the community deriving in part from ethnic and status differences which tended to coincide with different religious affiliations.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE FRENCH VOTE, 1946-56¹

DUNCAN MACRAE, JR.

ABSTRACT

Persistent cleavages in the French body politic are analyzed by multiple regression methods. Religiosity, urban-rural differences, agricultural wealth, and agricultural proletarianization are related to various divisions of the multiparty vote at three major elections. Common features of the regression coefficients at the three elections reveal lasting divisions in the electorate, while changes in the coefficients from one election to another reflect the rise of new political groups and the changing characteristics of the old.

Party votes in the Fourth Republic of France reflect a multiple cleavage of the electorate going down to the local level. Conflicts between clerical and anticlerical forces, between city and countryside, and between rich and poor interpenetrate even in small political units, producing a fragmentation of the electorate expressed through a multiplicity of parties. This fragmentation has had, and will have, serious consequences as long as French voters are called upon to formulate public policy through a parliamentary system.

Even though there are long-standing regional differences in French politics,² these do not mask local differences to the extent that they do in one-party areas of the United States. This situation makes possible regression analysis of the vote at the national level, in relation to characteristics of the population in the constituencies. The most significant elections during the Fourth Re-

public were those for the National Assembly, which occurred on three occasions: November 10, 1946, June 17, 1951, and January 2, 1956. To a large extent the legislative constituencies corresponded to the 90 *départements*, though some of the larger *départements* were subdivided to produce the 103 constituencies of metropolitan France. From these districts were elected the 544 metropolitan deputies.³ Regression analysis of the vote at the national level not only shows the extent to which common variables have been associated with the vote in various regions of France but also permits deviant-case analysis and gives additional significance to the numerous detailed studies of particular areas by French investigators.⁴

The predictor variables used in the present analysis were arrived at through deviant-case analysis. The clerical-anticlerical division in the November, 1946, election

¹ Revised version of paper presented at the annual Institute of the Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, May 24, 1958. The research on which this paper is based was begun on a Fulbright research grant in France during 1956-57 with the co-operation of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques; it has since been aided by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago. The writer is grateful to Georges Dupeux for helpful comments on an earlier draft.

² Traditionally, different political temperaments are associated, for example, with north and south, with Brittany, the Massif Central, and Alsace. See, e.g., F. Goguel, *Géographie des élections françaises de 1870 à 1951* ("Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Cahiers," No. 27 [Paris: Armand Colin, 1951]).

³ The remaining seats of the Assembly included 30 from the three *départements* of Algeria and 53 from Overseas France. The latter number was increased from 45 after 1946.

⁴ A bibliography of these studies as of 1951, including theses in progress, is given in F. Goguel and G. Dupeux, *Sociologie électorale: Esquisse d'un bilan, guide de recherches* ("Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Cahiers," No. 26 [Paris: Armand Colin, 1951]). Further references are given in G. Dupeux, "Electoral Behaviour," *Current Sociology* (UNESCO), III, No. 4 (1954-55), 333-37. Several such studies have also appeared subsequently in the "Cahiers" of the FNSP and in the *Revue française de science politique*. A critique of these studies has been made by Morris Davis, "French Electoral Sociology," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXII (Spring, 1958), 35-55.

was selected as reflecting the most clear-cut religious cleavage among postwar elections; this was compared graphically with measures of religious intensity to reveal further significant social and economic variables. Deviant *départements* in this plot suggested the use of a rural-urban variable, and successive plots of residuals against new variables led in turn to the four predictor variables used. Conceivably, a similar analysis carried out with another dependent variable (e.g., the Communist vote) might suggest somewhat different predictor variables.

PREDICTOR VARIABLES

1. *Religious attitudes*.—A major source of conflict in French history, and one of continuing significance, is the relation between church and state. In recent years this controversy has arisen whenever proposals have been made to aid church schools, even slightly, from public funds. For the most part, the parties have aligned themselves clearly on one or the other side of this controversy, and only certain new movements (Gaullism, Poujadism, and Mendèsism) have been able to attract substantial segments of their clientele from both sides.

The most desirable index of attitudes of voters on this question, aside from a highly detailed opinion survey,⁵ would seem to be the actual church attendance of the population. Detailed data on church attendance have been gathered by religious sociologists in France, with the aid of the clergy, and promise to throw considerable light on this problem.⁶ At the present time, however, these data have not been published in quantitative form for more than a few *départements*, and the major form in which they are available is cartographic.

⁵ The large sample needed for accuracy within each constituency precludes the use of sample surveys such as those of the Institut Français d'Opinion Publique.

⁶ The leader in this research has been Gabriel Le Bras; his two-volume *Études de sociologie religieuse* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956) collects his writings over a long period.

As a fairly accurate substitute for data on the religious practice of the citizenry, we shall therefore use the rate of ordination of priests by dioceses. This rate is expressed as the number of priests ordained in a five-year period from a given area, divided by the number of young men aged twenty-five to twenty-nine in that area. Statistics of this kind have been published by Canon Boulard and appear to coincide largely with other measures of the geographical distribution of religious attitudes and practices.⁷ The geographical distribution of ordination rates appears to be highly stable over time, except for uniform increases and decreases, and there seems little risk in using these figures as predictors for the votes from 1946 to 1956.

2. *Urbanization*.—Among the various indexes of rural-urban differences that are available,⁸ there is some advantage in using one that corresponds to a fraction of the population. This sort of index can most readily be compared with the vote; moreover, it provides the possibility of comparison between regression analysis and survey results, if the same population characteristics are identified in sample surveys.

⁷ F. Boulard, *Essor ou déclin du clergé français* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1950), opp. p. 30. The statistics used are actually based on the period 1940–47, adjusted to an equivalent five-year period. They coincide quite closely with the number of priests per capita (*ibid.*, pp. 467–69), and their geographical distribution closely resembles that of church attendance; but they agree less closely with statistics on the proportion of children enrolled in private (chiefly religious) schools.

⁸ For example, the percentage of the population engaged in, or living from, agriculture; percentage in industry and transportation; proportion in various "urban" occupations, such as *ouvriers d'industrie*; per capita industrial production; etc. For sources of such data see *L'Espace économique français*, prepared by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques (INSEE) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955); also *Recensement général de la population de mai 1954: Résultats du sondage au 1/20ème* (INSEE) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956). The source actually used was the 1946 agricultural census, which provides unusually detailed data on numbers of hired workers per farm (see n. 10).

Rural France, as we shall see below, presents a variety of socioeconomic aspects that relate to the vote. A predominant one is the role played by the independent proprietor, with relatively small holdings, who lives in one of the poorer areas of the country.⁹ These proprietors and their families (setting aside the religious factor) tend to vote toward the left. In richer areas, at least those where middle-sized farms predominate, there is more of a rightist tendency; this can be measured by the proportion of farm workers who are employed on middle-sized farms. Finally, there are certain *départements* in the Paris Basin and on the Mediterranean coast, where farming is done on a relatively large scale, and the possibility of organizing the farm labor force again corresponds to a leftist tendency.

Because of these multiple political tendencies in the rural population, it was decided to use three distinct fractions of the employed male population as predictor variables: (a) farm proprietors and family workers; (b) hired workers on farms hiring from one to nine such workers; and (c) hired workers on farms hiring ten or more such workers.¹⁰ The first of these three indexes will be taken as a measure of the "rural" proportion of the population. Clearly, however, it differs from other measures that might be used. Thus, when we consider the leftist tendencies of the rural voter, we must recall that this particular definition has been used. The advantage of

this definition is that it appears to separate groups in the population that are distinct in their political significance.

3. *Agricultural wealth*.—The index (b) suggested above (proportion of hired farm workers on middle-sized farms) will be used for this purpose. Among the various possible alternatives¹¹ it seems best fitted to analysis based on complementary groups in the population.

4. *Agricultural proletarianization*.—Index (c) suggested above (proportion of hired farm workers on large farms) will be used for this purpose.

In addition to these four variables, it might be expected that social class would be significantly related to the vote. It is, but the geographical units necessary for comparison of the above variables on a national scale (*départements* or dioceses) preclude the distinction between *quartiers* of cities, which is necessary to show the significance of social class in terms of areas of residence.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES: THE VOTE

The dependent variables to be examined correspond to various categories of voters' choices. For each of the three elections to be considered, four comparable categories of the vote will be treated: (a) the Communist (PCF) vote; (b) the vote for Communist and Socialist (SFIO) parties combined; (c) a broader category on the left, embracing not only Communists and Socialists but also the Radicals and related parties (up to 1951, this will be referred to as the "anti-clerical" left; in 1956 it corresponds to the Communist vote plus that for the Front Républicain); and (d) the non-voters among those registered. The first three of these will be expressed as proportions of valid votes cast (*suffrages exprimés*), the last as a proportion of registered voters. Analysis of the vote for individual parties that were

⁹ An account of village life in a small town of the Midi is given by Laurence Wylie in *Village in the Vaucluse* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957).

¹⁰ These figures were calculated from the *Recensement général de la population* (effectuée le 10 mars 1946), Vol. VII: *Exploitations agricoles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950), pp. XLIX ff. Proprietors and family workers were combined because an introductory note to this volume (p. xiv) implies that it was not always possible to distinguish these categories accurately in the census responses. Only the male employed population was used because it appeared that, for hired workers on farms, the distribution of males would reflect most accurately the relative proportions voting one way or another.

¹¹ E.g., the proportion of hired farm workers in the population (which would not permit construction of a separate index of "agricultural proletarianization") or the amount of fertilizer applied per hectare. In further analysis, an index combining various aspects of agricultural wealth might be more valid.

not politically "extreme" (SFIO or MRP) is not attempted here because of problems concerned with their competing for votes on "both sides." Conceivably, this might be done with more elaborate models.

Data from standard sources¹² were used to calculate the dependent variables. For categories (a), (b), and (d), the procedure was relatively straightforward. Occasional adjustments were made for the absence of a distinct Socialist or Communist list; the vote was allocated in proportion to that at an earlier or later election in the same district.

In category (c) more care was required. Most lists of the Radical party, UDSR, and RGR were placed on the "left" in elections preceding 1956; but a few were placed on the "right" because of the previous votes of the *tête de liste* or because of an electoral alliance with rightist groupings.¹³ In the election of November 10, 1946 the Gaullist Union—a precursor of the RPF—presented lists in a number of districts. In sixteen of these districts these candidacies were judged to have so obscured the left-right distinction that figures for the "anticlerical" left in the preceding election (June 2, 1946) for the Constituent Assembly were substituted. The result of this substitution is to present the political cleavages of that time as though Gaullism had not existed as a political movement. In three other *départements*, coalition lists extending across the "clerical-anti-clerical" boundary were also treated in this manner. In the 1956 election, Radical lists

not associated with the Front Républicain, together with all RGR lists, were placed on the "right," while all lists supporting the Front Républicain were placed on the "left."¹⁴

In addition to these four comparable categories of the vote, two special categories will also be considered: the Gaullist gain (1946–51) and the Poujadist vote (1956).¹⁵

RESULTS OF REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Regression coefficients were calculated for the predictor and dependent variables described above. Each calculation (except for the Poujadist vote) was based on a total of eighty-two *départements* or dioceses. It should be noted that this procedure emphasizes the less populous rural areas at the expense of those containing larger cities.

The results of the regression analysis are shown in Table 1. Values of b^* for the three elections considered are shown separately; in each case the coefficients for various party groups may be compared for each predictor.¹⁶

We may begin the interpretation of Table 1 by considering the election of November

¹² *Élections et référendums des 13 oct., 10 et 24 nov. et 8 déc. 1946* (Paris: Le Monde, 1947); *Les Élections législatives du 17 juin 1951* (Paris: Documentation Française, 1953); *Les Élections du 2 janvier 1956* (Paris: Documentation Française, 1958).

¹³ In the election of November 10, 1946, those who had voted on the "clerical" side of the roll call on May 14, 1946 (on the place to be occupied by *liberté de l'enseignement* in the Declaration of the Rights of Man in the proposed constitution) were considered to be on the "right" (*J.O., Débats de l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante*, Vol. I [1946], 841–42). In 1951 those Radicals (and related groups) who formed electoral alliances with previously existing conservative groupings (*Indépendants* but not *Contribuables*) were classed as "right."

¹⁴ The classification used by François Goguel was employed here; see M. Duverger, F. Goguel, and J. Touchard (eds.), *Les Élections du 2 janvier 1956* ("Fondation Nationale des Science Politiques, Cahiers," No. 82 [Paris: Armand Colin, 1957]), pp. 468–69. I am also indebted to M. Goguel for a private communication concerning his classification of lists in this election. A treatment of the Front Républicain may also be found in J. A. Schlesinger, "The French Radical Socialist Party and the Republican Front of 1956," *Western Political Quarterly*, XI (March, 1958), 71–85.

¹⁵ The Gaullist gain represents that part of the vote for RPF candidates in 1951 which exceeded the vote for the same candidates if they ran on non-Gaullist lists in the same districts in 1946. The Poujadist vote combines the votes for the one or more Poujadist lists in the ninety-five districts where such lists were presented.

¹⁶ The b^* 's (β -weights) are the regression coefficients obtained when all variables are converted to standard scores. The procedure followed was the Fisher variation of the Doolittle method, based on the inverse matrix (see H. M. Walker and J. Lev, *Statistical Inference* [New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953], pp. 331–36).

10, 1946. The highest multiple correlation (R) in the table (.72) is that shown for the "clerical-anticlerical" division at this election. This indicates that about half of the variance of the "clerical-anticlerical" division of the vote can be accounted for by the predictor variables used. In all probability, this degree of success in prediction is considerably greater than would obtain in the United States; the high association of the vote with religious practice would be

its relative importance varies somewhat from one election to another, and it is less important relatively when we consider divisions farther to the left in the political spectrum, it is impressive to note that even among the correlates of the Communist vote it is uniformly highest.

While the religious variable contributes negatively to the "leftist" vote, ruralism contributes positively. In an over-all sense, of course, the rural regions of France tend

TABLE 1
REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS (b^*) FOR PREDICTIONS OF POLITICAL VARIABLES

DATE OF ELECTION AND PREDICTOR VARIABLES	PARTY OR GROUPING OF VOTERS			Non-voters	
	"Anticlerical" Left	Communists + Socialists	Communists		
<i>November 10, 1946:</i>					
1. Religiosity.....	-.75	-.56	-.39		-.40
2. Ruralism.....	+.47	+.33	+.23		+.46
3. Agricultural wealth.....	-.23	-.23	-.37		-.09
4. Agricultural proletarianization...	+.28	+.26	+.33		-.13
Multiple <i>R</i>.....	.72	.56	.51		.49
				Gaullist Gain	
<i>June 17, 1951:</i>					
1. Religiosity.....	-.71	-.53	-.47	+.40	-.33
2. Ruralism.....	+.56	+.32	+.24	-.60	+.46
3. Agricultural wealth.....	-.23	-.29	-.39	+.14	-.10
4. Agricultural proletarianization...	+.28	+.28	+.32	-.17	-.13
Multiple <i>R</i>.....	.69	.56	.58	.51	.48
				Poujadist Vote	
<i>January 2, 1956:</i>					
1. Religiosity.....	-.67	-.44	-.46	-.18	-.34
2. Ruralism.....	+.28	+.12	+.03	+.39	+.57
3. Agricultural wealth.....	-.19	-.25	-.30	+.23	-.03
4. Agricultural proletarianization...	+.20	+.23	+.24	-.07	-.04
Multiple <i>R</i>.....	.69	.53	.56	.44	.51

matched in its uniformity only by state or regional analyses or by urban political choice for the United States as a whole.¹⁷ The remaining variance of French voting can be studied profitably by detailed regional investigations, with the use of regression analysis to highlight deviant cases.

The religious variable clearly contributes the most to this relationship (in the sense of having the highest b^* , $-.75$). Although

to be more conservative than the urban;¹⁸ but, once the religious factor is set aside, what seems to emerge is the traditional leftist tendency of the small farmer. The value of b^* ($+.47$) for the rural-urban variable is the second highest in predicting the "clerical-anticlerical" division of the vote.

The third predictor variable, intended to measure agricultural wealth, shows the expected positive association with "rightist" voting ($b^* = -.23$ with the "anticlerical" left). And the fourth, though based on the

¹⁷ Suggestive data for the United States, comparing correlations in rural and urban areas at the national level, are given in D. MacRae, Jr., "Occupations and the Congressional Vote, 1940-1950," *American Sociological Review*, XX (June, 1955), 333.

¹⁸ See J. Klatzmann, "Comment votent les paysans français," *Revue française science politique*, VIII (March, 1958), 22.

tail of the same frequency distribution (hired farm workers by the number of such workers on a farm), shows the opposite effect of agricultural proletarianization on the vote ($b^* = +.28$). Thus the presence of a few hired workers on a farm indicates wealth and conservatism, with the workers' vote not necessarily canceling out that of the employers; when there are many workers on each farm, however, their presence indicates the likelihood of a leftist vote and a class cleavage in the countryside.

The pattern of signs of the b^* 's ($- + - +$) remains the same for all the left-right divisions considered here—that is, all divisions of the vote that consider Communists, Communists plus Socialists, or the entire “anticlerical” group of parties as the “left.” Within this pattern we may proceed to compare the magnitudes of the b^* 's as they vary from one point of division to another and over time.

Examining the 1946 election, as we move from an “anticlerical” left to more sharply delimited definitions of the left, we find that certain b^* 's decrease and others increase. In particular, the relative importance of the religious variable declines (from $-.75$ to $-.56$ to $-.39$); that of ruralism also declines ($+.47$ to $+.33$ to $+.23$); while the importance of agricultural wealth and agricultural proletarianization increase, particularly as regards the Communist vote.¹⁹ Thus as we move from the “anticlerical” definition of the left to the Communist party, we find that economic variables (those related to agriculture) come to play a relatively more important part. Because of the general predominance of the religious variable, however, the multiple correlation R falls from $.72$ to $.56$ to $.51$ as we move toward the Communists.

Another interesting feature of the 1946

election is the extent to which the proportion of non-voting can be predicted from the first two of these variables. It is well known that turnout is relatively lower in rural areas of France, and this is shown by the positive association between ruralism and non-voting ($b^* = +.46$). But the relation of turnout to religious practice is in the opposite sense ($b^* = -.40$), indicating a heightened participation associated with the influence of the church.²⁰ This effect persists through all three of the elections considered.

In the 1951 election we find a slight decrease in the importance of the religious variable and a corresponding increase in the association of the “anticlerical” left with rural areas. Both these changes may be attributed to the presence of the Gaullist RPF on the scene; the RPF, although counted as on the “right,” drew some previously leftist votes as well²¹ and appealed particularly to the urban middle classes. Additional support for this interpretation of the Gaullist vote is provided by the b^* 's listed for the “Gaullist gain” (votes given to RPF lists in 1951 over and above those that could be attributed to support received by the same candidates on non-Gaullist lists in previous elections). This gain is seen to be less clearly “clerical,” and more urban, than the rightist vote in general; the b^* 's for the entire “clerical” right may be obtained, for comparison, simply by reversing the signs of those shown for the “anticlerical” left.

The b^* 's for Communists plus Socialists change very little from 1946 to 1951, indicating that this grouping did not change its social base of support greatly between these elections. The social bases of the Communist party changed somewhat, but presumably this occurred chiefly through transfers to and from the Socialists. The relative con-

¹⁹ Similar relations might be examined for the correlations or b^* 's in urban areas, as regards class structure; but in the present analysis at the level of *départements* this cannot be done. See J. Klatzmann, “Comportement électoral et classe sociale,” in M. Duverger, F. Goguel, and J. Touchard (eds.), *Les Élections du 2 janvier 1956* (“Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Cahiers,” No. 82 [Paris: Armand Colin, 1957]), pp. 254–85.

²⁰ This dual effect on participation is suggested by F. Goguel in “Géographie des élections du 17 juin 1951,” *Esprit*, XIX (1951), 348–49; and in Duverger *et al.* (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 476.

²¹ An IFOP survey on the eve of the 1951 election indicated that 8 per cent of the former RGR (Radical) voters intended to switch to the RPF (see *Sondages*, 1952, No. 3, p. 24).

stancy of bases of support for this combination of parties suggests that, although the RPF drew votes differentially from the Radicals (and related parties) in urban areas, it did not do so appreciably from the Socialists. The largest change in the b^* 's for PCF plus SFIO relates to agricultural wealth and implies that the Socialist vote in rural areas tended to concentrate somewhat in poorer *départements*.

The Communist vote alone, over this period, showed a tendency to concentrate in the less religious *départements*, as its b^* with ordination rate changes from $-.39$ to $-.47$. This seems to reflect a loss of support that the party held in the early post-war years, in areas whose traditions were inconsistent with its ideology.²² Aside from this, its relation to ruralism and to other agricultural variables changes little.

In the prediction of non-voting in 1951, the same two variables dominate as before; but, while ruralism retains its importance ($b^* = +.46$), the b^* for religiosity declines from $-.40$ to $-.33$.

In 1956 two new political formations appeared: Poujadism and the Front Républicain. Both these groupings acted to reduce still further the relative importance of the religious variable: the former in an effort to amass protest votes over a wide range of the political spectrum, the latter because the Mendès-Mollet alliance included lists of the leftist-Catholic Jeune République and some former Gaullists, while rejecting to the "right" the Faurist RGR and some Radical lists.²³ Thus the b^* of the religious variable drops again to $-.67$ in 1956, when we consider the Front Républicain and kindred lists together with the Communists and Socialists.

The significance of the urban-rural variable also changes considerably by 1956.

²² A detailed geographical analysis of this change is given in Goguel, *Esprit*, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-51.

²³ On the neutral position taken by Poujade on the religious question see S. Hoffmann, *Le Mouvement Poujade* ("Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Cahiers," No. 81 [Paris: Armand Colin, 1956]).

Whereas in 1951 the urban "floating vote" was taken by Gaullism to a considerable extent, in 1956 it was captured far more by the left in the form of Mendèsism. Thus the earlier tendency of the "anticlerical" left to be relatively rural was heightened in 1951 but greatly reduced in 1956. Not only were urban votes attracted by the Front Républicain; the RGR lists counted as "right" in 1956 were largely in rural areas. The appeal of Mendèsism and the Front Républicain to the urban floating vote is also suggested by changes in the correlates of non-voting in 1956: non-voting became more a rural phenomenon (consistent with increased urban turnout), while it retained the low association with religious intensity that it had had in 1951. Possibly this is due to the fact that Mendèsism, like Gaullism, brought out voters who were not necessarily religious.²⁴

Inspection of the b^* 's for the Communist vote, and for Communists plus Socialists, for 1956 also reveals some of the shifting bases of the support of these two parties. In 1956 the PCF still remained relatively strong in "anticlerical" areas, but now the combination with the SFIO vote added nothing to this relationship. Again the Communist vote was less rural than that for the Socialists, but by 1956 both had become less rural in their bases. At the same time the Socialist vote became less clearly "anticlerical" (b^* for PCF plus SFIO changing from $-.53$ to $-.44$). In this respect, as well as in the over-all configuration of its b^* 's, the Socialist vote came to resemble the Communist vote more closely in its geographical bases of support.

The success of Poujade in straddling the "clerical-anticlerical" issue is illustrated by the low b^* for this variable in predicting the Poujadist vote ($-.18$). As is well

²⁴ It has also been suggested that Poujadism was associated with increased turnout, but this does not seem to have occurred at the national level (Goguel, *op. cit.*, p. 480). Possibly it may have occurred only in certain regions. A further possibility with regard to turnout is that the winter weather reduced turnout differentially in rural areas.

known, the Poujadist vote came from rural *départements*, as is evidenced by the b^* of $+ .39$. The third b^* for the Poujadist vote runs counter to some expectations; it suggests that this vote was stronger in areas of agricultural wealth, while, in fact, poverty and crises in the market for some crops (e.g., the winegrowers' crisis) contributed to the Poujadist vote. Perhaps a better explanation is that these crises affected not merely farming areas but particularly those with middle-sized farms (those with some hired hands). Possibly also it was those areas where commerce was more fully developed in the middle-sized villages that suffered more from modernization of trade and from taxes.²⁵

DISCUSSION

The use of regression analysis provides a straightforward and objective way of identifying the social bases of support for various French parties at the level of *départements*. Unlike such analysis in the United States, it can be carried out profitably on a national scale.²⁶ It thus reflects the existence of a multiparty system in which the parties attract comparable adherents in various parts of the country. In such a system the function of compromise devolves on the parties in the legislature more than on intraparty processes.

Changes in the bases of support for various groups may also be identified, at least in the sense of national averages, through changes in the regression coefficients. Thus we may note the slight decline in importance of the religious factor from 1946 to 1956;

²⁵ This possibility has been alluded to by Goguel (*ibid.*, p. 478). Rural but poor *départements* such as Ariège and the Landes gave low votes to Poujadist lists, while richer ones such as Vienne and Mayenne gave considerably more.

²⁶ Analyses such as those of H. F. Gosnell in *Grass Roots Politics* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942) reveal comparable correlations but deal only with analyses of counties within a state or, at best, a region. Conceivably, an analysis parallel to that for France could be carried out for the United States Congress, if account were taken of intraparty regional differences in roll-call voting.

the tendency of the "anticlerical" left (especially the Radicals) to move toward a more rural base of support in 1951, then toward a more urban one in 1956; the relative constancy of the bases of support for Socialists and Communists combined, from 1946 to 1951, followed by a decline in the rural-anticlerical aspect of their support; and the increase in the urban and anticlerical bases of Communist voting.

Contrary to what might be expected from subsequent events in France, there is no clear evidence of increasing tension or cleavage in the "metropolitan" French electorate over this period. Although the Communist vote lies increasingly along the lines of cleavage indicated by these variables (R rises from .51 to .58, then remains at .56), the other multiple correlations fall slightly from 1946 to 1956. That the degree of cleavage in the electorate was not increasing but may have declined on the average over this period is also suggested by survey data.²⁷ The high degree of internal cleavage remaining after the Liberation seems to have subsided; and the tensions of the Algerian conflict do not appear to have affected the 1956 vote strongly.

One aspect of the French postwar party system that appears as a background to this analysis is the contrast between stable and unstable groupings. Stability in geographical bases of support has been shown by the "clerical-anticlerical" division, the Communists, and to some extent the Radicals (until their break-up in 1956-57); variation has been shown in the decline of the parties that emerged strong from the Resistance and participated in cabinets after 1946—the SFIO and MRP—and in the "surge" and decline of new movements, especially Gaullism, Mendèsism, and Poujadism. The

²⁷ Factor analysis of questions appearing in similar form in successive IFOP surveys suggests that the communalities were highest in 1947 and lower in 1954, rising again slightly in 1955. This conclusion is based on results presented in D. MacRae, Jr., "Une Analyse factorielle des préférences politiques," *Revue française science politique*, VIII, No. 1 (March, 1958), 95-109, together with further unpublished research.

significance of the repeated efforts of France's voters (especially in urban areas) to find new solutions to her political problems, and the meaning of their repeated frustration, was summarized prophetically by Goguel; with regard to the Radical vote in 1956, he wrote:

Today, . . . without losing its rural voters, [Radicalism] is gaining an impressive number in the cities and industrial regions. These voters of a renewed Radicalism seem to have come to it, in their great majority, from *milieux* who had voted MRP in 1945 and 1946, RPF in 1947 and 1951. That is to say that, more than any other category of non-Communist voters, they are particularly sensitive to the necessity for a profound renovation of French political life; one can easily conceive why the party of M. Pierre Mendès-France attracts them more in 1956 than did the party of M. Queuille and M. Herriot in 1951. But experience proves that these voters (particularly responsive to the prestige of a leader; in this sense the Mendèsiste wave of the Parisian region in 1956 recalls not only the Gaullist wave of 1947-51 but even the Boulangist wave of 1889) are particularly unstable. A new disappointment, after that which

they have undergone from the MRP and the RPF, could lead them to entirely unforeseeable reactions.²⁸

Mendèsism did not succeed in remaking French politics, or even the Radical party. The three governments that followed the 1956 elections (Mollet, Bourgès-Maunoury, Gaillard) were, like most of their predecessors, incapable of taking decisive action. Meanwhile, the Algerian situation accelerated toward crisis, involving many factors transcending the electoral geography of the *métropole*. The investiture and powers of the prime minister, the position taken by the army, the threats to French prestige from international affairs—all these and others make clear that the analysis of voting behavior is only one of the approaches that are necessary to understand the functioning of a political system such as that of the Fourth Republic. Yet the problem of multiple cleavage of the electorate—as reflected by both the stability and the fluctuations of the vote—remains as a continuing problem of representative government in France.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 489-92.

DECISION-MAKING CLIQUES IN COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AN AMERICAN AND AN ENGLISH CITY

DELBERT C. MILLER

ABSTRACT

This study tests the working hypothesis that key influential leaders in a community influence policy-making by acting in concert through cliques. A comparative research design utilized a large city in the Pacific Northwest and a comparable city in southwestern England. Findings show evidence of group patterns but not a rigid clique structure with specific clique leaders. However, on certain issues a high degree of clique solidarity is evidenced. Greater fluidity is observed in English City, where there is no single solidary elite structure and no hierarchical dominance based on one institutional sector.

Research in community power structure has centered about two major tasks: (1) the identification of influential policy-makers and (2) the group relationships through which policy-makers wield their influence. A considerable body of research has accumulated to establish the identity of the influential persons in the community.¹ However, much less is known about decision-making cliques. Techniques for measuring the degree of clique solidarity are especially meager.²

This study was designed to test the following working hypothesis: *Key influential leaders in a community influence policy-*

making by acting in concert through cliques. This hypothesis was examined within a comparative research design utilizing an American and an English city covering a period of study from 1952 to 1957.

In a southern regional city, Floyd Hunter describes a top group of policy-makers drawn largely from the businessmen's class. A pattern of twenty-one clique relationships were shown to exist between the forty top influentials. The most recognized groupings were known as "crowds" and were called the First State Bank Crowd, the Regional Gas Crowd, the Mercantile Crowd, the Homer Chemical Crowd, the Grower Bank Crowd, and the like. Each crowd had a leader. "Several of the top leaders within the crowds would clear with each other informally on many matters. Each man at the top of a crowd pyramid depended upon those close to him in business to carry out decisions when made."³

This finding strongly suggests the need for comparative studies of community decision-making. Behind Hunter's research lies the persistent question: To what extent do the findings from this particular southern city permit wider generalization to other cities. Pellegrin and Coates report that the generalization fits (with some variation) another large southern city called "Big-town" which they studied between 1954 and

¹ Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); John M. Foskett and Raymond Hohle, "The Measurement of Influence in Community Affairs," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XXV (June, 1957), 148-54; Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (November, 1957), 290-96; Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision-making," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, I (March, 1957), 415-43; Delbert C. Miller, "The Seattle Business Leader," *Pacific Northwest Business*, XV (February, 1956), 5-12.

² Sociometric analysis is most commonly employed. For a brief statement of various methods of analysis see Charles H. Proctor and Charles P. Loomis, "Analysis of Sociometric Data," in *Research Methods in Social Relations*, ed. Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart Cook (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), Part II, pp. 561-86.

³ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

1955.⁴ And Hunter, Schaffer, and Sheps claim that Salem, Massachusetts, presents a pyramid of power dominated by the business and industrial group organized into power cliques with clique leaders.⁵ However, less solidary power structures have been reported by Rossi for New England's "Bay City," and by Schulze for midwestern "Cibola."⁶ McKee, reporting on his study of Lorain, Ohio, has said that no one group can be labeled as a ruling group. A number of groups have varying effects upon decision-making in a given locus. "The pyramidal model is . . . inaccurate and misleading."⁷

This paper utilizes Hunter's basic methods on two cities of similar size and economic structure to examine the hypothesis of policy-making through cliques acting in concert.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Two cities were carefully selected with similar economic, demographic, and educational characteristics. One was located in the Pacific Northwest, U.S.A., the other in southwestern England. Both are comparable in many features with Hunter's "Regional City." All the cities qualify under the Harris classification as "diversified types." The following summary shows the close similarity of the three cities:

Southern Regional City, as studied by Hunter in 1950-51, had a population of 331,000. The city serves as the commercial,

financial, and distributive center for the southeastern section of the United States. It manufactures aircraft, textiles, and cotton waste products. It is a transportation center of rail, air, bus, and truck lines and is a center of education, possessing a large university and many small colleges.

Pacific City had a population of 468,000 in 1950. It is the commercial, financial, and distribution center for the Pacific Northwest. Major transportation lines are centered in the city, and it has a fine port. The city is the largest educational center of the region, with a state university and many small colleges.

English City, also a regional city, serves as the commercial, financial, and distributive center of the west of England. Its population in 1950 was 444,000. The major manufactures are airplanes, ships, beer, cigarettes, chocolate, machinery, and paper. It possesses an ocean port. The city houses a provincial (state) university and many private grammar schools.

The *community power structure* is composed of key influentials, top influentials, the community power complex, and those parts of the institutionalized power structure of the community that have come into play when activated by a community issue. In this paper attention is centered upon the role of top influentials and the key influentials as representative of a significant part of the community power structure.⁸

The *top influentials* (T.I.) are persons from whom particular members are drawn into various systems of power relations according to the issue at stake.

The *key influentials* (K.I.) are the sociometric leaders among the top influentials.

Lists of leaders were secured from organizations and informants in nine institutional sectors: business and finance, education, religion, society and wealth, political and governmental organization, labor, independent professions, cultural (aesthetic) institutions, and social service. The initial

⁴ Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee-owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (March, 1956), 413-19.

⁵ Floyd Hunter, Ruth G. Schaffer, and Cecil G. Sheps, *Community Organization: Action and Inaction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), pp. 27-37.

⁶ Rossi, *op. cit.*; Robert O. Schulze, "Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (February, 1958), 3-9.

⁷ James B. McKee, "Status and Power in the Industrial Community: A Comment on Drucker's Thesis," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (January, 1953), 369.

⁸ The concepts used in this paper were developed jointly with William H. Form, of Michigan State University.

lists included a total of 312 names in Pacific City and 278 in English City. Ten expert panel raters were selected and asked to nominate those persons who were most influential in "actively supporting or initiating policy decisions which have the most effect on the community."⁹ Forty-four T.I. were identified in Pacific City and 32 T.I. in English City.

THE METHOD

The test of the hypothesis in Pacific City relied upon the following kinds of evidence:

- A. Data from interviews with T.I.
 1. Measures of group cohesiveness based on committee member selections of K.I.
 2. Acquaintance pattern of T.I. and K.I.
 3. Committee participation as reported by T.I. and K.I.
 4. Personal estimates of clique behavior among T.I.
- B. Data from questionnaires received from T.I.
 5. Activity of K.I. in community organizations
 6. Patterns of overlapping membership of K.I. in business, social, civic, and professional organizations
- C. Data from informant interviews
 7. Clique behavior and the dynamics of community decision-making processes

The identification of clique structures is an extremely difficult undertaking. Many respondents will claim cliques exist simply because they have seen persons together many times or have heard that certain people were good friends. Hunter relied upon the mapping of certain sociometric relationships based on committee choices, on participation patterns of influentials in issues as described by them, and on specific statements of informants. The researcher would like to make direct observations of K.I. when they are acting in relation to community issues and perhaps in other dealings with each other. Since this is almost impossible to obtain, cumulative indirect evidence is sought.

⁹ A fuller description of this technique may be found in Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (February, 1958), 10-11.

RESULTS

In-group preference.—The T.I. may range from a large group of independent persons to a small, autonomous group which is well organized and is actively organizing support of the community power complex. Along the continuum between these two poles, various degrees of solidarity may exist. In testing the hypothesis, the research task is to assemble the best measures to appraise the degree of solidarity. Important evidence gathered in this study (and in Hunter's) is the choice pattern of ten leaders made by each T.I. in the sample to the question: "If you were responsible for a major project which was before the community that required decision by a group of leaders—leaders that nearly everyone would accept—which ten on this list would you choose, regardless of whether they are known to you personally or not? Add other names if you wish."

Personal interviews were held with a 50 per cent stratified random sample of 44 T.I. in Pacific City and 32 T.I. in English City. The sample had been stratified according to the nine institutional sectors enumerated above, and corresponding proportions of leaders from each sector were interviewed. Figure 1 is a sociogram showing the choices made by the K.I. in Pacific City who had been identified as the sociometric leaders of the T.I.

The Criswell Ingroup Preference Index was applied to all three test cities to ascertain the extent to which the key influentials chose within themselves in contrast to their outgroup choices to all remaining top influentials.¹⁰ In order of intensity of in-group preference, the three cities exhibited the following index numbers: Southern City, I.P.=11.2; Pacific City, I.P.=5.3; English City, I.P.=3.0. When the in-group preference is greater than 1.00, we know that the ratio of the K.I. in-group choices to their T.I. choices is greater than the ratio of K.I. membership to T.I. membership. The index

¹⁰ J. H. Criswell, "Sociometric Methods of Measuring Group Preferences," *Sociometry*, VI, No. 4 (1943), 398-408.

scores shown indicate a high degree of K.I. in-group preference in all cities, but Southern City leads with an extraordinarily high score. These cross-group comparisons suggest that these in-group K.I. preferences may reflect a solidarity of the K.I. in their civic behavior within the three cities. However, the index scores are based only on sociometric choices; the actual influence and working relationships are not demonstrated by such data. Acceptance of the hypothesis of clique behavior in community decision-making awaits further evidence.

Acquaintanceship pattern.—The acquaintanceship scores for K.I. and T.I. were derived from the interview schedules, which sought a response from each person as to his acquaintanceship with all other top influentials listed. This schedule asked each respondent to check one of five responses:

Don't Know, Heard of, Know Slightly, Know Well, Know Socially (exchange of home visits). Scores of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 were allocated to each response category, and a total acquaintanceship score was derived from each interview respondent. Table 1 shows the mean acquaintanceship scores for Pacific City and English City for the K.I. and the T.I. and values of *t* for the differences be-

TABLE 1
MEAN ACQUAINTANCESHIP SCORES FOR K.I. AND T.I. IN PACIFIC CITY AND ENGLISH CITY WITH *t*-TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN K.I. AND T.I. MEANS

Test Cities	K.I. Mean Score	T.I. Mean Score	<i>t</i>	d.f.	<i>P</i>
Pacific City...	129.7	106.8	2.10	20	≤.05
English City...	131.0	107.1	2.21	14	≤.05

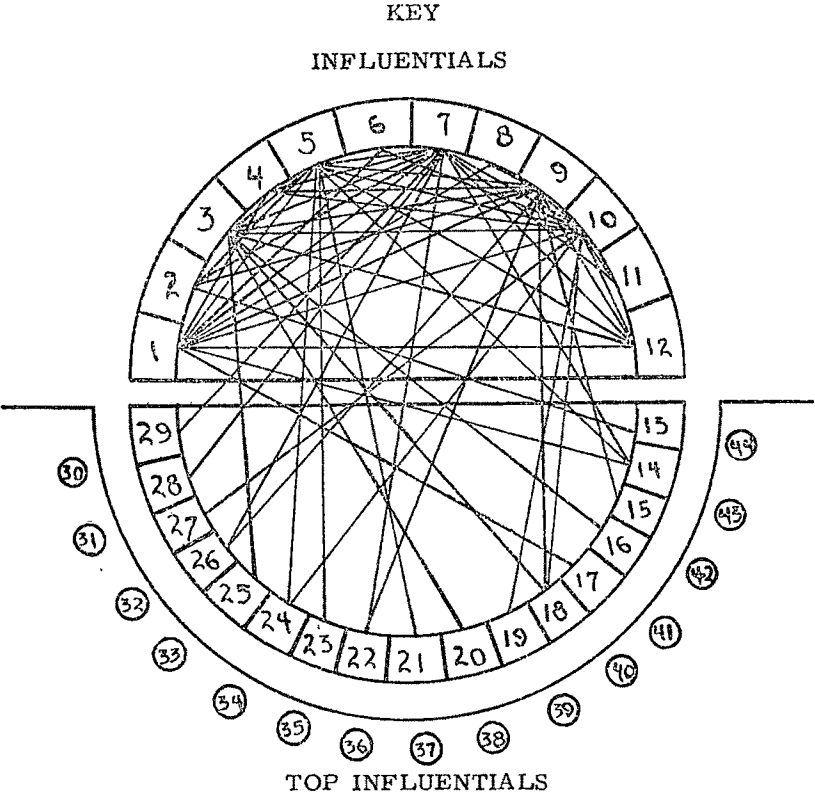


FIG. 1.—All choices of six key influentials in the interview sample of Pacific City to other key and top influentials.

tween means. These scores show that the K.I. are better acquainted among the total population of influentials than are the T.I. in both Pacific City and English City. This evidence suggests an intensive pattern of social contact among the K.I.

Committee participation.—Each interview respondent indicated whether he had participated on committees with each of the top influentials during the preceding two years. One point was given each respondent for each committee contact he reported. The mean score for the K.I. in Pacific City was 18.8, and 11.6 for the T.I. This difference was found statistically significant at the 5 per cent level. In English City the mean score for the K.I. was 17.5, and 12.3 for the T.I., and the difference was also statistically significant at the 5 per cent level. Again, the evidence points to a high degree of contact and possible K.I. dominance of committees.

The questionnaire which each respondent answered and mailed to us asked for participation in other businesses as a director or owner and in social, civic, and professional organizations. Scores were derived from participation in each type of organization¹¹ and also for total participation. The K.I. were consistently more active in both Pacific City and English City. In Pacific City the mean total participation score for K.I. was 69.9, and 46.4 for the T.I. In English City the mean total participation score for K.I. was 65.3, and 48.1 for the T.I. In both cities the differences were statistically significant at the .01 level.

Community participation was further analyzed to seek evidence of overlapping memberships, on the assumption that persons participating together in community organizations may use these organizations as communication centers for community

decision-making or at least as places to reinforce friendships. We gathered ratings of social and civic organizations from all T.I. as to their influence in the community. Selecting the most important organizations, we analyzed the K.I. membership to see whether any pattern of common participation could be discerned. Table 2 is a matrix pattern of the overlapping membership of the K.I. in the business, civic, and social organizations of Pacific City. Table 2 shows that mutual contact is established between the K.I. in business, social, and civic organizations, but the common participation established by the small group who interact in the business sector may be the most significant. Three of the K.I. whom informants have designated as meeting together when there is a serious financial crisis or money-raising need are among those most active in the business sector.

There is a grand total of ninety-four overlapping business, social, and civic memberships among the twelve key influentials. The rank-order correlation between the policy committee choice rank and rank position based on the overlapping membership is .42. This indicates that a moderate correlation exists and suggests that group interaction may build common ties and leadership reputations.

Direct testimony.—All this indirect evidence points to an underlying pattern of common participation and friendships. It does not tell us whether the K.I. actually form crowds and make decisions about community affairs in concert. We decided to ask all T.I. in our sample and certain selected informants of Pacific City about community decision-making by putting this point-blank statement in front of them: "There are several crowds in Pacific City that work together and pretty much make the big decisions. True_____ False_____. Comments

_____." The top influentials interviewed in Pacific answered according to Table 3.

¹¹ Scores were allocated as follows: Business: 1 point for each directorship of business other than own, with 2 points for each board chairmanship or ownership of another business. Social, civic, and professional areas were each marked for every organization listed according to the number of categories marked from Attend Regularly (1 point), Committee Member (2 points), Officer (3 points).

TABLE 2

MATRIX OF OVERLAPPING MEMBERSHIPS OF THE 12 KEY INFLUENTIALS IN PACIFIC CITY FOR BUSINESS, SOCIAL, AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Key Influentials of Pacific City	Investment E	Investment U	Insurance W	Insurance P	Real Estate V	Bank F	Bank P	Bank W	Social Club	Business Club	Golf Club	Masonic Lodge	University Club	College Club	Golf Club	Tennis Club	Chamber of Commerce	United Good Neighbors	Rotary	Municipal League	Community Chest	World Affairs Council	Orthopedic Hospital	Total No. Overlapping Memberships in Business, Social, and Civic Organizations
D. D.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	15
H. E.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	12
O. R.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11
T. S.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	10
L. A.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8
R. F.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8
B. B.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
A. Y.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	6
C. S.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	6
E. L.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	5
L. C.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	3
W. O.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	3
	Total No. overlapping membership in business organizations = 21									Total No. overlapping memberships in social organizations = 37									Total No. overlapping memberships in civic organizations = 36				Grand total all overlapping memberships = 94	

Table 3 shows that (7) seven out of each (10) ten respondents believe that "crowds" exist in Pacific City. The Fisher Exact Probability Test was applied to Table 3 (ignoring the "Don't know" response) to find out whether the K.I. and T.I. showed any significant differences in their replies. No statistically significant differences were shown.¹² Both groups of influentials believe that crowds exist and work together. However, these replies must be interpreted with great caution. The term "crowds" does not evoke a common meaning for all respondents.

TABLE 3

ANSWERS BY 22 T.I. TO STATEMENT "THERE ARE SEVERAL CROWDS IN PACIFIC CITY THAT WORK TOGETHER AND PRETTY MUCH MAKE THE BIG DECISIONS"

	K.I.	T.I.	Total
True.....	4	11	15
False.....	2	4	6
Don't know.....	..	1	1

ents.¹³ What is pertinent is the basis of evidence for such opinions. Focused interviews of approximately 1 hour were conducted with each T.I. and K.I. and some carefully selected informants to probe for the basis of their opinions. Two patterned groupings emerge as the principal referents: (1) a general pattern of fluid coalition among influentials is discerned about most issues; (2) clique relations are observed around a set of specific situations. It is this second pattern which evokes the belief that crowds exist and make the big decisions in Pacific

¹² Sidney Siegal, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 96-104.

¹³ In a letter to the writer, August 2, 1956, Floyd Hunter says: "I think I may have quoted and used the term 'crowds or cliques' rather broadly in the Regional City study, but it still has meaning for me. In several cities I have been in recently, it appears, too, that some of the corporate groups may be reluctant to 'bind themselves into reciprocal quid pro quo agreement,' but many such groups have followers identified with them that make up a 'crowd' in the minds of others in the community. It is a term that might be tightened up, however, and your field findings cannot be dismissed lightly."

City. A few interview comments are quoted to show these two patterns.

INTERVIEW EVIDENCE FOR A GENERAL PATTERN OF FLUID COALITION

There are no crowds as such. There are perhaps (10) ten main leaders and the majority of them must be behind any major controversial issue in Pacific City to make it successful. There are probably (30) thirty more persons, less active and less influential, who contribute their time and energy. I am not aware of any subgroups within this group of forty that cling together on issues generally.—A College President (K.I.).

There are no crowds as such, just fluid coalitions. I want to judge a case on its merits, and I refuse to bind myself into any reciprocal quid pro quo agreements.—Utility Executive and Former President of Chamber of Commerce (T.I.).

There are no "cliques" or "crowds." However, every group has their leaders; there are probably five from industry, five from labor, and five from lay groups who lead in their respective groups. If they can be "sold," the others will generally follow.—A Labor Leader (T.I.).

There are a group of about thirty men who are primarily responsible for the major decisions in Pacific City. Quite frequently they are the "second men" in important organizations who have both the approval of the top men and the youth and time to spend a large amount of time and energy on civic work. Many of the decisions are formulated informally in groups of two or three at social functions.—A Doctor (T.I.).

Pacific City has no rigid structure of leadership. No one person or one group runs the city. As issues appear, various persons take sides and push for their view. Different coalitions appear on the issues. However, there is a small core of four leaders, all of them are good fund raisers and people and groups turn to them.—Veteran Newspaper Writer (Informant).

INTERVIEW EVIDENCE FOR CLIQUE RELATIONS AROUND A SET OF SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

There are probably four groups in Pacific City who are stable and act as a group. The most influential one is the businessmen's group,

who are largely Republicans, active in both city and state affairs, members of the Chamber of Commerce, Municipal League, and active in school-board elections. The second is the labor groups, who act together on some issues. There is a third group which is composed mainly of Democrats. They have their own money. There is also a fourth group which unofficially stems from the Council of Churches but influences mainly through individual Protestant ministers. They are interested in the character of various political candidates and boosted the last Governor.—A Republican Party Leader (T.I.).

There is no one crowd, but a key leader works through friends whom he respects and with whom he can get things done. Take yesterday afternoon. The President of the Symphony Board wanted help on the symphony drive. I met with E. B. and S. B. and L. B. [all K.I.] in L. B.'s office. We sat around and talked about who should head up the drive. B. G.'s name was suggested. I was tagged to go with E. B. and hang the job on him. That's the way things get done—informal meetings.

Now in politics, there are ten of us who have gotten together and tried to see that a good man was selected for mayor. We picked T. N., and you could have gotten 100 to 1 that he would have been licked, but he won. Now I haven't been in the mayor's office since. We don't dictate.—A Business Leader (K.I.).

There are several recognizable blocs that usually present the same front. The Chamber of Commerce is probably the most important bloc both in initiating and in influencing. Labor is generally well organized. Educational groups are usually united on issues such as passage of school bond levies but are too divided to present any solid influential body. Welfare agencies shy away from expressions of opinion and are not opinion molders. Newspapers and radio are not influential in local issues.—A Religious Leader (K.I.).

There are ten or twelve in the elite that make the big decisions. They are primarily in the business field, and they work in cliques, the cliques being formed with a member of this ten or twelve, and they delegate authority down to lesser influentials in their areas.—A Social Work Leader (T.I.).

There are five or six "big men" who make most of the decisions; they are important through private and corporate wealth and prop-

erty. They are socially cohesive, stable, and mostly Republicans, but that is not an important factor. They vote consistently together on issues and are mainly interested in only the important decisions . . . "top-level" operators. There is a second-level group of about twenty-five who are mainly from business. Both the small and large groups are Chamber of Commerce members in part.—Lawyer and Former Mayor (T.I.).

These opinions do not lend themselves to any simple consensus, but a scrutiny of all the behavior and attitudinal evidence leads us to rejection of the working hypothesis in the following respects:

1. Key influentials do not repeatedly act in concert, utilizing subordinate groups. There is no "crowd" pattern in Pacific City and English City such as Hunter reports for Southern City. Southern City represents a more structured organization of the top influentials with ties to subordinate groups.

2. There are key leaders who bring various other influentials around them when they are responsible for getting a civic project carried out. These groupings do have a pattern and tend to be repeated because key leaders find they can work best with certain leaders and can get the job done. However, there is a significant degree of fluidity. Various leaders may be called upon for the responsible direction of policy-making and different key influentials and top influentials may be drawn in. Both Pacific City and English City show a fluid core of 12–15 key influentials, with up to 150 top influentials. Different combinations appear with different issues. No one person or group dominates.

However, an acceptance and the working hypothesis is accorded in the following respects:

1. Relatively stable groups of leaders are identified with certain institutional sectors of the community through which they express common interest, i.e., business, labor, political party, education, and religion.

2. Solidarity of the key influentials is revealed in the group of ten K.I. who in Pacific City came together when the selection of a

(conservative) mayoralty candidate for the primary was a community issue.

3. Certain key influentials come together when a very important fund-raising project is before the community or when a very serious financial or civic crisis arises. A similar pattern existed in English City.

4. Key influentials tend to restrict their activity to policy-making. Sometimes they are sought out as advisers, as spokesmen, as fund-raisers or givers, and as nominal administrative heads. In this connection the city turns to a core group of 12-15 persons repeatedly. The activity in which they engage is pursued quietly and generally without publicity. In English City it is definitely in bad taste for any key influentials to seek newspaper mention. The importance and extent of their activity are disguised because both qualities loom larger than is in evidence within the newspaper.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

The three cities that have been studied are alike in many ways. There is a vigorous business leadership to be found in all three cities. There is a hierarchy of civic leadership in which various key influentials and top influentials have a "place." There are friendship groupings and patterns of common social and civic participation which bring people together. There are a large number of top influentials in all three cities (up to 100-150) who have a standing in the eyes of the total community and may be called upon for leadership services when a project is before the entire community.

The three cities that have been studied are different in many ways. English City does not look to its business leaders so much for civic leadership as do the two American cities. The business representation among the K.I. in Pacific City is 67 per cent; in Southern City, 75 per cent; in English City, 25 per cent. The solution of civic problems is carried on more directly by the city council in English City, while voluntary organizations are more fluid and the solidarity of the key influentials is less in both English

City and Pacific City than in Southern City.¹⁴

These phenomena of community power raise the question of what models might be appropriate to describe the various behaviors which can be observed as a community is faced with various issues. Hunter has described a stratified pyramid with a broad base of leadership centering in a top group of policy makers drawn largely from the business class. Figure 2 shows this stratified model.

The writer believes that this model emerges sharply in Southern City because this city is an older, established community where the social system has been congenial to the growth of a social aristocracy and where business control has a history of hereditary growth. Indeed, Hunter points out that only 15 of the 40 top policy leaders gained a position of prominence on their own. All the others inherited their father's business or were helped by the wealth and connections of their fathers. Pellegrin and Coates have reported a verification of this model in "Bigtown," a rapidly growing southern city of 200,000, where the economy is built upon a number of absentee-owned corporations. The managers and absentee owners of these corporations constitute a new elite which dominate policy-making in civic affairs.¹⁵

This model is not appropriate for English City and only partially so for Pacific City. It applies to Pacific City for a wide range of issues and projects, but it does not apply during many political campaigns when coalitions form and often defeat the leaders who are ranked according to the stratified model. It did not explain the defeat of the right-to-work issue in Pacific City in 1956.¹⁶

An institutional ring or cone model is

¹⁴ Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (February, 1958), 14.

¹⁵ Pellegrin and Coates, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

¹⁶ Delbert C. Miller, "The Prediction of Issue Outcome in Community Decision Making," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society* ("Research Studies of the State College of Washington," Vol. XXV [June, 1957]), pp. 137-47.

proposed as a logical alternate construct to fit the pattern of community power as observed in political contests and as seen in certain issues. It reflects a number of current social forces in large industrial cities as shown by three major characteristics: (1) increasing heterogeneity of interests within the business sector; (2) the rise of new power structures; and (3) a growing autonomy and heterogeneity of interests in all institutional sectors accompanied by specialization and professionalization.

1. Increasing heterogeneity of interests within the business sector is manifested by the following characteristics:

- a) Certain manufacturers and merchants view expansion as a threat to labor supply and wage level.
- b) Rise of managers brings a new caution and results in many leaders playing a neutral role.¹⁷
- c) Financial and property ties grow more complex as outside interests enter. Branch businesses increase, community improve-

ments seem to some as assets, to others as tax liabilities.

2. Rise of new power structures:

- a) Labor leaders have come to have an ever stronger voice as agents of their own organization; labor becomes more educated and participates more broadly in community organizations, especially in political parties, government, and welfare organizations. A share in decision-making in the community is more easily attained by citizens of low status.
- b) Political and government leaders are exercising greater influence over more activities of community life. Military leadership has been given ever greater responsibility.
- c) Educational leaders command greater attention as the need for specialized personnel increases.
- d) Major business leaders are being recruited for managerial talent rather than from hereditary and exclusively educated classes.

3. Growing autonomy in all institutionalized sectors:

- a) Large-scale organization is growing in all sectors.
- b) Power of administration and policy-making is increasingly concentrated within the specialized personnel of the organization.

¹⁷ This is well documented in Robert O. Schulze, "Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (February, 1958), 7-9. However, the withdrawal of "economic dominants" exhibited in Cibola was not demonstrated in Pacific City or English City.

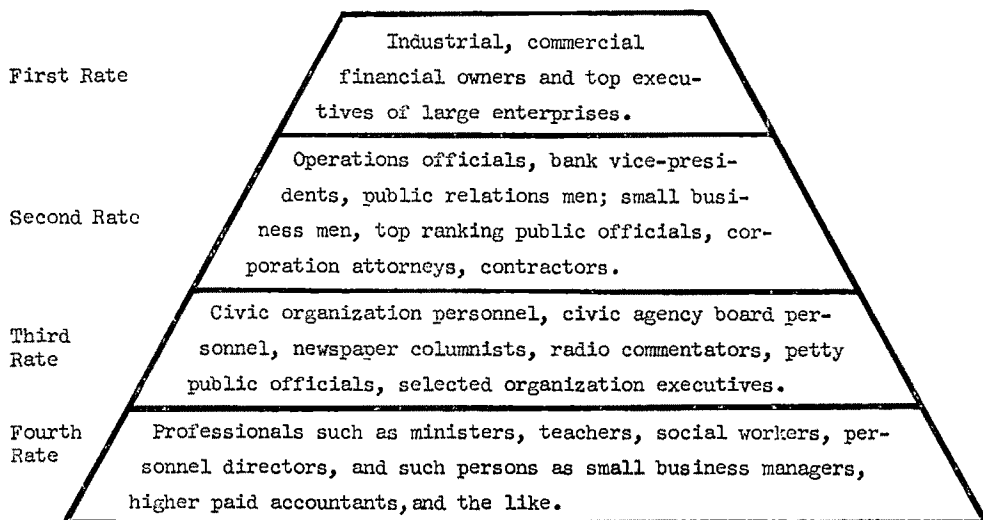


FIG. 2

Figure 3 is a graphic illustration of those persons in English City who were ranked as having the highest personal influence over policy-making affecting the community. The ring structure shows the range of institutional representatives. The area of each segment is an approximation of the relative power of each segment as judged by the choice rank of the top influentials and by panel raters who were asked to review the strength of each institutional area in securing desired outcomes on a number of community issues. Those persons whose influence is greatest are shown toward the center of the circle. Note the representatives from the Labor party, the trade union and consumer co-operatives, the Citizens party, business, civic organizations, religion, edu-

cation, and society. There is *no single solidary elite structure and no hierarchical dominance based on one institutional sector*. The pattern of personal influence is best described as a kaleidoscope of recognizable faces shifting in and out of fluid coalitions as issues change. Leaders play a number of different roles, sometimes taking positive action, sometimes negative, often remaining neutral, and even withdrawing completely from various issues.

While the cone or ring model is most appropriate for English City, the stratified pyramid, with its solidary top business elite such as Hunter describes for Southern Regional City, is also a useful guide to the power potential in Pacific City. However,

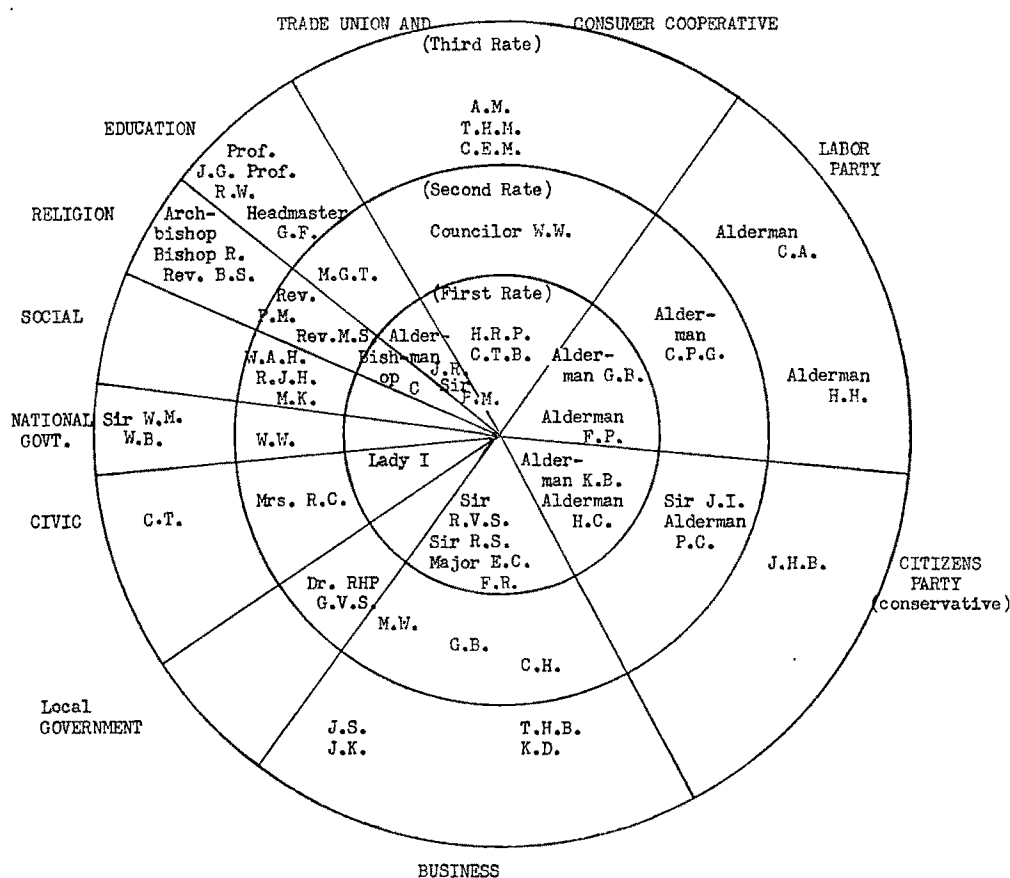


FIG. 3.—An institutional ring or cone structure of influential persons in English City (1955)

Pacific City shows markedly more fluidity among both the key and the top influentials as issues change. Religion and education have a more influential role, numbering a college president and an Episcopalian bishop among its key influentials.

A continuum of community power structures is suggested for large cities ranging

from the highly stratified pyramid dominated by a small but powerful business group functioning through cliques of high solidarity to a ring of institutional representatives functioning in relatively independent roles. We have said that Southern City, Pacific City, and English City range in the order named along such a continuum.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

ADDITIONAL HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY CONFERRED IN 1957

The following names were submitted to the *Journal* subsequent to the listing in our July, 1958, issue:

MASTER'S DEGREES

Northwestern University

*Junerous F. Mack, B.A. Talladega College, 1956. "Mobility in the Industrial Structure."

Dorothy L. Meier, B.A. Kansas, 1956. "Anomie and Structural Accessibility to Achievement."

Kenneth Polk, A.B. San Diego State College, 1956. "The Social Areas of San Diego."

*Earl R. Quinney, B.S. Carroll College, 1956. "Urbanization and the Scale of Society: A Conceptual Analysis."

Emily R. Smith, B.S. Wisconsin, 1955. "Self-government and the Political Elite in Jamaica, 1939 and 1954."

Ohio State

John P. Clark, B.S. Ohio State, "Alienation in a Milk Marketing Co-operative."

Western Reserve

Marjorie W. Jaffe, A.B. Mather College, 1936.

*Names were incorrectly listed under Doctor's Degree in the July, 1958, issue of the *Journal*.

NEWS AND NOTES

Robert Redfield, of the University of Chicago, who was Robert Hutchins Distinguished Service Professor and for over thirty years a member of the Department of Anthropology, died on October 16. He was a frequent contributor to this *Journal*. He very recently completed an article on "The Nature of Man" for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Alfred University.—Luke Mader Smith, formerly of the University of Buffalo, has been appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology.

Two new courses have been announced: Religion and the Social Structure, and The Professions and the Social Structure. Studies of the clergy are currently being conducted in the Alfred, New York, area.

Centro Latino-Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais.—The Centro was established in July, 1958, to foster and co-ordinate research in social sciences in the Latin-American countries. Located in Rio de Janeiro, it is sponsored by UNESCO and supported by funds contributed by the Brazilian government, UNESCO, and other Latin-American countries. The centro is under the direction of L. A. Costa Pinto, professor of sociology of the University of Brazil.

University of Chicago.—As the *Journal* went to press, we learned with deep sorrow of the death, at forty-three, of William C. Bradbury, associate professor of sociology, who was killed with his wife in an automobile accident. His loss will be sorely felt by his students and colleagues alike.

The University's Committee on Human Development wishes to announce a special program of training in social gerontology under the directorship of Bernice L. Neugarten. United States Public Health Service traineeships at predoctoral and postdoctoral levels are available, beginning October 1, 1958, with basic stipends ranging from \$1,800 to \$4,000 per year, depending upon the level of advancement. Predoctoral students will take the Ph.D. degree

in Human Development, with the field of specialization and research in social and psychological aspects of aging. For further information, write to Dr. Neugarten, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Awards for study in statistics by persons whose primary field is not statistics but one of the physical, biological, or social sciences to which statistics can be applied are offered by the Department of Statistics. The awards range from \$3,600 to \$5,000 on the basis of an eleven-month residence. The closing date for application for the academic year 1959-60 is February 16, 1959. Further information may be obtained from the Department of Statistics, Eckhart Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Everett C. Hughes, professor of sociology, has returned to the campus after a year's leave of absence spent at Radcliffe College and the University of Frankfurt-am-Main. He has resumed his duties as editor of this *Journal*.

Educational Testing Service.—The Service is offering for 1959-60 its twelfth series of research fellowships in psychometrics leading to the Ph.D. degree at Princeton University. Open to men who are acceptable to the Graduate School of the University, the two fellowships each carry a stipend of \$2,650 a year and are normally renewable. Fellows will be engaged in part-time research in the general area of psychological measurement at the offices of the Educational Testing Service and will, in addition, carry a normal program of studies in the Graduate School.

The closing date for completing applications is January 2, 1959. Information and application blanks will be available about September 15 and may be obtained from: Director of Psychometric Fellowship Program, Educational Testing Service, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

The Foundations' Fund for Research in Psychiatry.—The Fund wishes to announce that January 15, 1959, is the next deadline for the

submission of completed applications for research fellowships in psychiatry, psychology, sociology, neurophysiology, and other sciences relevant to mental health.

The next deadline for receipt of applications for research grants-in-aid is December 10, 1958. Interested persons are invited to write for details to: Foundations' Fund for Research in Psychiatry, 251 Edwards Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut.

Harpur College.—Peter Dodge has been appointed instructor of sociology.

International Sociological Association.—The Association announces that its Fourth World Congress of Sociology will take place in Milan and Stresa, not in Perugia as originally planned.

All participants will be accommodated in Stresa. The opening meetings, on the first day of the Congress, will be held in Milan (transport will be provided). All subsequent meetings will take place in Stresa.

The Congress dates remain unchanged: September 8–15, 1959.

Full details of the Congress arrangements, together with registration cards and accommodation reservation cards, were to be sent out in October, 1958.

State University of Iowa.—Albert J. Reiss, Jr., formerly professor and chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Vanderbilt University, has been appointed professor of sociology. He will offer courses in research methodology, urban community, industrial sociology, and social stratification. Also, he is to serve as director of the Iowa Community Research Center to be established during the 1958–59 academic year.

David B. Stout and Manford Kuhn were participants in the ninth Conference on American Studies sponsored by the Newberry Library in Chicago. Professor Kuhn was re-elected vice-president of the Midwest Sociological Society at its 1958 meeting. Professor Stout has been appointed a member of the advisory council for a new journal, *Technology and Culture*, which is planned for the fall of 1959.

Harold W. Saunders has received a grant from the Old Gold Development Fund to organize a research project on higher education and social mobility in Iowa.

David Gold participated during the summer in the behavioral sciences seminar sponsored

by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research at the University of New Mexico. This fall Professor Gold will begin the second year of his Social Science Research Council Faculty Fellowship. He will teach full-time the first semester and devote the second semester to research.

Reynold J. Ruppé carried out eight weeks of field archeological researches in eastern Iowa with a group of sixteen university students.

Martin U. Martel has been appointed staff sociologist to the Institute of Gerontology. He will devote one-third of his time to research planning and design in the interdisciplinary projects of the Institute.

University of Kentucky.—Howard W. Beers, head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, is in New Delhi, India, serving as a community-development adviser to the Indian government. He is expected to return in July, 1959. Thomas R. Ford is acting head of the two departments. Ford has also been named director of general research for the Southern Appalachian Studies, a research project financed by a two-year grant of \$250,000 from the Ford Foundation. Administrative headquarters of the project is at Berea College, Kentucky. Contributing projects to the comprehensive study of social and economic changes in the Appalachians are being conducted by various universities and individuals in the area.

The Social Research Service of the Department of Sociology is making a study of migrants and migration as one of the projects of the Southern Appalachians Studies. James S. Brown, associate professor of rural sociology, is the staff member in charge.

Irwin T. Sanders professor of sociology, has resigned in order to continue as Director of Research, Associates for International Research, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts. C. Arnold Anderson, professor of sociology, has resigned to become director of the Comparative Education Center, University of Chicago. Bruce J. Biddle, who served as assistant professor of sociology during 1957–58, has resigned to direct a research project at the University of Kansas City, Missouri.

Marion Pearsall has joined the staff as associate professor of sociology and associate rural sociologist. She taught formerly at the University of Alabama and is co-author of *The Talladega Story*. For the past two years she has been a Russell Sage Foundation research resident at the Boston University School of Nursing.

John H. Mabry has been appointed associate medical sociologist in the University Medical Center and associate professor of sociology.

Jiri Kolaja, formerly of Talladega College, has joined the staff as assistant professor of sociology.

Harry Schwarzweller and Robert A. Danley have been appointed assistant rural sociologists and assistant professors of rural sociology. Daniel Claster has been appointed instructor in sociology. Joy N. Query, candidate for the Ph.D. at the University of Kentucky, is a part-time instructor in sociology.

A. Lee Coleman, professor of sociology and rural sociologist, has been granted sabbatic leave for 1958-59. He has also been awarded a Faculty Research Grant by the Social Science Research Council. He will be at the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, engaged in research on desegregation. After seven years, Coleman has relinquished his duties as managing editor of *Rural Sociology*, and the university has given up the sponsorship of the journal.

John Flint has been promoted to assistant professor of sociology.

For the eighth consecutive summer, the Department of Sociology and the College of Education conducted the Seminar in Intergroup Relations. The National Conference of Christians and Jews was a co-sponsor. Sidney J. Kaplan, assistant professor of sociology, served as director, Edsel Godbey, of the College of Education, served as assistant director, and Janet Turk was graduate assistant.

During the spring semester, the university conducted a special five-months training course in community development for twenty village-aid workers from Pakistan. This was the third such special training course in community development conducted by the departments.

John Ball, assistant professor, spent the summer at the Widener Library, Harvard University, working on research in juvenile delinquency.

Marquette University.—Rudolph E. Morris has been appointed director of the department. Bela Kovrig, with a grant of the Research Committee of the university, is presently working on the sociology of rebellion. Frank J. Atelsek spent the summer of 1958 with the Minnesota Department of Employment Security, studying commuting patterns in metropoli-

tan areas. Paul J. Reiss is directing a research project of the Milwaukee Intercollegiate Council on Intergroup Relations on Puerto Rican families in Milwaukee. Arthur T. Donohue is writing a textbook on marriage and the family.

Magazines for Friendship, Inc.—Old copies of this *Journal* are wanted by foreign scholars. Readers who do not regularly file or pass their copies on after reading them are asked to participate in the Magazines for Friendship program. This non-profit organization will provide *Journal* readers with selected names of foreign scholars, teachers, universities, and libraries eager to receive this publication, even old copies. For complete details, please send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to Magazines for Friendship, Occidental College, Los Angeles 41, California.

McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.—Frank E. Jones has been appointed chairman of the newly established Department of Sociology. He and Professor Frank G. Vallee will offer undergraduate courses.

Northwestern University.—Gresham M. Sykes, formerly of Princeton University, has joined the staff as associate professor of sociology. John Kitsuse, formerly of San Diego State College, has also joined the staff as assistant professor of sociology.

Morton B. King, Jr., has completed a year as visiting lecturer in the department. Two visiting assistant professors are teaching in the department during the year 1958-59: Aaron V. Cicourel, formerly of the School of Nursing at the University of California Medical Center, Los Angeles, and Linton C. Freeman, of Syracuse University.

Raymond W. Mack is on a year's leave from his undergraduate teaching duties to serve as director of the university's liberal arts program for Bell Telephone System executives. Gresham M. Sykes is also on leave for the year to work on a manuscript on criminology. Kimball Young, chairman of the department, will be on leave during the winter quarter to continue his research on communitarian movements in nineteenth-century America.

University of Notre Dame.—Professor E. K. Francis has been granted leave of absence in order to organize the newly created Department and Institute of Sociology in the University of

Munich. He wishes to extend a cordial invitation to all sociologists visiting the Continent. In a series of four articles appearing in the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozial-Psychologie* Professor Francis is currently reviewing the field of ethnic group research and theory in America. He has also just completed research in connection with a project on the Spanish Americans in the Upper Rio Grande region. His latest field trip was supported by a grant-in-aid of the Social Science Research Council.

Portland State College.—John James, professor of sociology, is continuing on part-time leave of absence during 1958–59 while serving as research director, Oregon Study of Rehabilitation of Mental Hospital Patients.

Charles Frantz, assistant professor of anthropology and sociology, has received his Ph.D. degree in anthropology from the University of Chicago. During 1958–59 he will be on leave while conducting research in race relations and teaching at University College of Nyasaland and Rhodesia, in Southern Rhodesia, under the Inter-Universities Africa Program.

Sally Snyder, University of Washington, has been appointed instructor in anthropology and will serve in Dr. Frantz's absence.

Frederic Chino, assistant professor of sociology, served as consultant to the Oregon Study of Rehabilitation of Mental Hospital Patients during the summer of 1958. He is also continuing his research on occupational aspirations.

Charles S. Brant, assistant professor of anthropology, together with Bernard Kutner, social psychologist at Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Yeshiva University, conducted a seminar in medical sociology at Portland Extension Center during the past summer session.

Warren Kalbach, University of Washington, has accepted the joint appointment of director, Oregon Board of Census, and assistant professor of sociology on the Portland State College faculty. He will teach courses in community organization and population theory and research.

Purdue University.—Harold T. Christensen, head of the Department of Sociology, has returned from Copenhagen, Denmark, where he spent last year as a Fulbright research scholar at the Sociological Institute. He has also resumed his position as editor of *Marriage and Family Living*, quarterly journal of the National Council on Family Relations. Gerald R.

Leslie served as acting head of the department and as acting editor of the journal during Christensen's absence.

Gerald R. Leslie has been elected chairman of the Membership Development Committee of the National Council on Family Relations.

Louis Schneider's book, with Sanford Dornbusch, *Popular Religion: Inspirational Books in America*, will soon be published by the University of Chicago Press. During the summer of 1958 Schneider was a participant in the Danforth seminar on Interpretation of Religion in Sociological Theory. He is also acting as consultant on a thirteen-program radio series on the Negro in the United States, being prepared under a grant from the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

Dwight W. Culver has returned from a two-year leave of absence while he served as executive director of the Panel of Americans, Inc., in New York City.

Leonard Z. Breen has launched a large-scale study of housing, employment, and health facilities for the aging in co-operation with the Retirement Study Foundation at Columbus, Indiana. He is also completing a three-year study of criteria of aging, which he has directed as an interdisciplinary project at the University of Chicago.

Robert L. Eichhorn has completed the survey phase of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project, a study of the reaction of farmers to cardiac impairment, and has returned to full-time duty in the department. He is now directing one of a series of studies of the professionalization of engineers.

Walter Hirsch has been promoted to the rank of associate professor. He is engaged in analyzing the image of the scientist as presented in popular literature and science fiction.

Irving Rosow spent the summer at Harvard University completing the analysis of data from an interdisciplinary project in which he was engaged in England for three years. He will also collaborate on the preparation of the publication manuscript. The project studied an experimental psychiatric center south of London.

James M. Beshers spent the summer as consultant with the Purdue Statistical Laboratory and the Agricultural Experiment Station. He is also directing a study of Internal Migration in Indiana under a research grant.

Edward Z. Dager has received a grant for a two-year experimental research and training program for teachers of family life in Indiana

high schools. He is also directing a Purdue Research Foundation study of role conflict in the education of women engineers and is studying family reactions to heart impairment and the effects of familial integration on heart patients.

Saint Louis University.—The newly formed Department of Sociology and Anthropology, which supersedes the Department of Sociology, continues under the direction of Clement S. Mihanovich, professor of sociology, who is assisted in the sociology program by Rev. Laurence McHattie, S.J., and Rev. John Thomas, S.J., associate and assistant professor of sociology, respectively, and William Bates and Paul Hanlon, instructors in sociology. The anthropology program includes Allen Spitzer, associate professor of anthropology and director of anthropological research, and Joan De Pena (Indiana University), instructor.

The department will now offer the B.A. and M.A. degrees in anthropology, as well as the Ph.D. degree in sociology and anthropology in combination, and also anthropology as a doctoral minor. The department will also offer the doctoral program in Health Organization Research.

Allen Spitzer has published field work on folk Catholicism based on work in Tepoztlan and Merida and is continuing work on the Montana Blackfeet on a grant from the Human Relations Center. He has received permanent appointments as research professor of anthropology at Mexico City College and at the University of Yucatan. Dr. Spitzer has concluded his term as president of the American Catholic Sociological Society but continues to serve on the executive board of the Catholic Anthropological Conference.

University of Southern California.—Edward C. McDonagh assumed the chairmanship of the Department of Sociology effective September 1, 1958. Robin M. Williams, president of the American Sociological Society, served as visiting professor during the summer term. Dennis McElrath joined the department as a visiting assistant professor and will specialize in medical sociology. Georges Sabagh is on leave of absence to administer a study of selected ecological factors associated with mental deficiency at Pacific Colony Center. Harvey J. Locke headed several sections on family behavior at the national meetings held at Seattle in August.

The university has received a grant of \$700,000 from the Ford Foundation to organize a Youth Studies Center in a community to be selected in the Los Angeles area. Donald Van Arsdol will gather basic ecological data concerning the community selected. A number of departments in the behavioral sciences will be actively involved in the Ford project over the next five years, principally public administration, sociology, and psychology. Edward C. McDonagh represents the Department of Sociology on the interdisciplinary university committee administering the grant.

Martin and Esther Neumeyer published the third edition of their *Leisure and Recreation* (Ronald Press). Melvin J. Vincent's *Industrial Sociology* is in press (Van Nostrand). James Peterson's (with E. Metheny) *The Trouble with Women* was published during the spring (Vantage Press). John E. Nordskog's *Social Change* is being prepared for publication (McGraw-Hill Book Co.). Edward C. McDonagh (with Sven Wermlund, of Gothenburg University, Sweden, and Jack Crowther, of Compton College, California) completed the analysis of data on the differential statuses of selected professions as perceived by Swedish and American university students.

Tulane University.—The Department of Sociology and Anthropology now offers a program leading to the Ph.D. degree in anthropology. Those interested are invited to write to the Dean of the Graduate School for further information.

Two anthropologists have been appointed assistant professors: John L. Fischer, of Harvard University, who is specializing in Micronesia and Japan; and Henry Orenstein, an India and Siam specialist. The four other anthropologists on the staff are Robert Wauchope, Arden R. King, Munro S. Edmonson, and Robert A. Lystad.

Professor Wauchope has been named editor of a planned ten-volume "Handbook of Middle American Indians." An initial grant has been received from the National Science Foundation.

Tulane's Middle American Research Institute and the National Geographic Society are co-operating in the archeological study of Djibilchaltun, a former Mayan city near Merida, probably the most extensive ancient city in the Western Hemisphere. E. Wyllis Andrews, of the MARI, is field director.

John Rohrer, Munro Edmonson, and associates have completed their restudy *The Children of Bondage*. Edmonson participated in the International Congress of Americanists in Costa Rica during the summer.

Robert Lystad has returned from a year's leave on the West African Comparative Analysis project.

Leonard Riessman has been named Favrot professor of human relations in the College of Arts and Sciences. He has completed a study of the Jewish community of New Orleans.

Forrest E. LaViolette has completed a study of Negro housing in New Orleans, with Joseph Taylor, formerly of Dillard University, for the Commission on Race and Housing. He has commenced work on a study of radio amateurs.

Thomas Ktsanes and Warren Breed are studying the social psychology of segregation, with a grant from the Anti-Defamation League.

William L. Kolb was on the faculty of the conference of Interpretations of Religion in Social Theory at the University of North Carolina during the summer and also lectured at an institute at the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest.

Washington University.—Stuart A. Queen, member of the department for twenty-six years and its chairman for twenty-four, one-time president of the American Sociological Society, author of numerous books and articles, was appointed professor emeritus in June. In September he became a visiting professor at the University of Wichita.

David Pittman and Albert Wessen joined the department in September as assistant professors and were appointed also to the Social Science Institute and the Department of Psychiatry. They will specialize in the sociology of health and medicine.

Jules Henry is participating in a study of geriatric nursing as consultant to the university's School of Nursing. The United States Public Health Service is supporting the research. During the summer, Henry continued his work with disturbed children at the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School of the University of Chicago. In October he went to Copenhagen as a United States delegate to the WHO Conference on Mental Health of Children.

Paul J. Campisi and Robert L. Hamblin are participating in a study of the adjustment of rural migrants in the urban area on a grant by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Dr. Hamblin is also research director of a study investigating factors of conformity and non-conformity of adolescents. This work is a project of the Social Science Institute with funds from the American Social Hygiene Association. In July Hamblin attended the Conference on Simulation of Cognitive Processes at Santa Monica, California, supported by funds of the Social Science Research Council.

Joseph A. Kahl spent the summer as a visiting professor at Mexico City College and continued his research on the social effects of industrialization.

David B. Carpenter is working on comparative study of urbanization, with special emphasis on Japan-United States contrasts.

Robert J. Miller has prepared a monograph, "Sherpa Tendencies toward Nationalism," on a grant from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

N. J. Demerath was a consultant to the World Health Organization's Pan-American Sanitary Bureau on the administration of social research in international health programs. He was in South America for six weeks during the summer. Demerath served as president of the Society for Applied Anthropology in 1957-58.

Stanley Spector has been appointed associate professor of Far Eastern Affairs. In June he began a fifteen-month leave of absence on a grant from the Social Science Research Council. He will study the role of intellectuals in the political life of Singapore and Malaya.

Wayne State University.—Edgar A. Schuler, departmental chairman, returned from leave in September. He spent the year at Thammasat University, Bangkok, on a Fubright Research Grant. In collaboration with Dean Vibul Thamavit he completed a study: *Public Opinion among Thai Students*.

Donald C. Marsh served as acting chairman until June. Leonard W. Moss was acting chairman for the summer session.

John Biesanz was named professor. He will be on sabbatical leave as Fubright lecturer in sociology at the Pedagogische Hochschule, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.

Stephen C. Cappannari was named associate professor. He was anthropological consultant at the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute during the spring semester.

James B. Christensen served on the For-

mation Committee of the African Studies Association.

H. Warren Dunham served as consultant in sociology at the Lafayette Clinic during the summer.

Frank E. Hartung was visiting professor at the University of Alberta during the summer. He continues on sabbatical leave for the fall semester.

Thomas F. Hoult, author of the recent *Sociology of Religion*, participated in the Danforth seminar at University of North Carolina this summer.

Robert James served as visiting professor during the summer session. He has returned to the University of Alberta.

Harry Josselson, co-operating faculty, and Arvid Jacobson, director of the Computation Lab, received an Office of Naval Research grant for research in machine translation of Russian language materials.

Richard Kolm has been appointed doctoral teaching fellow for the fall semester. Denez Gulyas and Don Stewart will continue as teaching fellow for 1958-59.

Gabriel and Bernice Kaplan Lasker returned from Fulbright leaves in September. They conducted a series of village studies in Peru.

Stephen W. Mamchur has been granted a

sabbatical leave for 1958-59. He will be concerned with studies on family and the professions, childhood and marriage.

Albert J. Mayer continues as director of the Detroit Traffic Study. The following faculty members are serving on the study staff: Helen Hause and Louis Ferman.

Harold Powell, College of Education, Department of Clinical Psychology, will represent the Italian Research Center while acting as Fulbright lecturer in social work at E.N.S.I.S.S. (School of Social Work), Rome.

Mel J. Ravitz served as acting director of the Urban Planning Program. He has been succeeded by Robert Hoover, newly appointed director of the interdepartmental program. Ravitz also served as director of the Wayne State Summer Workshop in Human Relations.

Harold L. Sheppard has returned from sabbatical leave as a Fulbright researcher in France. He will continue as sociologist on the staff of the Joint Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of Wayne State University-University of Michigan. He is working on effects of plant closedown on high-seniority workers.

Richard Waterman was a visiting professor in ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles, during the summer.

BOOK REVIEWS

UNESCO: Purpose, Progress, Prospects. By WALTER H. S. LAVES and CHARLES A. THOMSON. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957. Pp. xxiii+469. \$7.50.

The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Demography. Edited by D. V. GLASS. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 1957. Pp. 200. \$2.00.

The sociologist may profitably read *UNESCO: Purpose, Progress, Prospects* from either of two points of view. On the one hand, he may view UNESCO itself as a grand social experiment. This report, then, covering its history, the scope of its work, and its successes and failures becomes a report of the experiment over a ten-year period. In this light it is a masterful work. The authors had the advantage of intimate personal knowledge and, obviously, access to all relevant materials which they used copiously. Their personal involvement in various offices related to UNESCO and their nationality (both are natives of the United States) could have proved hazards to an objective treatment. However, they have overcome any such handicaps, and the result is a remarkably objective treatment.

The second viewpoint from which the sociologist may appraise this work is in terms of the specific points at which the work of UNESCO has touched the field of sociology. Unless he has kept in unusually close contact, he will probably be surprised at the range of activities which bear directly upon sociology. These include such things as the sponsorship of the International Social Science Council, the publication of the *International Social Science Bulletin*, the creation of the International Social Science Research Institute in Cologne, the studies of the teaching of social science in various countries resulting in a special booklet on the teaching of sociology (one of five such booklets), a second series on the organization and aims of social science teaching in selected countries, a series of international conferences on the teaching of social science, the lending of specialists to a limited number of member states to aid them in developing social science teach-

ing, encouragement of studies of the social impact of technology including setting up an International Research Office on the Social Implication of Technological Change with several such regional research offices, and the stimulation of research on the causes of social tensions.

This far-flung activity has resulted in many publications, one of which is *The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Demography*. After its early studies of the teaching of social science which covered seven disciplines, UNESCO in 1955 decided to extend these studies to include statistics, criminology, demography, and the administrative sciences. The International Union for the Scientific Study of Population was asked to undertake the study.

The report is based upon summary statements of thirteen collaborators, ten of whom reported on the situation in selected countries and the other three of whom spoke for whole regions, including Latin America, northern Europe, and Southeast Asia. The inclusion of these regions increases the coverage of the study to a total of twenty-nine countries. The reader is not told the basis for selection of the countries to be included; it is to be presumed that this is a compromise between practicality and relevance. Conspicuously missing is any information from the U.S.S.R. and other East European countries. Whether this omission results from Soviet recalcitrance or from an assumption that there was nothing to report is not stated. Other omissions such as Africa and the Middle East presumably resulted from a judgment on the part of the planning committee that there was no systematic teaching or research in demography in these areas. This gap is more understandable than the lack of any report from Canada, where there certainly is some attention to the subject.

In spite of this incompleteness, this report is of distinct value. Anyone other than a professional demographer will probably be surprised at the varying emphases and the fickle affiliations of the discipline. American sociologists who have been accustomed to the inclusion of demographic study within the province

of sociology may be startled to find that this delineation is almost uniquely their own and that in other countries the subject is varyingly grouped with economics, statistics, history, geography, anthropology, social psychology, and biology.

Perhaps the most striking impression is that, for a subject of such fundamental importance, relatively little systematic study is devoted to it, and in consequence there is a paucity of teaching of either subject matter or methodology.

Of particular value is a short chapter consisting essentially of recommendations for the standardization and improvement of the teaching of demography. This includes a classification of the different types of students who will be studying demography and their varying needs: the general student who needs a broad general introduction to subject matter, the specialist in peripheral fields who will need information in special areas (e.g., the public health worker who needs to understand morbidity and mortality statistics), and, finally, that small group who will become demographers and hence need a detailed knowledge of method as well as content. Minimal content of the basic course is specified along with suggestions for the preparation for professional work in demography. Constrictive tendencies resulting from teaching demography as a subordinate part of a more comprehensive discipline such as sociology or economics is recognized, and it is to be inferred that the establishment of separate departments of demography might be desirable. However, the committee recognizes that the limited number of students seeking to specialize in the field makes this an unlikely development. Nevertheless, they say, a more systematic expansion of advanced training is clearly desirable.

DONALD O. COWGILL

University of Wichita

The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Criminology. By the INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY. Paris: UNESCO, 1957. Pp. 164. \$2.00.

This interesting report on the university teaching of criminology is part of the ambitious program devoted to the teaching of the social sciences proposed by the General Conference of UNESCO in May and June of 1950 at the

time of its Fifth Session. During its initial sessions the director-general was authorized "to undertake surveys on methods of instruction in the social sciences." As a result of the original resolution, a general survey of the teaching of the social sciences was undertaken, covering the fields of sociology, social psychology and cultural anthropology, international relations, law, political science, and economics. Thus far, reports have been issued for all these fields.

The present report is the most recently completed and, in keeping with the general plan of presentation and organization adopted, has been compiled by a series of distinguished European and American criminologists serving as *rapporteurs*. In accordance with UNESCO practice of soliciting the assistance of non-governmental organizations in the preparation of such reports, the present survey was completed under arrangement with the International Society of Criminology. It includes a general introductory survey on the development of the criminological sciences in general and a series of reports on the state of criminology in ten countries. The national reports tend to follow a uniform pattern, describing the historical background of the teaching of criminology in the respective country, the present situation, prospects, and suggestions for the future.

Significant, it appears to this reviewer, was the resolution of the General Conference of UNESCO at the time of its Eighth Session in November and December of 1954 to authorize the director-general not only to facilitate the teaching of the social sciences but to encourage as well "the use, at all levels of teaching, of knowledge acquired from the social sciences." Under other conditions and with proper implementation, the eventual impact of such a resolution might indeed be revolutionary.

Some conception of the wide-ranging scope of this report, and the complexities it presents, can be gained by noting the diversity of topics discussed in the general survey preceding the separate national reports. Prepared by Denis Carroll, of London, and Jean Pinatel, of Paris, this section deals with the need for the teaching of criminology; the purpose of the teaching of criminology; the structure and general place of criminology teaching in education; the Continental and Anglo-Saxon types of university systems; institutes of criminology; the teaching of criminology outside of institutes; organization of teaching; the separate subjects taught; and teaching methods. Profoundly

aware of the difficulties involved in making general recommendations, Jean Pinatel offers a number of practical considerations for the furtherance of criminology on the university and institute levels which, he believes, might be fairly applicable to the variable curricular and structural differences occurring in the different countries. Much of what he has to say in relation to the initiating of criminology teaching, the kinds of collaboration (i.e., public agency and university) required, the forms of curriculum to be adopted, and the general objectives he proposes are already in gradual process of development in this country. A significant caveat that he offers, however, is his warning to avoid the organization of criminology teaching on a single educational level, whether this be "faculty," "department," or "college" level. Sponsorship for such teaching should come from the highest university administrative level so as to avoid the parochialism of monopoly by a given specialized group or discipline. He seems to feel that the Anglo-Saxon type of higher education has an advantage in this respect, since "the concept of the 'faculty' is less rigid than that of continental countries" (p. 52). In view of the development of the teaching of criminology in the United States, one is led to wonder whether Pinatel is fully conversant with the trend of college and university teaching in the United States and its peculiar departmental organization and character. However, the objectives he cites are generally praiseworthy in the light of the multidisciplinary stress made by the report.

It is significant to note that, despite the differing backgrounds and professional interests of the European and American specialists contributing to this report, considerable consensus exists concerning the scope and purpose of criminology as a science. This is all the more remarkable when one considers the annexationist tendencies (as the report puts it), reflecting university disciplines in different countries, exercised by specialized agencies—juridical, police, and medical—in placing special focus upon the purposes of criminological investigation. The participants in this report seemed to accept the view of Enrico Ferri that criminology is a "synthetic science," based upon criminal anthropology and criminal sociology. It should be observed, however, that the European view of anthropology is considerably broader than the concept ordinarily employed in the United States. On the Continent, for example, anthro-

pology includes such subject matters as biology and medicine, psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis. The general view adopted appears largely in accord with the sociological perspective ordinarily maintained in American criminology. As such, crime was envisaged "not as a judicial abstraction, but as a human act, a natural and social fact" (p. 15). Further, within the framework of such a conception, the compilers of the general report view the aim of such a synthetic science as that of reducing crime.

Although the sociological focus upon criminology which is so characteristic of the American scene may have exercised no special influence upon the conclusions in this report, frequent references appear in the survey to this predominantly sociological influence of American criminology. Certainly, the primary importance of acknowledging the sociological frame of reference, as a means of co-ordinating the several disciplines which comprise the study of criminology, seems to follow almost unavoidably from the basic definition employed by the UNESCO specialists. Recognizing, however, the multidisciplinary basis upon which a science of criminology must be developed, the report strongly urges the use of clinical observations and data originating from many specialized sources, culminating in a planned, integrative approach to the study of crime. Thus the report favors the cultivation of criminological sciences in the various disciplines in which they naturally fall—in areas referred to as the "criminological sciences" (criminal biology, psychology and sociology, and penology), criminology proper, and the "subsidiary sciences" (forensic medicine, scientific police methodology, judicial psychology)—and the development of broad university institutes, deriving from the several disciplines, for the training of genuine criminological specialists. Proper academic recognition of such advanced studies, according to the report, should be granted in the form of the doctorate and the teaching certificate (*agrégation*) in criminology.

This carefully drawn report, well worth detailed study by sociologists, whether criminologists or not, raises a number of significant issues, many by implication. The development of a systematic approach to criminology, and the consideration of generic theory and propositions, in the form of the objectives of the late Professor Sutherland, remains an integral issue, close to the core of the teaching and develop-

ment of criminology and the social sciences in general. Whether the cultivation of the special disciplines within criminology can best be served without such a unifying conception remains a critical and pressing issue. By implication, the compilers of the report may have recognized this, and, certainly, in respect to the broad purposes of criminology teaching and study, they are unmistakably clear. In repeating what was said at the inaugural meeting of the First International Course of Criminology, they state: "We must have at our disposal, in all the countries of the world, specialists and savants who, endowed with the same spirit and using a common method, will take up the study of the criminal phenomenon in a new perspective, from the point of view of man and his needs, and not from that of repression and its techniques."

HERBERT A. BLOCH

Brooklyn College

America as a Civilization: Life and Thought in the United States. By MAX LERNER. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1957. Pp. xiii+1036. \$10.00.

Max Lerner has not written a history of the United States or an indictment of or an apology for our society. He has "tried to grasp the pattern and inner meaning of contemporary American civilization." Lerner took ten years to write, revise, and rewrite this volume. It is a prodigious effort and, in the opinion of this reviewer, a remarkable book.

Each of the twelve long chapters contains a great wealth of data, drawn from books and articles in all areas of American scholarship and interpreted against the background of what Lerner calls the "polar nature of American life."

The central idea of the book is that America is best seen as a total civilizational pattern. "When a culture—which is a set of blueprints for a society—has grown highly complex and cuts a wide swath in history and in the minds of men, one looks for a term more highly charged with the overtones of these meanings. Civilization is such a term." America, China, and France are examples of civilizations. The Andaman Islanders, the French-Canadians, and the Indonesians would not be civilizations. The former have left a deep imprint on human

experience, "a scar on men's minds"; the latter have not.

Lerner constantly pays his respect to and makes use of the analyses of De Tocqueville, Bryce, Veblen, Parrington, Laski, and C. W. Mills. But he cannot, as they did, find a master formula or an institutional substructure. Their formulas are understandable in terms of their historical vantage points and ideological commitments. Lerner's commitment is to liberalism and in a general sense is not unlike the values of these other writers. The difference, then, is the historical vantage point which has provided him with the mass of accumulating data of American social science. This, given his intellectual honesty, results in his statement that "the problem of American interpretation is best seen in a figure-ground perspective: but what will be figure and what will be ground will vary with the purpose at hand."

If Lerner has any master theme to explain the American heritage, it is dynamism, or the transcending of the past in the process of incorporating it. The frontier, the pluralism of race, religion, and region, the access to opportunity, the optimism and pragmatism of the populace, the ever resurgent belief in equality—these shaped this heritage.

He isolates four periods as the seedbeds of American dynamism. The first was from the 1770's through 1800. Americans went beyond discontent to revolution, beyond revolution to national unity. The second was the era of Jacksonian turbulence. The third was from 1890 to 1910, when capitalist industrialism reached its apex, when immigration brought ethnic pluralism, when village gave way to city, when Populism gave an impetus to a new transcending of the past. The fourth is the period from 1933 to the present. It is this era of the "Big Change" that is his primary concern.

Sociologists have written perceptive analyses of American society. Robin Williams' *American Society* is the best recent example. Lerner is not bound by the conceptual apparatus of any discipline except that of historiography. This relative freedom is coupled with the knowledge provided by the special insights given by the conceptual viewpoints of the social scientists. The result is a book of immense value to those of us who follow a more pedestrian path.

ROBERT B. NOTESTEIN

University of Wisconsin

Planned Migration: The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement. By WILLIAM PETERSEN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. Pp. x+273. \$3.50.

Since World War I international migration has been more and more subject to regulation by governmental action, both by sending and by receiving nations. Consequently, any particular flow of migrants between nations is a net result of two sets of migration "policies." The number of such migrants will depend, in no small part, upon the demographic, economic, and social conditions—in both the receiving and the sending countries—and in the interpretation which each nation places upon those conditions. This study selects the postwar movement of Dutch emigrants to Canada as an example of planned migration under almost ideal conditions. A genuine and growing population pressure in Holland has caused that nation to look favorably upon emigration; Canada is a favored destination in Dutch thinking. Canada is in the midst of a great economic expansion with manpower needs that cannot be met by her own reproductive efforts and hence welcomes newcomers; Dutchmen are one of the most desirable newcomers in Canadian eyes. The two countries have a bilateral agreement that provides a maximum of security and mutual satisfaction in making a transfer of population between the two countries.

The book is divided into four major parts. Part I describes the situation in Holland that makes emigration a desirable national policy—persistent high birth rates and an inability to expand the economy sufficiently rapidly to accommodate oncoming generations. Part II describes the situation in Canada and its policy favoring immigration. Part III relates the two sets of situations to each other and describes Dutch-Canadian migration. A picture is painted of a Dutch high-pressure (population) mass being strongly impelled to flow toward the low-pressure area in Canada, with a favorable barometer of international sentiment (pre-war history of satisfactory migration, numerous Dutch war brides, and good international feeling) between the two countries being conducive to a showering of Dutchmen on thirsty Canadian soil. In Part IV the author evaluates the movement. He suspects that the out-migration from Holland will do comparatively little to relieve population pressure, because it will do nothing

to lower birth rates. He points out that a more efficacious solution to the problem would be a "system of birth control as effective as the excellent death control." Since the Dutch reject this solution, their program seems to be an "irrational" solution to a national problem. He thinks this irrationality is compounded by a system of comprehensive social legislation for families that, in his opinion, is largely responsible for the higher birth rates. On the receiving end, Canada's policy toward the Dutch seems "irrational" also because they select on an occupational basis and choose Dutch farmers and exclude skilled technicians who would help man their burgeoning factories. (Canada's agricultural economy is expanding only slowly now; the big growth is in the cities and in the non-agricultural sectors.) The major finding: "This study has attempted to prove that the administrative controls set up in both countries have been established more in response to irrational pressures than as a rational means of solving a social problem" (p. 238).

This is an unusually fine piece of documentary reporting; the story is well worth careful reading by all demographers and economists interested in population flows. This reviewer's admiration for this well conceived, well-documented, and well-written analysis is tempered only by three comments.

At numerous points the interpretation is openly speculative, philosophical, and loaded with value judgments that are unworthy of a scientist. Although it is refreshing to find pronouncements by new experts on population topics, such as Max Weber, Robert MacIver, and John Maynard Keynes, used deductively to arrive at explanations of old demographic problems, such reverse exegesis is no more a substitute for research than the authority of Malthus, Spencer, and Adam Smith. For example:

Weber's thesis relating the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism could hardly be better exemplified than by Calvinist, mercantile Holland of the sixteenth century. The very fact, however, that the sentiments appropriate to a religious calling were transferred so successfully to secular life removed the sharpness of the antithesis between them, so that later, when the bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries recreated Europe in a secular, businesslike image, there was much less in Holland that demanded change. . . . Holland's high fertility cannot be explained by any of the usual narrowly demographic analyses but only in terms of its social history [pp. 35-40].

A "rivalry theory" of high Dutch fertility in which Catholics try to outbreed Protestants may have a no more factual basis than a theory that American women are now grimly engaged in a race to outreproduce Russian women. A little "narrowly demographic" research concerning differences in attitudes pertaining to child-bearing among present cohorts is indicated, not a study of social history.

In concentrating on this "ideal type" case of Dutch-Canadian migration, the author seems to forget that neglecting other aspects of the situation does not necessarily "hold them constant." For example, the labeling as "irrational" Holland's disinclination to lower her birth rates to the level of her neighbors, or of Canada's preference for Dutch farmers instead of Dutch urbanites, seems to be only a "value judgment" way of saying that these actions are based upon values and other forces that lie outside the ken of the present study. Both of these are phenomena to be explained; the fact that the "causes" lie outside this particular piece of research should call for more research rather than for the use of labels that "explain by disparagement."

The study could have been much more incisive had it been comparative. One wonders what the Dutch-Canadian movement is like in comparison with another "near-ideal" situation, such as that between Portugal and Brazil, or between England and the United States. How do the near-optimum streams of movement compare with the less optimal streams, such as the Dutch-French or the Italian-Canadian streams?

These comments should not be interpreted as a nullification of the study, however. It is to be hoped that the field of demography will continue to receive the attention of this demographic sociologist; his work can help correct some of the excesses of sociological demographers like myself.

DONALD J. BOGUE

University of Chicago

The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia. By PETER WORSLEY. London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1957. Pp. 290. 25s.

Peter Worsley, a former associate of Max Gluckman at the Australian National University and presently a lecturer in sociology at the University of Hull, has done an admirable,

scholarly job of surveying the development of the large number of millenarian movements in the Melanesian archipelago during the last century and analyzing the social and economic forces that he believes account for the rise of these cults. Typically, a "cargo" cult is organized around a prophecy that, in the near future, the existing social order will be overturned, and God or the ancestors of the people will return, bringing all the material goods ("cargo") the people want initiating an era of eternal happiness. To prepare for this coming, the people organize, develop ritual observances, build storehouses for the "cargo," and often waste or destroy their immediate resources such as gardens, livestock, and money. Thus the cults that arose on New Guinea and the smaller islands of Melanesia share certain common characteristics with millennial movements all over the world, and Worsley tries to extract some general principles about the conditions under which such movements will appear from his study of a single, fairly homogeneous area.

Worsley labels his analysis "Marxian." He argues that cargo cults have arisen under the stimulus of the socioeconomic deprivations visited upon the natives of the Melanesian area by their various colonial masters: German, Dutch, English, Australian, Japanese, and American. The deprivations and hardships suffered by the natives are well documented, and the evidence makes plausible Worsley's claim that cargo movements are fundamentally expressions of the wish to overthrow white domination and invert the political-economic order. This motive, together with the belief that white goods are not the product of white labor (for the visible whites clearly do not work as natives have to), but are, rather the product of native ancestral efforts, provides the basis for the belief in the coming cargo. The prophecy of the coming is the wishful expression of deliverance and the associated ritual is the magical means of bringing it about.

Such a skeletonized version of the argument does not do justice to Worsley's painstaking analysis. He carefully relates the content of cargo-cult ideology to both indigenous religious elements and Christian doctrine and also considers the role of the European economy in producing incomprehensible (to the natives) shifts in prosperity and depression. Nor is his analysis confined to genetic questions. He looks, rather briefly, at the question of persistence of belief in the face of disconfirming evidence;

and, unlike some critics who have mistaken the disruption of social organization for the death of a movement, he points out that governmental intervention not only did not end the belief in the coming of cargo but may indeed have strengthened it. He also considers briefly such matters as the roles of prophet and organizer in the movements, the kinds of individuals who found and who join, and speculates on the relation between belief and such hysterical phenomena as mass possession and shaking fits. His psychological analysis of these matters is not especially penetrating. On the other hand, he presents an insightful view of the positive significance of ritual breaking of taboos which occurs so often in cargo cults. Finally, Worsley delineates a long-time trend in Melanesian movements from millenarian mysticism toward secular political organization, in the course of which the revolutionary energy is diverted into political parties and co-operatives, while the religious cults tend to become passive.

The body of the book is straightforward historical narrative accompanied by occasional analytic comments. In his concluding chapter Worsley tries to state in general terms the conditions under which millenarian movements will arise and to interpret their most common features. The generalizations sometimes seem too broad and, at other times, too constricted by the limited data on which they are based. The interpretive remarks are more satisfying, though they may provoke controversy too.

Finally, in the compact Appendix, Worsley confronts a question that may occur to many readers of his book: Is his work sociology or anthropology? Worsley's discussion of this point results in a healthy rejection of any rigid separation between the two disciplines. This reviewer is left with the agreeable feeling that Worsley does not care which label you apply to his work. As if to substantiate that impression, he concludes his book by critically attacking and skilfully rejecting the ideal-type method of analysis of millenarian movements as employed both by Max Weber and by Ralph Linton. For those anthropologists and sociologists who are not specifically concerned with the South Pacific or with millenarian movements, this section will probably be the most provocative and rewarding part of the book.

HENRY W. RIECKEN

University of Minnesota

The Negro and Southern Politics: A Chapter of Florida History. By HUGH D. PRICE. New York: New York University Press, 1957. Pp. xviii+133. \$5.00.

This is the story of the Negro in Florida politics—the increasing amount of Negro registration, the role of Negro voters and voting leagues in some recent election campaigns, and the impact of Negro voting on the Florida political system and of the system on the effectiveness of Negro political participation. It is a short, short story.

Twelve years after the legal right of the Negro to vote in all elections has been established, only one in three is registered (less than half the white ratio), and even fewer actually vote. Negro voters and their political organizations have had little effect on election outcomes. Negro voting has had little, if any, impact on the Florida political system; what changes have occurred can be traced to other factors, such as increasing urbanization. On the whole, the system, particularly its one-party aspect, has continued to operate effectively to vitiate any possible results of Negro political participation. In addition, it may well be that the system is now operating to make any increments of Negro participation more difficult. There is some evidence that this has been the case since 1950. This is the way I read Price's story. I do not think that he believes he is telling it that way.

This is primarily an ecological study with journalistic supplementation. For those interested in the social psychology of voting behavior, ecological analysis is usually quite unsatisfactory. In this case, one cannot determine whether the differences in the amount of Negro registration and voting among the Florida counties do indeed stem from differences in the distribution of attitudes of whites toward Negro political activity, as the author suggests at times, or whether they stem from differences in the informal political structure among the counties, which is strongly suggested by some of the descriptive data. Nevertheless, these ecological data are better than speculation, impression, and highly selective descriptions, which too often form the basis for generalizations about political behavior. And the analysis of Negro registration in terms of the quality of population change (e.g., decrease of percentage non-whites due to increase of whites and decrease due to Negro exodus), is most suggestive.

Somewhere in the mountains of detail about

Negro participation county by county in Florida politics, the significance of "the Negro and Southern politics" is lost. It seems to me that some attention should be directed to the fact that no section of this country (at least since the Civil War) has contributed more consistently and in greater measure to the political scum at the top of our federal body politic than has the South. This is the significance, negative significance, if you will, of "the Negro and Southern politics."

DAVID GOLD

State University of Iowa

Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History. By G. WILLIAM SKINNER. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1957. Pp. xvii+459. \$6.50.

This is an account of the Chinese in Thailand from the seventeenth century to the present time. It begins with "the Chinese in old Siam," and the narrative then follows more or less the chronological line.

The documentation is very full, and the Bibliography is extensive. Skinner is to be congratulated on his skill and perseverance in amassing such a wealth of material, especially since much of it is from Chinese sources.

However, his analysis and interpretation leave something to be desired. For example, Skinner says about factors affecting Chinese migration rates: "In the last analysis, specific historical events, and not abstract 'causes,' determine specific trends and the relative magnitude of Chinese migration" (p. 62).

He explains each little up and down in the chart showing the rates of arrival in Thailand by such things as reduction in passage fares or the outbreak of Sino-French hostilities, etc. But he does not seem to attempt to explain arrival together with departure rates, nor does he try really to take into consideration the total picture as his facts present themselves.

If a crop failure and other economic depression at home is used to explain a sharp rise in arrival rate (as Skinner would do), then the same causes should also have prevented them from departing. We find, on the contrary, that the arrival *and* the departure rates declined together. What the author does is to explain the rise of the rate of arrival by one cause and that of the rate of departure, in the same period of

time, by another. Thus in 1893-94 the rise in arrival was attributed to crop failure and increase of demand for labor in Siam, but the rise of departure was explained by the fact that the Chinese government had repealed their eighteenth-century edict prohibiting emigration and return, and therefore the returnees had less to fear from the extortionists in the migration racket (p. 64). Apart from other objections, such an explanation fails to account for the fluctuation in departure rates before that year and for the sharp drop in 1915-16, when vestiges of all prohibitory regulations were abolished. Furthermore, even if the repeal of the law had something to do with it, what was the relative weight of these conflicting factors? The reader cannot escape the impression that, while the author is able to collect the facts, he has some difficulty in putting them together.

When the author does try later to summarize the various unconnected "factors" affecting Chinese immigration to Siam, he gives economic conditions at home and in Siam the first order of importance. But this decidedly fails to agree with the fact that the highest rise in arrival occurred in 1908 when the "cause," according to the author, was fare reduction. Nor does it explain the fact that, according to the chart on page 63, *the arrival rates rose and fell, year after year, with the departure rates throughout the period under scrutiny* (1881-1916), with only very minor exceptions. The author does not make it clear what he means by the "abstract" causes that he decried. But could it be that there are some variables of a cultural or psychological nature that he fails to "abstract" but which were correlated with the variation in the arrival and departure rates as a whole?

Critical remarks along the same line could be directed at other portions of the book, for example, in his analysis of the contrast between Chinese and Thai family life (pp. 311-14). But, all in all, Skinner has done students of China a great service in bringing into print this useful volume.

FRANCIS L. K. HSU

Northwestern University

Economic Development: Theory, History, Policy. By GERALD M. MEIER and ROBERT E. BALDWIN. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957. Pp. xix+588. \$8.50.

This book is intended for use as a text in courses in economic development given in departments of economics. As such it is a competent survey of the factors involved in economic growth rather than an original contribution to theory or to the analysis of any specific area. The authors briefly summarize and appraise the growth theories typical of the classical economists, the Marxist school, the neo-classicists, and the post-Keynesians as represented by Harrod and Domar. A separate chapter is devoted to Schumpeter's brilliant and one-sided analysis of the problem. Subsequent sections deal with historic economic development, using the British experience "as a classic example"; with the characteristics of underdeveloped countries and the domestic and international obstacles to, and requirements for, successful growth; and with the maintenance of development in the economically advanced countries. Useful but uncritical lists of readings on the non-economic aspects of development and on the economic growth of specific areas are included.

The book is largely descriptive. Many points of view are presented, often with little attempt to assess their relative worth. The uninitiated reader will be made aware of the large number of factors which influence economic growth (see the list on pp. 443-46), but he will not obtain any precise indication of how these factors are related to one another or of the importance of differences in magnitude. Statements of relationships tend to be at a level of generality, as when the authors indicate that "the rate of development will depend on increases in the quantity of productive factors, improvements in the quality of the people as productive agents, and advances in the level of productive techniques" (p. 439). This, of course, is true but, even with appended descriptive materials, not very illuminating. Similarly, there are oversimplified views of many complex relationships, such as those of population factors to economic development (pp. 149-51). Additionally, there is a tendency to claim significance for some item or items without demonstration of the reasons why these are consequential. For example, the authors tell us that, "since the economies of poor countries are based so much on the land, the conditions of land tenure are significant" (p. 276). Two pages follow describing different types of tenure, but there is no explanation of the importance of the different types to the development process.

Despite this pervasive flaw, the book has merit as a text. It is well organized and well

written. It is comprehensive and makes use of a wide group of good sources. It will introduce students who use it to the broad range of factors affecting the development process.

VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY

The Population Council
New York City

The Soviet 1956 Statistical Handbook: A Commentary. By NAUM JASNY. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957. Pp. x+212. \$4.95.

This book has a worthy purpose. It seeks to correct what the author regards, on the whole rightly, as the exaggerated claims made in official Soviet statistics about Soviet rates of growth. It also seeks to set the record straight by calling attention to "the exorbitant price the population had to pay for Soviet attainments." Both these purposes are, however, carried out within a very narrow and confining framework. For Jasny's book is a section-by-section and table-by-table commentary on the first major statistical reference book published by the Soviet Union since World War II began. Called *The National Economy of the U.S.S.R.* and published in 1956, it represents one of the wind-fall profits of the post-Stalin thaw. Most Soviet experts were overjoyed to have it. But Jasny was apparently concerned that the more naïve might swallow it whole and has provided his particular antidote. Even experts, who need it least, will benefit from having the commentary and the rich supply of supplementary data, and certainly novices in Soviet statistics should not venture in this mined field without Jasny's little detector. But this book should not be taken for a general or introductory guide to Soviet socioeconomic statistics or to the Soviet production record. And for readers of this *Journal*, Jasny unfortunately neglects the newly published social statistics in favor of comments on the more traditional economic indexes.

ALEX INKELES

Harvard University

Katholieke Minderheid en protestantse Dominant ("Catholic Minority and Protestant Dominant"). By W. GODDIJN. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957. Pp. xx+289 (including a five-page English summary). Hfl. 15.50.

Every culture has its sacred areas, off limits to serious social inquiry: a Kinsey report would be inconceivable in Holland, and in the United States we prohibit even basic census enumeration by religion. American social scientists interested in the sociology of religion can learn a lot from a study of Holland, where the religious cleavage goes through the entire society and affects behavior patterns in every setting. In addition to the secular *Mens en Maatschappij*, there are two excellent journals of sociology issued under the auspices of religious institutes, of Protestant *Sociologisch Bulletin* and the multilingual Catholic *Social Compass*. The editor of the latter, Professor G. H. L. Zeegers, is also director of the Catholic Social Ecclesiastical Institute, which sponsored the publication of Goddijn's book, the third in a series of monographs on social questions as seen from a Catholic point of view.

The major subject of *Catholic Minority and Protestant Dominant* is the life of Catholics in a province of Friesland, where they constitute only about 7 per cent of the population. To a remarkable degree, this small group has retained its independent existence and prevented an integration into the Protestant majority. In the oldest Catholic communities, which go back to before the Reformation, the cohesive sentiments of the seventeenth century have been passed on from one generation to the next; and many of the more recent Catholic in-migrants also zealously maintain their subculture inviolate in a Protestant environment. As Goddijn points out, the small number of Protestants in the predominantly Catholic southern provinces have tended, on the contrary, to move away from their religion. Under varying circumstances, then, a very small minority may tend either to disappear into the dominant group or to achieve a heightened self-consciousness and thus an independent life of almost indefinite duration. The contrast is interesting, but Goddijn's explanation of it, in terms of "autochthony" and "allochthony," is hardly adequate.

This detailed survey of Catholics in Friesland is introduced by several chapters on the theory of minority-majority relations. These are based largely on the writings of American sociologists, general theorists such as Louis Wirth and Arnold Rose, and, in particular, more recent writers, for example, J. J. Kane and Will Herberg, who have adapted the earlier analyses of ethnic groups to one of interreli-

gious relations. This is an extension, however, to a different type of minority. The classical minority in American sociology—the Negro—defines discrimination as being treated differently from the majority. He wants only to disappear into white society, to lose his ghettos, his Negro occupations, and every other specific group characteristic—including, if this were possible, his color. European minorities, on the contrary, have typically fought to *maintain* their independent existence, often against the policy of the majority culture to absorb them completely. The theory that has been developed in analysis of Negro-white relations cannot be appropriately used without considerable revision in a discussion of the Catholic group even in the United States, and the transfer of these concepts overseas is even more hazardous.

According to the last census, Catholics constituted 38.5 per cent of the Dutch population, and in an arithmetical sense they were a minority. In what sense, however, is the residual population, the non-Catholic "dominant," a unit? The characteristic feature of the minority-dominant relation, according to Goddijn, is "the exclusion, subordination, or discrimination by the dominant." Is the whole of the non-Catholic population united in its general opposition to Catholicism? Is this even the impression that they give to Catholics? Actually, neither is the case, as we can learn, for example, from Goddijn's own interviews. According to one respondent, "Most of the Netherlands Reformed are not anti-Catholic, although this is the case among most of the *Gereformeerden*" (the smaller, more orthodox Calvinist sects), and this contrast is repeated by almost all the other persons quoted.

The Catholics are the largest coherent group in Dutch politics and social life—a plurality rather than a minority. From the 1880's to the present day, there has hardly been a Dutch government in which representatives of the Catholic party were not included, and this political power is only the most significant of the Dutch Catholics' full emancipation from all one-time political and social discriminations. Even in such a province as Friesland, where they form a small minority, Catholics derive many benefits from the substantial national power of their coreligionists in the rest of Holland.

Thus, if individual Catholics feel as if they were members of a persecuted minority, this is ordinarily based not on their own experience

but on a knowledge of past history. In the nineteenth century the Catholics' resentment of second-class citizenship was the psychological foundation of a new political party; if this indignation can be retained, now that the Catholics have achieved "emancipation," Catholic organizational life will have the best of both worlds. Both the many histories of Dutch Catholicism and the beginning series of studies on small Catholic minorities in, for example, Friesland or Sweden (in a recent issue of *Social Compass*) have this effect, and one wonders whether this may not also be their principal purpose.

WILLIAM PETERSEN

University of Colorado

Guides for Sentencing. By THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF JUDGES OF THE NATIONAL PROBATION AND PAROLE ASSOCIATION. New York: National Probation and Parole Association, 1957. Pp. vi+186. \$2.00.

Parole in Principles and Practice. By THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PAROLE. New York: National Probation and Parole Association, 1957. Pp. vi+186. \$2.00.

These volumes prescribe and rationalize behavior norms for certain positions in the administration of justice. They provide data for the sociologist as they convey a consensus of opinion among esteemed members of judicial and correctional professions. They will be of practical value to students of sociology seeking employment in corrections, the first book for probation jobs, and the second for parole.

Guides for Sentencing is ascribed to a council of forty distinguished judges, headed by the Honorable Bolitha J. Laws. Its opening statements disavow interest in punishment, limiting the objectives of sentencing to deterrence and rehabilitation. But a judge's difficulty in eschewing interest in punishment is apparent when the *Guide* warns, Durkheim-like, that community sentiments regarding the offense and offender cannot be ignored in fixing sentence. Most of the volume is concerned with urging intensive presentence investigation of rehabilitation possibilities for each case and with conveying impressionistic generalizations on the prognostic significance of various types of case data. The contribution that the book can make to the rehabilitation of criminals is limited,

first, by its tendency to overlook social ties between offenders as a basis for prognosis and, second, by the absence of much systematic research on actual sentencing practices and their causes and consequences. In the latter connection much attention might be given to the limitations on sentencing resulting from the bargaining aspects of criminal prosecution and from the political relationships of judges and prosecutors.

Parole in Principle and Practice is the product of the second National Conference on Parole assembled by the United States Attorney-General in 1956. It is much less monumental than the *Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures* which was the basis for the previous conference in 1939. The present volume includes several speeches by government dignitaries and twelve topical statements drafted by preconference committees and approved or revised by conference workshops. It prescribes standard terminology and procedure, indicates legislative problems, and specifies ways to enhance the authority, security, and staff of parole agencies. There is reference to a need for more adequate knowledge on which to base parole decisions (chap. xii), but a warning that funds for procuring information on which to base statistical prediction might produce greater benefit if devoted to individual treatment (p. 112). Since no parole system has yet spent 1 per cent of its budget on such research, it is hard to see how this danger of overinvestment was envisioned.

DANIEL GLASER

University of Illinois

Mensch und Wirtschaft: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Wirtschaftstheorie und Wirtschaftspolitik ("Man and Economy: Essays and Discussions of the Economic Theory and Policy"). By OTTO VON ZWIEDINECK. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1955. Pp. ix+440. DM. 32.60.

In reading the present volume of collected papers from the pen of my academic teacher, I experienced once more his stimulating presence, but I also became keenly aware of the difficulty of transposing meanings from one culture to another.

Von Zwiedineck, who died last year at the age of eighty-six, was born in the university

town of Graz in Styria, in a borderland where conflicting German, Slavic, and Magyar aspirations created a heightened national consciousness. At the same time he was heir to the universalistic traditions of the Austrian civil service, and endowment which enabled him later to be among those few German academicians who resisted the Nazi onslaught on the freedom of the human mind. From 1920 until his forced resignation in 1938, he occupied the chair of political economy at the University of Munich previously held by Lujo Brentano and Max Weber, and his unblemished record made it possible for him to participate in the reconstructive efforts after 1945. Although, academically speaking, he was raised in the shadow of the Viennese marginal utility school, with its emphasis on "theory," he actually was a pupil of Richard Hildebrand in Graz and of Carl Buecher in Leipzig, representatives of the "historical" school in the economic and social sciences. Hence in the famous "*Methodenstreit*," he had a foot in both camps and his subsequent contributions spanned the empirical and theoretical fields.

Transposed into the contemporary American scene, what has such a position to offer? The answer is complicated by the fact that Otto von Zwiedineck does not belong to the generation of "system-builders." He published two books, *Sozialpolitik* (1911) and "*Allgemeine Volkswirtschaftslehre*" (*Enzyklopaedie der Rechtsund Staatswissenschaften*, Vol. XXXIII [1932]), but he was essentially an essayist in terms of form and a shaper of "theories in the middle range" in terms of content. His contributions, ranging from a few quickly penned pages of insights to complex treatises of considerable length, are dispersed in a number of scholarly periodicals and difficult of access. The present volume of collected papers—a companion volume is soon to appear—offers therefore a first opportunity to assess his work, if not in its total scope, at least in a great many of its aspects. Some of these pertain primarily to the field of economic theory and must be omitted from a review aimed at sociologists. But not entirely! To say that "the share of the worker in the production of tomorrow . . . determines his demand for the production of today" is equivalent to posing the maintenance of the purchasing power of the laboring classes in a period of depression as a major goal in social planning and as the ra-

tionale for government intervention in the economic process.

From this archimedean point, a host of sociologically relevant observations can be made. First, Zwiedineck's definition of *Sozialpolitik*—the term encompasses both "social planning" and "government intervention"—as "the sum-total of those policies which aim at securing the continued achievement of the purposes of society" provides the only theoretically adequate underpinning for the sociology of social problems. Second, the discussion of the possibilities and limitations of social and political "power" as against the workings of the "economic law," culminating in the recognition that the "economic law" itself must be understood as the result of power relations, carries classical economic theory back to the consideration of the larger societal nexus from which it sprang at the same time that it carries the Marxian idea of the class struggle forward to the postulate of social planning. Third, the voluntaristic philosophy which underlies the entirety of Zwiedineck's reasoning, and which leads him to consider man the central factor in the economic process, makes him, if one transposes his ideas into American terms, a seminal theorist in the field of industrial sociology. Without knowledge of the work of Elton Mayo, Roethlisberger, and others, he arrives at the recognition of productivity as a human, not a technical, problem, at the functional importance of the employer beyond the profit motive, and at the understanding of industry not as a social illness but as the focal element in modern civilization.

For sociologists Zwiedineck's most stimulating contribution is contained in his comments on epistemology, especially in the sixty-five tightly reasoned pages of a paper written in 1944 and entitled "Vom Glauben und anderen Irrtumsquellen in der theoretischen National-oekonomie" ("Concerning Belief and Other Sources of Error in the Study of National Economy"). He challenges the Dilthey-Rickert-Weber dichotomy of the "nomothetic" natural sciences—to which some would also add economic and sociological theory—and the "ideographic" cultural sciences, especially history. He points out that all sciences, natural and cultural, encompass generalizing and individualizing aspects and that natural and cultural sciences alike operate with the expectation of "typical" behavior, that is, with the

element of "probability" and the need for "understanding" regularities as well as deviations. He asserts that no historian can do without a typological approach and that theorizing in the cultural field, especially in economics and sociology, must aim not only at "general" theories but even more so at different theories for different times and places. The result of these deliberations is the recognition that a field of knowledge is characterized not by its methods but by its problems, and the admonition that the researcher in any field ought to be given a free hand in choosing the methods he deems most suited to elucidate his problems.

Otto von Zwiedineck can be understood in comparison with other European economists who branched out into sociology. With Albert Schaeffle, he shares both a universalistic theoretical frame and attention to the practical problems of *Sozialpolitik*, with Pareto an interest in the differentiation of actions and élites, with Max Weber—with whom, however, he substantially disagrees—the emphasis on typology. He differs from his predecessors in his eclectic approach to methodology and in his lack of theoretical dogmatism.

His collected papers are difficult to read even for one who knows German well because of the numerous associations and side glances that are contained in them. The reader is helped somewhat by an autobiographical first chapter and by introductory remarks by the editors, Werner Mahr and Franz Paul Schneider, but an index of topics and persons is sorely missed. Some of the English renderings, for instance, "economical man" instead of "economic man," are incorrect. Finally, it is hoped that the second volume will include a comprehensive bibliography.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Yeshiva University

Crestwood Heights: A Study of the Culture of Suburban Life. By JOHN R. SEELEY, R. ALEXANDER SIM, and ELIZABETH W. LOOSLEY. Introduction by DAVID RIESMAN. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956. Pp. xv+505.

One reason for the eminence of *Middletown* as a community study is its unique success in revealing a social process. Running through Mid-

dletown was a natural stratificational "crack," and, by tracing it, the Lynds were able to reveal Middletown's significant social institutions: the class structure provided the necessary wedge for revealing the complex of social groupings and social concerns that beset any community.

Crestwood Heights contains no such clear-cut "cracks," and the book provides no such unfolding. The authors studied in enormous detail a homogeneous middle-class suburb; their book is a faithful account of what they found. Moving painstakingly from one totality to the next, they describe the various elemental forms of suburban life: we follow the natives through "Space" and "Shelter," and we learn about "Time" and how life is organized around it, how routines differ for young and old, for men and women.

Such unrelieved concreteness, surprisingly, makes for a kind of vagueness. Lacking clear-cut "cracks" and the correct theme for analysis, the authors give the impression that nothing of importance, sociologically or otherwise, is happening. Some individuals may be better adjusted than others, most women may be living in a sex-divided world where families are together only on weekends and vacations—such phenomena are abundantly documented; they make poor reading, if faithful ethnography.

Yet their ethnographic material could reveal a great deal, e.g., on the struggles between the young and the old, students and their teachers, between Jews and Gentiles. For example, a single footnote on page 472 offers a fascinating glimpse at the way Crestwood Heights has coped, unsuccessfully, with one such stratificational "crack": because of the growing proportion of Jewish school children, one school divided classes to contain exactly 50 per cent Jews and 50 per cent Gentiles, with one residual Jewish class rotated so that no child remained there for more than one term. Analysis of the pressures that led to such a scheme, of the pressures that led to its abandonment, of the repercussions that must have resulted, would have been one way of getting behind the culture of suburban life. Analysis of such moments in a community's life might have revealed elusive social processes—and the interdisciplinary participant-observation methods employed by the research staff were uniquely suited for such analysis.

There are undoubtedly good reasons why the

authors did not pursue this particular issue, and the success of a community study does not rely on such issues alone. As the Lynds have shown with no richer material and far weaker ethnographic records, it depends largely on the art of seeing what can be significant about the obvious.

ROLF MEYERSON

University of Chicago

Islamic Society and the West, Vol. I, Part II: *Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century*. By H. A. R. GIBB and HAROLD BOWEN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. v+285. \$5.60.

Systematic without being pedantic, the survey of *Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century*, the first part of which had gone to press before the outbreak of World War II, is now complete. An astounding number of details on all aspects of the life of the Muslim community has been culled from a rich variety of sources and presented within the widest possible intellectual framework. The reader is never allowed to forget the leading ideas and aspirations which made possible and gave cohesion to the countless and often, on the surface, painfully divergent phenomena that the authors have managed to organize in the relatively brief compass of their work.

The second part of their study (which is the occasion of the present remarks), apart from the suggestive analysis of taxation and finance, deals almost exclusively with the religious institution in all its ramifications. It discusses the organization of the 'Ulema and the machinery perpetuating the religious endowments which, among other things, made certain types of scholarship possible; the administration of the law with its ever present conflict between the spirit of the Shari'a and the ordinances emanating from secular authority is described against the contrasting currents of popular piety and their crystallization in the dervish movements. A highly informative chapter on the non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire concludes the book.

Somewhat arbitrarily, the analysis of purpose, content, and financing of education and the interplay of mysticism and the piety of the Law may be sought out as especially illuminating and brilliantly presented. If it were possible for a work of scholarship to rise above

the potentialities of its source materials, this book could be said to have done so. Unfortunately, what makes it valuable constitutes an inevitable weakness: As a comprehensive portrayal of the eighteenth century under the Ottoman Empire (to the western borders of Egypt and without much reference to the Arabian peninsula), it is clearly a pioneering enterprise undertaken before the opening of the Turkish Archives. The unevenness of the material at the disposal of the authors with regard to the several areas and reigns they cover is necessarily reflected in a certain unevenness of the presentation. On occasion, the authors move quickly back and forth over two or three centuries, gleaning what information they can from miscellaneous sources and making it rather difficult for the reader to arrive at a synopsis of what the life of Ottoman society must have been like in any one generation and how it developed.

The public, scholarly or lay, is, however, so badly starved for facts with regard to the period examined by the authors that structural weaknesses of the presentation that are made almost inevitable by the scarcity of pertinent materials give very little offense and certainly do not detract from the sustained excitement with which one reads through the six hundred pages of this book.

G. E. VON GRUNEBaum

University of California
Los Angeles

Soviet Education for Science and Technology. By ALEXANDER G. KOROL. Boston: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957. Pp. xxv+513. \$8.50.

Between 1953 and 1957 the Massachusetts Institute of Technology conducted a systematic investigation, under the direction of Alexander Korol, of the objectives, content, methods, and results of Soviet education in science and technology, with particular reference to mathematics, physics, and mechanical engineering. Korol's book is the major fruit of this research.

In organization *Soviet Education for Science and Technology* proceeds methodically from the secondary grades of general schools through graduate training. It reviews the organization, curriculum, textbooks, staff, and other pertinent characteristics of each level of education.

Throughout the study the primary data are reported in considerable detail with careful documentation. The book has, in general, depended upon three types of sources. It has carefully exploited the Soviet pedagogical literature, primarily for the past half-dozen years but sufficiently for earlier periods to place recent developments in their historic context. In addition, it has brought together evaluations of Soviet syllabi, textbooks, and examinations made by the teaching staff of M.I.T. and by the Educational Testing Service. Finally, it has utilized the recollections of Soviet refugees and the observations of Western scientific visitors to the Soviet Union to gain additional detail. All these data have been assessed in regard to reliability and validity, integrated, and then thoughtfully interpreted. The result is unquestionably the best book on Soviet education that has yet appeared in the West. It is a major contribution both to an understanding of Soviet education and technology and to greater insight into Soviet social dynamics. It represents, furthermore, a significant methodological advance in the comparative study of educational systems.

Substantively, Korol's basic contributions have been to illuminate and evaluate the detailed *plan* of Soviet technological education. This plan is daring, comprehensive, and very well conceived. It attempts, in essence, to wed the superlative standards of western European higher education to the mass scale of the American system and the prognostic goals of Soviet forced-draft industrialization. How well the plan has worked is another matter about which the author has many reservations. These the reviewer shares: certainly, the Soviet system is no model for a democratic society. Yet the very boldness of the Soviet plan is a challenge that the United States cannot ignore.

DEMITRI B. SHIMKIN

United States Bureau of the Census

The Numbers of Man and Animals. Edited by J. B. CRAGG and N. W. PIRIE. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd (for the Institute of Biology),

1955; New York: Macmillan Co., 1957. Pp. viii+152. \$2.75.

This engaging symposium of thirteen brief papers has more fundamental things to say than many a large tome on population questions. Although highly varied, the contributions are uniformly excellent. It is altogether too seldom that first-rate biologists and first-rate social scientists are brought together not only to exchange views on the Malthusian problem but also to make intelligible to one another their respective frames of reference and modes of investigation. Nearly all the disciplines that take a systematic view of population are represented here, and it quickly becomes apparent that no single specialty will have the last word on the subject.

The student of human population cannot expect to duplicate the experimental elegance of Thomas Park's research on interspecies competition, but he should be able to make use of the discovery that moderate environmental variations are capable of large effects on the outcome of competition. It is possible that even more direct use can be made of the mathematical models of growth and diffusion expounded by J. G. Skellam. There is perhaps a certain quaintness about F. Fraser Darling's bit of intellectual history: "Ecologists early divided themselves into plant and animal ecologists, and when some bold spirit began talking of human ecology he was promptly excommunicated. . . . The 'human factor' may now be studied without scientific ostracism, but the young researcher might still be advised to avoid the term human ecology." But sociologists who take their "human ecology" seriously may well study Darling's essay on pastoralism and ponder his major premise: "Any ecological complex which we call a biological community within a habitat circulates its particular and characteristic amount of energy at its own rate. All organisms within the complex contribute to the rate of conversion of matter and are limited by the community and the habitat as a whole."

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

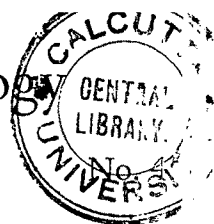
CURRENT BOOKS

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IN THIS ISSUE

Melvin L. Kohn, chief of the Section on Community and Population Studies of the National Institute of Mental Health, contributes to this issue a study of the values which middle- and working-class parents are most interested in inculcating in their children, with some indications as to whether they are realistic or not. It is the first report of a more general study of class and family. The author is at present preparing for publication a report on research on schizophrenia conducted by himself and John A. Clausen.

The literature of the Southern Presbyterian Church opposes church union on doctrinal grounds, but the vote by presbyteries shows a secular issue—segregation—to be the chief contention, and this is confirmed by interviews with the negotiators. These findings are reported by Sanford M. Dornbusch, associate professor at the University of Washington, and Roger D. Irle, a student at Princeton Theological Seminary.

When men and women students of psychology described their ideas of masculinity and femininity, both ideal and real, by choosing adjectives from a given list, they revealed, to name just one thing, that women wish for more of the "feminine" qualities in men and that they consider themselves actually more feminine than they would wish. The research team which made these discoveries consists of John P. McKee and Alex C. Sherriffs, members of the Department of Psychology at the University of California (Berkeley) and research associates of its Institute of Child Welfare.

Some thirty years ago Ernest Burgess and others at the University of Chicago set up the hypothesis that the assimilation of immigrants was positively correlated with length of residence and negatively with residential segregation. In this issue Otis Dudley Duncan and Stanley Lieberman, both of the University's Population Research and Training Center, confirm the assumption on the strength of trends in Chicago between 1930 and 1950.

Non-commercial farmers in Wisconsin have little opportunity to engage in other occupations, but it is a not uncommon practice among commercial farmers to become part-time farmers, while accepting supplementary employment. Their behavior is used as a test of the "push-pull" hypothesis used in the study of migration. Glenn V. Fuguitt, the author of the report, a member of the Department of Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, has prepared a companion piece for *Rural Sociology's* December number.

Donnell M. Pappenfort, a research associate in the Department of Sociology at the University of

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Chicago, reports that, when an Illinois factory is located apart from its administrative offices, Chicago virtually always appears as headquarters and plays the part of a central ecological dominant for the state. When the control offices are outside of Chicago, location is with reference to some more distant metropolis; in this wise, a metropolis is to be understood as playing a role in the national ecology.

A sociologist at the University of Michigan, Frances Gillespie Scott, puts Parsons' theory of action to the test in her analysis of prisons and mental hospitals as examples of integrative organizations. She is at present engaged in a study of roles in the three-generation family, her principal interest being gerontology.

Matching "style of life" and the uses of leisure, Robert J. Havighurst and Kenneth Feigenbaum, of the University of Chicago's Committee on Human Development, conclude, among other things, that the middle-class American focuses both his life-style and his recreation upon the community or his home, while the working-class individual may center them on his home but is likely to have little or no leisure pursuits. They define "successful" life-styles and leisure activities.

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SOCIAL CLASS AND PARENTAL VALUES¹

MELVIN L. KOHN

ABSTRACT

Middle- and working-class parents share a broadly common set of values—but not an identical set by any means. There appears to be a close fit between the actual working-class situation and the values of working-class parents; between the actual middle-class situation and the values of middle-class parents. In either situation the values that seem important but problematic are the ones most likely to be accorded high priority. For the working class the “important but problematic” centers around qualities that assure respectability; for the middle class it centers around internalized standards of conduct.

We undertake this inquiry into the relationship between social class and parental values in the hope that a fuller understanding of the ways in which parents of different social classes differ in their values may help us to understand why they differ in their practices.² This hope, of course, rests on two assumptions: that it is reasonable to conceive of social classes as subcultures of the larger society, each with a relatively distinct value-orientation, and that values really affect behavior.

SAMPLE AND METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

Washington, D.C.—the locus of this study—has a large proportion of people employed by government, relatively little heavy industry, few recent immigrants, a white working class drawn heavily from rural areas, and a large proportion of Negroes, particularly at lower economic levels.

¹ Revision of paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1957. This is the first portion of a more general inquiry into the relationship of class and family directed by the author and John A. Clausen, with the collaboration and aid of Eleanor Carroll, Mary Freeman, Paul Hanlon, Alexander Shakow, and Eleanor Wolff.

Generalizations based on this or any other sample of one city during one limited period of time are, of course, tentative.

Our intent in selecting the families to be studied was to secure approximately two hundred representative white working-class families and another two hundred representative white middle-class families, each family having a child within a narrowly

² There now exists a rather substantial, if somewhat inconsistent, body of literature on the relationship of social class to the ways that parents raise their children. For a fine analytic summary see Urie Bronfenbrenner, “Socialization and Social Class through Time and Space,” in Eleanor E. Maccoby *et al.*, *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co.; new edition in press). Bronfenbrenner gives references to the major studies of class and child-rearing practices that have been done.

For the most relevant studies on class and values see Evelyn M. Duvall, “Conceptions of Parenthood,” *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (November, 1946), 193–203; David F. Aberle and Kaspar D. Naegle, “Middle Class Fathers’ Occupational Role and Attitudes toward Children,” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XXII (April, 1952), 366–78; Herbert H. Hyman, “The Value Systems of Different Classes,” in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status, and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 426–42.

delimited age range. We decided on fifth-grade children because we wanted to direct the interviews to relationships involving a child old enough to have a developed capacity for verbal communication.

The sampling procedure³ involved two steps: the first, selection of census tracts. Tracts with 20 per cent or more Negro population were excluded, as were those in the highest quartile with respect to median income. From among the remaining tracts we then selected a small number representative of each of the three distinct types of residential area in which the population to be studied live: four tracts with a predominantly working-class population, four predominantly middle-class, and three having large proportions of each. The final selection of tracts was based on their occupational distribution and their median income, education, rent (of rented homes), and value (of owner-occupied homes). The second step in the sampling procedure involved selection of families. From records made available by the public and parochial school systems we compiled lists of all families with fifth-grade children who lived in the selected tracts. Two hundred families were then randomly selected from among those in which the father had a "white-collar" occupation and another two hundred from among those in which the father had a manual occupation.

In all four hundred families the mothers were to be interviewed. In every fourth family we scheduled interviews with the father and the fifth-grade child as well.⁴ (When a broken family fell into this subsample, a substitute was chosen from our over-all sample, and the broken family was retained in the over-all sample of four hundred families.)

When interviews with both parents were scheduled, two members of the staff visited the home together—a male to interview the

father, a female to interview the mother. The interviews were conducted independently, in separate rooms, but with essentially identical schedules. The first person to complete his interview with the parent interviewed the child.

INDEXES OF SOCIAL CLASS AND VALUES

Social class.—Each family's social-class position has been determined by the Hollingshead Index of Social Position, assigning the father's occupational status a relative weight of 7 and his educational status a weight of 4. We are considering Hollingshead's Classes I, II, and III to be "middle class," and Classes IV and V to be "working class." The middle-class sample is composed of two relatively distinct groups: Classes I and II are almost entirely professionals, proprietors, and managers with at least some college training. Class III is made up of small shopkeepers, clerks, and salespersons but includes a small number of foremen and skilled workers of unusually high educational status. The working-class sample is composed entirely of manual workers but preponderantly those of higher skill levels. These families are of the "stable working class" rather than "lower class" in the sense that the men have steady jobs, and their education, income, and skill levels are above those of the lowest socioeconomic strata.

Values.—We shall use Kluckhohn's definition: "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which

⁴ The interviewing staff was composed of Eleanor Carroll, Mary Freeman, Paul Hanlon, and Melvin Kohn. We were aided from time to time by three volunteers from the NIMH staff: Leila Deasy, Erwin Linn, and Harriet Murphy. Field work was conducted between March, 1956, and March, 1957.

We secured the co-operation of 86 per cent of the families where the mother alone was to be interviewed and 82 per cent of the families where mother, father, and child were to be interviewed. Rates of non-response do not vary by social class, type of neighborhood, or type of school. This, of course, does not rule out other possible selective biases introduced by the non-respondents.

³ I owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Samuel W. Greenhouse, chief of the Section on Statistics and Mathematics, Biometrics Branch, NIMH, for his expert help in sample design, as well as for his advice on general statistical problems of the research.

influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action."⁵

Our inquiry was limited to the values that parents would most like to see embodied in their children's behavior. We asked the parents to choose, from among several alternative characteristics that might be seen as desirable, those few which they considered *most* important for a child of the appropriate age. Specifically, we offered each parent a card listing 17 characteristics that had

Later in this report we shall subject this index to intensive scrutiny.

CLASS AND VALUES

Middle- and working-class mothers share a broadly common set of values—but not an identical set of values by any means (see Table 1). There is considerable agreement among mothers of both social classes that happiness and such standards of conduct as honesty, consideration, obedience,

TABLE 1

PROPORTION OF MOTHERS WHO SELECT EACH CHARACTERISTIC AS ONE OF THREE
"MOST DESIRABLE" IN A TEN- OR ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHILD

CHARACTERISTICS	FOR BOYS		FOR GIRLS		COMBINED	
	Middle Class	Working Class	Middle Class	Working Class	Middle Class	Working Class
1. That he is honest.....	0.44	0.57	0.44	0.48	0.44	0.53
2. That he is happy.....	.44*	.27	.48	.45	.46*	.36
3. That he is considerate of others	.40	.30	.38*	.24	.39*	.27
4. That he obeys his parents well	.18*	.37	.23	.30	.20*	.33
5. That he is dependable.....	.27	.27	.20	.14	.24	.21
6. That he has good manners....	.16	.17	.23	.32	.19	.24
7. That he has self-control.....	.24	.14	.20	.13	.22*	.13
8. That he is popular with other children .....	.13	.15	.17	.20	.15	.18
9. That he is a good student....	.17	.23	.13	.11	.15	.17
10. That he is neat and clean....	.07	.13	.15*	.28	.11*	.20
11. That he is curious about things	.20*	.06	.15	.07	.18*	.06
12. That he is ambitious.....	.09	.18	.06	.08	.07	.13
13. That he is able to defend himself.....	.13	.05	.06	.08	.10	.06
14. That he is affectionate.....	.03	.05	.07	.04	.05	.04
15. That he is liked by adults....	.03	.05	.07	.04	.05	.04
16. That he is able to play by himself.....	.01	.02	.00	.03	.01	.02
17. That he acts in a serious way.	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
N.....	90	85	84	80	174	165

* Social-class differences statistically significant, 0.05 level or better, using chi-squared test.

been suggested by other parents, in the pre-test interviews, as being highly desirable. (These appear down the left margin of Table 1. The order in which they were listed was varied from interview to interview.) Then we asked: "Which three of the things listed on this card would you say are the *most* important in a boy (or girl) of (fifth-grade child's) age?" The selection of a particular characteristic was taken as our index of value.

⁵ Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value Orientations," in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 395.

dependability, manners, and self-control are highly desirable for both boys and girls of this age.

Popularity, being a good student (especially for boys), neatness and cleanliness (especially for girls), and curiosity are next most likely to be regarded as desirable. Relatively few mothers choose ambition, ability to defend one's self, affectionate responsiveness, being liked by adults, ability to play by one's self, or seriousness as highly desirable for either boys or girls of this age. All of these, of course, might be more highly valued for children of other ages.

Although agreement obtains on this broad

level, working-class mothers differ significantly⁶ from middle-class mothers in the relative emphasis they place on particular characteristics. Significantly fewer working-class mothers regard happiness as highly desirable for boys. Although characteristics that define standards of conduct are valued by many mothers of both social

make a clear distinction between the sexes: they are more likely to regard dependability, being a good student, and ambition as desirable for boys and to regard happiness, good manners, neatness, and cleanliness as desirable for girls.

What of the *fathers'* values? Judging from our subsample of 82 fathers, their

TABLE 2

PROPORTION OF FATHERS WHO SELECT EACH CHARACTERISTIC AS ONE OF THREE
"MOST DESIRABLE" IN A TEN- OR ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHILD

CHARACTERISTICS	FOR BOYS		FOR GIRLS		COMBINED	
	Middle Class	Working Class	Middle Class	Working Class	Middle Class	Working Class
1. That he is honest.....	0.60	0.60	0.43	0.55	0.52	0.58..
2. That he is happy.....	.48	.24	.24	.18	.37	.22
3. That he is considerate of others	.32	.16	.38	.09	.35*	.14
4. That he obeys his parents well	.12*	.40	.14	.36	.13*	.39
5. That he is dependable.....	.36*	.12	.29*	.00	.33*	.08
6. That he has good manners....	.24	.28	.24	.18	.24	.25
7. That he has self-control.....	.20	.08	.19	.00	.20*	.06
8. That he is popular with other children.....	.08	.16	.24	.45	.15	.25
9. That he is a good student....	.04	.12	.10	.36	.07	.19
10. That he is neat and clean....	.16	.20	.14	.09	.15	.17
11. That he is curious about things	.16	.12	.10	.00	.13	.08
12. That he is ambitious.....	.20	.12	.14	.00	.17	.08
13. That he is able to defend himself.....	.04	.16	.00*	.18	.02*	.17
14. That he is affectionate.....	.00	.04	.05	.18	.02	.08
15. That he is liked by adults....	.00	.08	.00	.09	.00	.08
16. That he is able to play by himself.....	.00	.08	.05	.00	.02	.06
17. That he acts in a serious way..	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
N.....	25	25	21	11	46	36

* Social-class differences statistically significant, 0.05 level or better, using chi-squared test.

classes, there are revealing differences of emphasis here too. Working-class mothers are more likely to value obedience; they would have their children be responsive to parental authority. Middle-class mothers are more likely to value both consideration and self-control; they would have their children develop inner control and sympathetic concern for other people. Furthermore, middle-class mothers are more likely to regard curiosity as a prime virtue. By contrast, working-class mothers put the emphasis on neatness and cleanliness, valuing the imaginative and exploring child relatively less than the presentable child.⁷

Middle-class mothers' conceptions of what is desirable for boys are much the same as their conceptions of what is desirable for girls. But working-class mothers

values are similar to those of the mothers (see Table 2). Essentially the same rank-order of choices holds for fathers as for

⁶ The criterion of statistical significance used throughout this paper is the 5 per cent level of probability, based, except where noted, on the chi-squared test.

⁷ Compare these results with Bronfenbrenner's conclusion, based on an analysis of reports of studies of social class and child-rearing methods over the last twenty-five years: "In this modern working class world there may be greater freedom of emotional expression, but there is no laxity or vagueness with respect to goals of child training. Consistently over the past twenty-five years, the parent in this group has emphasized what are usually regarded as the traditional middle class virtues of cleanliness, conformity, and (parental) control, and although his methods are not so effective as those of his middle class neighbors, they are perhaps more desperate" (*op. cit.*).

mothers, with one major exception: fathers are not so likely to value happiness for their daughters. Among fathers as well as mothers, consideration and self-control are more likely to be regarded as desirable by the middle class; middle-class fathers are also more likely to value another standard of conduct—dependability. Working-class fathers, like their wives, are more likely to value obedience; they are also more likely to regard it as desirable that their children be able to defend themselves.⁸

We take this to indicate that middle-class parents (fathers as well as mothers) are more likely to ascribe predominant importance to the child's acting on the basis of internal standards of conduct, working-class parents to the child's compliance with parental authority.

There are important differences between middle- and working-class parents, too, in the way in which their choice of any one characteristic is related to their choice of each of the others.⁹

We have already seen that parents of both social classes are very likely to accord *honesty* first-rank importance. But the choice of honesty is quite differently related

bility considerations to the problem of selecting three things from seventeen when one is interested only in the joint occurrence of two, say, A and B, shows that we can expect B to occur 2/16 of the time among those selections containing A and 3/16 of the time among those not containing A.) This, however, can be taken into account by computing the ratio of the two proportions: p_1 , the proportion of parents who choose B among those who choose A, and p_2 , the proportion who choose B among those who do not choose A. If the ratio of these proportions (p_1/p_2) is significantly larger than two-thirds, the two are positively related; if significantly smaller, they are negatively related.

The test of statistical significance is based on the confidence interval on a ratio, originally given by Fieller, with the modification that we deal here with the ratio of two independent proportions whose variances under the null hypothesis (chance) are known and whose distribution we assume to be normal. The 95 per cent confidence interval on the true ratio, R , of the two proportions, p_1 and p_2 , that hold for any given A and B, is given by:

$$R = \frac{r \pm (1/8p_2) \sqrt{(28/n_1) + (39r^2/n_2) - [(28 \times 39) / 64n_1n_2p_2^2]}}{[1 - (39/64n_2p_2^2)]}$$

⁸ A comparison of the values of the fathers in this subsample with those of the mothers in this same subsample yields essentially the same conclusions.

We do not find that fathers of either social class are significantly more likely to choose any characteristic for boys than they are to choose it for girls, or the reverse. But this may well be an artifact of the small number of fathers in our sample; Aberle and Naegele (*op. cit.*) have found that middle-class fathers are more likely to value such characteristics as responsibility, initiative, good school performance, ability to stand up for one's self, and athletic ability for boys and being "nice," "sweet," pretty, affectionate, and well-liked for girls.

⁹ A logical procedure for examining these patterns of choice is to compare the proportions of parents who choose any given characteristic, B, among those who do and who do not choose another characteristic, A. But since a parent who selects characteristic A has exhausted one of his three choices, the a priori probability of his selecting any other characteristic is only two-thirds as great as the probability that a parent who has not chosen A will do so. (A straightforward application of proba-

where p_1 and p_2 are the observed sample proportions, $r = p_1/p_2$, n_1 = the number of persons selecting A, and n_2 = the number of persons who do not select A.

The logic of the testing procedure is as follows: If the interval contains the null hypothesis value of $R = \frac{2}{3}$ implied by chance selection, then we assume no association between B and A. If the interval excludes $\frac{2}{3}$ such that the lower limit is larger than $\frac{2}{3}$, we conclude that the true R is greater than we expect on the basis of randomness and hence that B is positively associated with A. On the other hand, if the upper limit of the interval is smaller than $\frac{2}{3}$, then we conclude that the true R is smaller than $\frac{2}{3}$ and hence B and A are negatively related.

This procedure was suggested by Samuel W. Greenhouse. For the derivation of the test see E. C. Fieller, "A Fundamental Formula in the Statistics of Biological Assay, and Some Applications," *Quarterly Journal of Pharmacy and Pharmacology*, XVII (1944), 117-23; see also Pandurang V. Sukhatme, *Sampling Theory of Surveys with Applications* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1954), pp. 158-60.

to the choice of other characteristics in the two classes (see Table 3). Middle-class mothers¹⁰ who choose honesty are more likely than are other middle-class mothers to regard consideration, manners, and (for boys) dependability as highly desirable; and those mothers who regard any of these as desirable are more likely to value honesty highly. Consideration, in turn, is positively related to self-control, and manners to neatness. Honesty, then, is the core of a set of standards of conduct, a set consisting primarily of honesty, consideration, manners, and dependability, together with self-control and neatness. As such, it is to be seen as one among several, albeit the central, standards of conduct that middle-class mothers want their children to adopt.

This is not the case for working-class mothers. Those who regard honesty as predominantly important are not especially likely to think of consideration, manners, or dependability as comparable in importance; nor are those who value any of these especially likely to value honesty. Instead the mothers who are most likely to attribute importance to honesty are those who are concerned that the child be happy, popular, and able to defend himself. It is not that the child should conduct himself in a considerate, mannerly, or dependable fashion but that he should *be* happy, *be* esteemed by his peers, and, if the necessity arise, *be* able to protect himself. It suggests that honesty is treated less as a standard of conduct and more as a quality of the person; the emphasis is on being a person of inherent honesty rather than on acting in an honest way.

Note especially the relationship of popularity to honesty. For middle-class mothers these are *negatively* related. To value honesty is to forego valuing popularity; to value popularity is to forego valuing honesty. One

must choose between honesty "at the risk of offending" and popularity at the sacrifice of absolute honesty. The exact opposite obtains for working-class mothers: those who accord high valuation to either are *more* likely to value the other. The very mothers who deem it most important that their children enjoy popularity are those who attribute great importance to honesty. Honesty does not interfere with popularity; on the contrary, it enhances the probability that one will enjoy the respect of one's peers.

However, working-class mothers who value obedience, manners, or consideration are distinctly unlikely to value popularity, and vice versa. They do see each of these standards of conduct as inconsistent with popularity.¹¹ This further substantiates the view that working-class mothers are more likely to view honesty as a quality of the person, a desideratum of moral worth, rather than as one among several highly valued standards of conduct.

Happiness, in distinction to honesty, implies neither constraints upon action nor a moral quality; rather, it indicates a desired goal, achievable in several different ways. One way of specifying what is implied when happiness is regarded as a major value is to ascertain the other values most likely to be related to the choice of happiness.

The two choices positively related to the choice of happiness by middle-class mothers are curiosity and (for boys) ambition. Those middle-class mothers who deem it exceedingly important that their children aspire for knowledge or success are even more

¹⁰ This analysis and those to follow will be limited to the mothers, since the sample of fathers is small. For simplicity, we shall present data separately for boys and for girls only where the relationship under discussion appears to differ for the two sexes considered separately.

¹¹ It may be that these three characteristics have more in common than that they are all standards of conduct. The fact that working-class mothers who value consideration for their *daughters* are especially likely to value manners, and the converse, suggests the possibility that consideration may be seen as a near-equivalent to manners by at least a sizable portion of working-class mothers. If so, all three values negatively related to popularity can be viewed as reflecting close conformance to directives from parents—as contrasted to directives from within. (Note, in this connection, that working-class mothers who would have their daughters be mannerly are distinctly unlikely to deem it important that they be dependable.)

likely than are middle-class mothers in general to value their children's happiness highly.

Working-class mothers who value these, however, are no more likely to value happiness. Instead, curiosity is related to consideration, to the child's concern for others' well-being, and ambition to dependability, to his being the type of person who can be

counted on. The values that are positively related to happiness by working-class mothers are honesty, consideration (for boys), and popularity (for girls). Not aspirations for knowledge or for success, but being an honest—a worthy—person; not the desire to outdistance others, but, for boys, concern for others' well-being and, for girls, enjoyment of the respect and con-

TABLE 3

ALL CASES* WHERE MOTHERS' CHOICE OF ONE CHARACTERISTIC AS "DESIRABLE"
IS SIGNIFICANTLY RELATED TO THEIR CHOICE OF ANY OTHER
CHARACTERISTIC AS "DESIRABLE"

MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

CHARACTERISTIC		PROPORTION WHO CHOOSE B AMONG THOSE WHO: Do Not Choose A		p_1/p_2
A	B	Choose A (p_1)	Choose A (p_2)	
<i>Positive relationships:</i>				
1. Honesty	Consideration	0.42	0.37	1.14
2. Honesty	Manners	.22	.16	1.38
3. Honesty	Dependability (boys)	.33	.22	1.50
4. Consideration	Honesty	.47	.42	1.12
5. Manners	Honesty	.52	.43	1.21
6. Dependability	Honesty (boys)	.54	.41	1.32
7. Consideration	Self-control	.24	.22	1.09
8. Self-control	Consideration	.41	.39	1.05
9. Manners	Neatness	.24	.08	3.00
10. Neatness	Manners	.42	.16	2.63
11. Curiosity	Happiness	.58	.43	1.35
12. Happiness	Curiosity	.23	.14	1.64
13. Happiness	Ambition (boys)	.13	.06	2.17
<i>Negative relationships:</i>				
1. Honesty	Popularity	.04	.24	0.17
2. Popularity	Honesty	.12	.50	0.24
3. Curiosity	Obedience	.03	.24	0.13
4. Obedience	Consideration	0.17	0.45	0.38

WORKING-CLASS MOTHERS

<i>Positive relationships:</i>				
1. Happiness	Honesty	0.51	0.55	0.93
2. Popularity	Honesty	.62	.51	1.22
3. Honesty	Popularity	.20	.14	1.43
4. Honesty	Defend self	.07	.05	1.40
5. Consideration	Manners (girls)	.42	.30	1.40
6. Manners	Consideration (girls)	.31	.20	1.55
7. Consideration	Curiosity	.11	.04	2.75
8. Ambition	Dependability	.29	.19	1.53
9. Happiness	Consideration (boys)	.35	.27	1.30
10. Consideration	Happiness (boys)	.32	.25	1.28
11. Happiness	Popularity (girls)	.25	.16	1.56
<i>Negative relationships:</i>				
1. Obedience	Popularity	.05	.24	0.21
2. Manners	Popularity	.00	.23	0.00
3. Consideration	Popularity	.02	.23	0.09
4. Popularity	Obedience	.10	.38	0.26
5. Popularity	Manners	.00	.29	0.00
6. Popularity	Consideration	.03	.32	0.09
7. Manners	Dependability (girls)	0.00	0.20	0.00

* Where it is not specified whether relationship holds for boys or for girls, it holds for both sexes. In all the relationships shown, p_1 and p_2 are each based on a minimum of 20 cases.

fidence of peers: these are the conceptions of the desirable that accompany working-class mothers' wishes that their children be happy.

Still the perhaps equally important fact is that no choice, by mothers of either social class, is negatively related to the choice of happiness.

The final bit of information that these data provide concerns the conception of *obedience* entertained in the two classes. Middle-class mothers who value curiosity are unlikely to value obedience; those who value obedience are unlikely to value consideration. For middle-class mothers, but

the concept "social class." Are the differences we have found between the values of middle- and working-class mothers a product of this dichotomy alone, or do values parallel status gradations more generally? It is possible to arrive at an approximate answer by dividing the mothers into the five socioeconomic strata delineated by the Hollingshead Index (see Table 4). An examination of the choices made by mothers in each stratum indicates that variation in values parallels socioeconomic status rather closely:

a) The higher a mother's status, the higher the probability that she will choose

TABLE 4
MOTHERS' SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND THEIR CHOICE OF CHARACTERISTICS
AS "MOST DESIRABLE" IN A TEN- OR ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHILD

CHARACTERISTIC	PROPORTION WHO SELECT EACH CHARACTERISTIC SOCIOECONOMIC STRATUM (ON HOLLINGSHEAD INDEX)				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Obedience.....	0.14	0.19	0.25	0.35	0.27
Neatness, cleanliness.....	.06	.07	.16	.18	.27
Consideration.....	.41	.37	.39	.25	.32
Curiosity.....	.37	.12	.09	.07	.03
Self-control.....	.24	.30	.18	.13	.14
Happiness.....	.61	.40	.40	.38	.30
Boys.....	.48		.40	.27	
Girls.....	.54		.40	.45	
Honesty.....	0.37	0.49	0.46	0.50	0.65
N.....	51	43	80	128	37

not for working-class mothers, obedience would appear to have a rather narrow connotation; it seems to approximate blind obedience.

CLASS, SUBCULTURE, AND VALUES

In discussing the relationship of social class to values we have talked as if American society were composed of two relatively homogeneous groups, manual and white-collar workers, together with their families. Yet it is likely that there is considerable variation in values, associated with other bases of social differentiation, *within* each class. If so, it should be possible to divide the classes into subgroups in such a way as to specify more precisely the relationship of social class to values.

Consider, first, the use we have made of

consideration, curiosity, self-control, and (for boys)¹² happiness as highly desirable; curiosity is particularly likely to be chosen by mothers in the highest stratum.

b) The lower her status, the higher the probability that she will select obedience, neatness, and cleanliness; it appears, too, that mothers in the lowest stratum are more likely than are those in the highest to value *honesty*.

Mothers' values also are directly related to their own occupational positions and educational attainments, independently of their families' class status. (The family's class

¹² The choice of happiness is, as we have seen, related to social class for boys only. Consequently, in each comparison we shall make in this section the choice of happiness for *girls* will prove to be an exception to the general order.

status has been indexed on the basis of the husband's occupation and education.) It happens that a considerable proportion of the mothers we have classified as working class hold white-collar jobs.¹³ Those who do are, by and large, closer to middle-class mothers in their values than are other working-class mothers (see Table 5). But those who hold manual jobs are even further from middle-class mothers in their values than are working-class mothers who do not have jobs outside the home.

So, too, for mothers' educational attainments: a middle-class mother of *relatively* low educational attainment (one who has gone no further than graduation from high school) is less likely to value curiosity and more likely to value (for girls) neatness and cleanliness (see Table 6). A working-class mother of *relatively* high educational attainment (one who has at least graduated from high school) is more likely to value self-control for boys and both consideration and curiosity for girls. The largest differences obtain between those middle-class mothers of highest educational attainments and those working-class mothers of lowest educational attainments.

Even when we restrict ourselves to considerations of social status and its various ramifications, we find that values vary appreciably within each of the two broad classes. And, as sociologists would expect, variation in values proceeds along other major lines of social demarcation as well. Religious background is particularly useful as a criterion for distinguishing subcultures within the social classes. It does *not* exert so powerful an effect that Protestant mothers differ significantly from Catholic mothers of the same social class in their values.¹⁴ But the combination of class and religious background does enable us to isolate groups that are more homogeneous

¹³ No middle-class mothers have manual jobs, so the comparable situation does not exist. Those middle-class women who do work (at white-collar jobs) are less likely to value neatness and cleanliness and more likely to value obedience and curiosity.

in their values than are the social classes *in toto*. We find that there is an ordering, consistent for all class-related values, proceeding from middle-class Protestant mothers, to middle-class Catholic, to working-class Protestant, to working-class Catholic (see Table 7). Middle-class Protestants and

TABLE 5
WORKING-CLASS MOTHERS' OWN OCCUPATIONS
AND THEIR CHOICE OF CHARACTERISTICS AS
"MOST DESIRABLE" IN A TEN- OR ELEVEN-
YEAR-OLD CHILD

CHARACTERISTIC	PROPORTION WHO SELECT EACH CHARACTERISTIC		
	White- Collar Job	No Job	Manual Job
Obedience.....	.26	.35	.53
Neatness, cleanliness..	.16	.18	.42
Consideration.....	.39	.21	.05
Curiosity.....	.10	.04	.00
Self-control.....	.13	.14	.11
Happiness.....	.33	.40	.26
Boys.....	.32	.21	...
Girls.....	.36	.59	...
N.....	69	77	19

working-class Catholics constitute the two extremes whose values are most dissimilar.

Another relevant line of social demarcation is the distinction between urban and rural background.¹⁵ As we did for religious

¹⁴ The index here is based on the question "May I ask what is your religious background?"

Even when the comparison is restricted to Catholic mothers who send their children to Catholic school versus Protestant mothers of the same social class, there are no significant differences in values.

Jewish mothers (almost all of them in this sample are middle class) are very similar to middle-class Protestant mothers in their values, with two notable exceptions. More Jewish than Protestant mothers select popularity and ability to defend one's self—two values that are not related to social class.

¹⁵ We asked: "Have you ever lived on a farm?" and then classified all mothers who had lived on a farm for some time other than simply summer vacations, prior to age fifteen, as having had a rural background.

Ordinarily, one further line of cultural demarcation would be considered at this point—nationality background. The present sample, however, is composed predominantly of parents who are at least second-generation, United States-born, so this is not possible.

background, we can arrange the mothers into four groups delineated on the basis of class and rural-urban background in an order that is reasonably consistent for all class-related values. The order is: middle-class urban, middle-class rural, working-class urban, working-class rural (see Table 8). The extremes are middle-class mothers

raised in the city and working-class mothers raised on farms.

Several other variables fail to differentiate mothers of the same social class into groups having appreciably different values. These include the mother's age, the size of the family, the ordinal position of the child in the family, the length of time the family

TABLE 6

MOTHERS' EDUCATION AND THEIR CHOICE OF CHARACTERISTICS AS "MOST DESIRABLE" IN A TEN- OR ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHILD

MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS

CHARACTERISTIC	PROPORTION WHO SELECT EACH CHARACTERISTIC			
	Male Child		Female Child	
	At Least Some College	High-School Graduate or Less	At Least Some College	High-School Graduate or Less
Obedience.....	0.11	0.22	0.13	0.29
Neatness-cleanliness.....	.03	.09	.03*	.23
Consideration.....	.47	.35	.41	.37
Curiosity.....	.31*	.13	.31*	.06
Self-control.....	.33	.19	.19	.21
Happiness.....	0.50	0.41	0.59	0.40
N.....	36	54	32	52

WORKING-CLASS MOTHERS

CHARACTERISTIC	PROPORTION WHO SELECT EACH CHARACTERISTIC			
	Male Child		Female Child	
	At Least High-School Graduate	Less than High-School Graduate	At Least High-School Graduate	Less than High-School Graduate
Obedience.....	0.29	0.43	0.28	0.32
Neatness-cleanliness.....	.12	.14	.21	.35
Consideration.....	.32	.27	.33*	.14
Curiosity.....	.07	.05	.12	.00
Self-control.....	.22*	.07	.16*	.08
Happiness.....	0.27	0.27	0.47	0.43
N.....	41	44	43	37

* Difference between mothers of differing educational status statistically significant, 0.05 level or better, using chi-squared test.

TABLE 7

MOTHERS' RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND AND THEIR CHOICE OF CHARACTERISTICS AS "MOST DESIRABLE" IN A TEN- OR ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHILD

CHARACTERISTIC	PROPORTION WHO SELECT EACH CHARACTERISTIC			
	Middle-Class	Middle-Class	Working-Class	Working-Class
	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic
Obedience.....	0.17	0.25	0.33	0.36
Neatness, cleanliness.....	.08	.15	.17	.27
Consideration.....	.36	.38	.26	.29
Curiosity.....	.24	.12	.07	.05
Self-control.....	.28	.15	.15	.09
Happiness.....	.47	.42	.38	.30
Boys.....	.48	.32	.35	.13
Girls.....	0.45	0.52	0.42	0.54
N.....	88	52	107	56

has lived in the neighborhood, whether or not the mother has been socially mobile (from the status of her childhood family), and her class identification. Nor are these results a function of the large proportion of families of government workers included in the sample: wives of government employees do not differ from other mothers of the same social class in their values.

In sum, we find that it is possible to specify the relationship between social class and values more precisely by dividing the social classes into subgroups on the basis of other lines of social demarcation—but

ents, was “self-reliance” or “independence”—a result entirely consistent with the rest of this study. The second, variously labeled “friendliness,” “co-operativeness,” or “ability to get along well with others” was also predominantly a middle-class concern. It indicates that we may have underrepresented the proportion of middle-class parents who value their children’s ability to relate to others. Finally, several parents (of both social classes) said that they considered it desirable that the child not “act too old,” “too young,” or be effeminate (in a boy) or masculine (in a girl). There seems

TABLE 8

RURAL VERSUS URBAN BACKGROUND OF MOTHERS AND THEIR CHOICE OF CHARACTERISTICS AS “MOST DESIRABLE” IN A TEN- OR ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHILD

CHARACTERISTIC	PROPORTION WHO SELECT EACH CHARACTERISTIC:			
	Middle-Class Urban	Middle-Class Rural	Working-Class Urban	Working-Class Rural
Obedience.....	0.19	0.24	0.29	0.42
Neatness, cleanliness.....	.11	.12	.17	.25
Consideration.....	.42	.27	.31	.18
Curiosity.....	.19	.12	.07	.04
Self-control.....	.20	.33	.15	.11
Happiness.....	.47	.42	.41	.25
Boys.....	.44	.47	.28	.25
Girls.....	0.50	0.37	0.57	0.26
N.....	141	33	110	55

that social class seems to provide the single most relevant line of demarcation.

ADEQUACY OF INDEX OF VALUES

The form in which our major question was asked enabled us to set the same ground rules for all parents. No premium was put on imaginativeness or articulateness. But the fact that we limited their choice to these particular characteristics means that we denied them the opportunity to select others that they might have regarded as even more desirable. However, we had *previously* asked each parent: “When you think of a boy (or girl) of (child’s) age, are there *any* things you look for as most important or most desirable?” Only three additional characteristics were suggested by any appreciable number of parents. The first, suggested by a significantly larger proportion of middle- than of working-class par-

ents, was “self-reliance” or “independence”—a result entirely consistent with the rest of this study. The second, variously labeled “friendliness,” “co-operativeness,” or “ability to get along well with others” was also predominantly a middle-class concern. It indicates that we may have underrepresented the proportion of middle-class parents who value their children’s ability to relate to others. Finally, several parents (of both social classes) said that they considered it desirable that the child not “act too old,” “too young,” or be effeminate (in a boy) or masculine (in a girl). There seems

to be a certain concern, not adequately indexed by our major question, that the child conform to his parent’s conception of what constitutes the proper age and sex role.

Of course, parents might have selected other characteristics as well, had we suggested them. These possible limitations notwithstanding, it appears that the index is reasonably comprehensive.

More important than the question of comprehensiveness is whether or not it is really possible for parents to select characteristics as desirable independently of the way that they rate their own children’s behavior. Since each parent was later asked to rate his child’s performance with respect to each characteristic, we can compare the ratings given by parents who chose a characteristic with those given by parents of the same social class who did not. Parents who chose each characteristic were no more and no less

likely to describe their children as excelling in that characteristic; nor were they any more or less likely than other parents to feel that their children were deficient. The parents have not imputed desirability to the characteristics that they feel represent their children's virtues or their children's deficiencies.

The final and most important question: Is it wise to accept someone's assertion that something is a value to him? After all, assertions are subject to distortion.¹⁶ To the degree that we can ascertain that parents act in reasonable conformity to the values

data are those bearing on their actions in situations where their children behave in *disvalued* ways. We have, for example, questioned parents in some detail about what they do when their children lose their tempers. We began by asking whether or not the child in question "ever really loses his temper." From those parents who said that the child does lose his temper, we then proceeded to find out precisely what behavior they consider to be "loss of temper"; what they "generally do when he acts this way"; whether they "ever find it necessary to do anything else"; if so, what else they do, and

TABLE 9

CHOICE OF "SELF-CONTROL" AS "MOST DESIRABLE" CHARACTERISTIC AND MOST EXTREME ACTIONS THAT MOTHERS REPORT THEY TAKE WHEN THEIR CHILDREN LOSE THEIR TEMPERS

	Middle Class		PROPORTION Working Class		Both	
	Choose Self-control	Don't Choose Self-control	Choose Self-control	Don't Choose Self-control	Choose Self-control	Don't Choose Self-control
Punish physically	0.26	0.20	0.44	0.26	0.32	0.23
Isolate . . . . .	.20	.11	.11	.12	.17	.11
Restrict activities, other punishments . .	.06	.05	.17	.14	.10	.10
Threaten punishment . .	.06	.03	.00	.02	.04	.02
Scold, admonish, etc. . .	.31	.40	.17	.31	.26	.36
Ignore	0.11	0.21	0.11	0.15	0.11	0.18
	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
N	35	113	18	113	53	226

they assert, however, we gain confidence in an index based on assertions.

This study does not provide disinterested observations of the parents' behavior. Our closest approximation derives from interviews with the parents themselves—interviews in which we questioned them in considerable detail about their relevant actions. Perhaps the most crucial of these

"under what circumstances." Our concern here is with what the parent reports he does as a matter of last resort.¹⁷

Mothers who regard *self-control* as an important value are more likely to report that they punish the child—be it physically, by isolation, or by restriction of activities; they are unlikely merely to scold or to ignore his loss of temper altogether (see Table 9).

To punish a child who has lost his temper may not be a particularly effective way of inducing self-control. One might even have predicted that mothers who value self-con-

¹⁶ But inferring values from observed behavior may not be satisfactory either, for we cannot be certain that we are correctly distinguishing the normative from other components of action. As Robin Williams states: "No student of human conduct can accept uncritically, as final evidence, people's testimony as to their own values. Yet actions may deceive as well as words, and there seems no reason for always giving one precedence over the other" (*American Society: A Sociological Interpretation* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951], p. 378).

¹⁷ This comparison and those to follow are limited to parents who say that the child does in fact behave in the disvalued way, at least on occasion. (Approximately equal proportions of middle- and working-class mothers report that their children do behave in each of these ways.)

trol would be less likely to punish breaches of control, more likely to explain, even ignore. They do not, however, and we must put the issue more simply: mothers who assert the value are more likely to report that they apply negative sanctions in situations where the child violates that value. This response would certainly seem to conform to their value-assertion.

A parallel series of questions deals with the mother's reactions when her child "refuses to do what she tells him to do." Mothers who assert that they regard *obedience* as important are more likely to report that they punish in one way or another when their children refuse.¹⁸ There is also evidence that mothers who value *consideration* are more likely to respond to their children's "fighting with other children," an action that need not necessarily be seen as inconsistent with consideration, by punishing them, or at least by separating them from the others.¹⁹

In all three instances, then, the reports on parental reactions to behavior that seem to violate the value in question indicate that mothers who profess high regard for the value are more likely to apply negative sanctions.

INTERPRETATION

Our first conclusion is that parents, whatever their social class, deem it very important indeed that their children be honest, happy, considerate, obedient, and dependable.

The second conclusion is that, whatever the reasons may be, parents' values are related to their social position, particularly their class position.

There still remains, however, the task of interpreting the relationship between parents' social position and their values. In particular: What underlies the differences between the values of middle- and of working-class parents?

One relevant consideration is that some

parents may "take for granted" values that others hold dear. For example, middle-class parents may take "neatness and cleanliness" for granted, while working-class parents regard it as highly desirable. But what does it mean to say that middle-class parents take neatness and cleanliness for granted? In essence, the argument is that middle-class parents value neatness and cleanliness as greatly as do working-class parents but not so greatly as they value such things as happiness and self-control. If this be the case, it can only mean that in the circumstances of middle-class life neatness and cleanliness are easily enough attained to be of less immediate concern than are these other values.

A second consideration lies in the probability that these value-concepts have differing meanings for parents of different cultural backgrounds. For example, one might argue that honesty is a central standard of conduct for middle-class parents because they see honesty as meaning truthfulness; and that it is more a quality of the person for working-class parents because they see it as meaning trustworthiness. Perhaps so; but to suggest that a difference in meaning underlies a difference in values raises the further problem of explaining this difference in meaning.

It would be reasonable for working-class parents to be more likely to see honesty

¹⁸ The figures are 42 versus 29 per cent for middle-class mothers; 61 versus 37 per cent for working-class mothers.

There is also some indication that *working-class* mothers who value *honesty* have been more prone to insist that their children make restitution when they have "swiped" something, but the number of mothers who say that their children have ever swiped something is too small for this evidence to be conclusive. (The figures for working-class mothers are 63 versus 35 per cent; for middle-class mothers, 38 versus 33 per cent.)

The interviews with the children provide further evidence that parents have acted consistently with their values—for example, children whose mothers assert high valuation of dependability are more likely to tell us that the reason their parents want them to do their chores is to train them in responsibility (not to relieve the parents of work).

¹⁹ The figures are 47 versus 29 per cent for middle-class mothers; 36 versus 18 per cent for working-class mothers.

as trustworthiness. The working-class situation is one of less material security and less assured protection from the dishonesty of others. For these reasons, trustworthiness is more at issue for working-class than for middle-class parents.

Both considerations lead us to view differences in the values of middle- and working-class parents in terms of their differing circumstances of life and, by implication, their conceptions of the effects that these circumstances may have on their children's future lives. We believe that parents are most likely to accord high priority to those values that seem both *problematic*, in the sense that they are difficult of achievement, and *important*, in the sense that failure to achieve them would affect the child's future adversely. From this perspective it is reasonable that working-class parents cannot afford to take neatness and cleanliness as much for granted as can middle-class parents. It is reasonable, too, that working-class parents are more likely to see honesty as implying trustworthiness and that this connotation of honesty is seen as problematic.

These characteristics—honesty and neatness—are important to the child's future precisely because they assure him a respectable social position. Just as "poor but honest" has traditionally been an important line of social demarcation, their high valuation of these qualities may express working-class parents' concern that their children occupy a position unequivocally above that of persons who are not neat or who are not scrupulously honest. These are the qualities of respectable, worthwhile people.

So, too, is obedience. The obedient child follows his parents' dictates rather than his own standards. He acts, in his subordinate role as a child, in conformity with the prescriptions of established authority.

Even in the way they differentiate what is desirable for boys from what is desirable for girls, working-class mothers show a keen appreciation of the qualities making for respectable social position.

The characteristics that middle-class parents are more likely to value for their children are internal standards for governing one's relationships with other people and, in the final analysis, with one's self. It is not that middle-class parents are less concerned than are working-class parents about social position. The qualities of person that assure respectability may be taken for granted, but in a world where social relationships are determinative of position, these standards of conduct are both more problematic and more important.

The middle-class emphasis on internal standards is evident in their choice of the cluster of characteristics centering around honesty; in their being less likely than are working-class parents to value obedience and more likely to value self-control and consideration; and in their seeing obedience as inconsistent with both consideration and curiosity. The child is to act appropriately, not because his parents tell him to, but because he wants to. Not conformity to authority, but inner control; not because you're told to but because you take the other person into consideration—these are the middle-class ideals.

These values place responsibility directly upon the individual. He cannot rely upon authority, nor can he simply conform to what is presented to him as proper. He should be impelled to come to his own understanding of the situation.²⁰ He is to govern himself in such a way as to be able to act consistently with his principles. The basic importance of relationship to self is explicit in the concept of self-control. It is implicit, too, in consideration—a standard that demands of the individual that he respond

²⁰ Curiosity provides a particularly interesting example of how closely parents' values are related to their circumstances of life and expectations: the proportion of mothers who value curiosity rises very slowly from status level to status level until we reach the wives of professionals and the more highly educated businessmen; then it jumps suddenly (see Table 4). The value is given priority in precisely that portion of the middle class where it is most appropriate and where its importance for the child's future is most apparent.

sympathetically to others' needs even if they be in conflict with his own; and in the high valuation of honesty as central to other standards of conduct: "to thine own self be true."

Perhaps, considering this, it should not be surprising that so many middle-class mothers attribute first-rank importance to happiness, even for boys. We cannot assume that their children's happiness is any less important to working-class mothers than it is to middle-class mothers; in fact, working-class mothers are equally likely to value

happiness for *girls*. For their sons, however, happiness is second choice to honesty and obedience. Apparently, middle-class mothers can afford instead to be concerned about their son's happiness. And perhaps they are right in being concerned. We have noted that those middle-class mothers who deem it most important that their sons outdistance others are especially likely to be concerned about their sons' happiness; and even those mothers who do not are asking their children to accept considerable responsibility.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH

THE FAILURE OF PRESBYTERIAN UNION

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ABSTRACT

Two distinct methods are employed in studying the Southern Presbyterian rejection of the ecumenical movement. Content analysis of the literature opposing union indicated that doctrinal differences were basic and current social issues of minor importance. Ecological analysis of the vote by presbytery led to the conclusion that the segregation controversy is the major source of the failure of merger. Additional evidence, primarily based on interviews, indorses the finding of the ecological analysis.

The three Presbyterian denominations in the United States have historically common ecclesiastical and theological backgrounds, stemming principally from the Church of Scotland and the Westminster Confession of Faith. Since 1937 the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Northern) and the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern) have discussed the possibility of merger. In 1951 the United Presbyterian Church of North America was asked to participate in the discussion. The Northern Presbyterian Church and the United Presbyterian Church ratified the plan of union in 1955. The Southern Presbyterian Church, however, failed to approve the merger. More than half of that denomination's presbyteries voted against union.

This paper analyzes the Southern Presbyterian rejection of the ecumenical movement. Two distinct methods are employed: a content analysis of the literature opposing union and an ecological analysis of the vote by presbyteries. The first method studies the ideology of the antimerger forces, while the second seeks to determine the social correlates of the vote against merger.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Forty published documents opposing union have been analyzed to determine their major themes. They represent all antiunion

materials in the very complete files of the Library of the Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. The president of that seminary was a member of the committee of the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church which prepared a summary of issues involved in union. Except for two pamphlets, the literature was written solely by southern Presbyterians. All the materials were circulated widely, usually under the aegis of the Association for the Preservation and Continuation of the Southern Presbyterian Church or by the *Southern Presbyterian Journal*. Obviously, there may be antimerger criticisms not included in the collection, but they are unlikely to have achieved the extensive diffusion of the documents analyzed here.

The coding categories consisted of sixty-six themes in three broad groupings: beliefs or doctrine; polity or organization; and practices and customs. The reliability of coding was tested by use of a random sample of thirteen documents analyzed by a second reader. The rank correlation between the two readers of the relative frequency of the themes was .80.

The results of this content analysis can be summarized briefly. The most frequent themes tended to be related to the realm of beliefs and doctrine. For example, the most frequent theme was an attack upon the Auburn Affirmation, a statement in 1923 by certain northern Presbyterian leaders declaring "acceptable but not necessary" literal interpretations of the inerrancy of the Scriptures, the virgin birth, atonement, physical resurrection, and miracles.

¹ This research was done under the auspices of the Laboratory of Social Relations of Harvard University. We are indebted to Dr. Bernard P. Cohen, Miss Becky Stafford, Miss Molly Jones, and Miss Peggy Polsky.

Other doctrinal differences appear in the ten most frequent themes, including the presence of heretics in the northern church and the split between "New School" and "Old School" theology. The remainder of the ten most frequent themes are concerned with church polity, including the division of the existing collectivity and property rights and the breakdown of regional control in a national church.

The last category mentioned, the loss of regional identity, is the only one which conceivably could be related to "the peculiar customs of the South." The relative lack of attention to the institutional structure of the South is seen in the fact that the seven themes dealing with racial inequality are mentioned in a combined total of 5 per cent of the paragraphs. Combining six themes related to the conservative political and economic ideology of the antiunion forces, only 4 per cent of the paragraphs are found to deal with such social issues.

Content analysis of the literature circulated within the Southern Presbyterian Church by groups opposed to merger therefore shows a strong emphasis on doctrinal differences. For example, 37 per cent of the paragraphs concern six themes related to the Auburn Affirmation, while the sixteen themes on political, economic, and racial differences are discussed in only 14 per cent of the material.

ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

In this section we shall relate certain social characteristics to the vote by presbytery on the proposal to unite. Accordingly, it is necessary to determine the social and economic base for each presbytery. Since no census materials are published in a form comparable to the presbytery boundaries, the data were determined by the assignment of each county in the South to that presbytery having the largest number of ministers within its borders.² In the event that an

equal number of churches of two or more presbyteries are in the same county, the county was assigned to that presbytery whose churches had the greatest number of communicants. Since a central hypothesis of this study related the rejection of union to racial attitudes of southern whites, three Negro presbyteries, one Indian presbytery, and one Mexican presbytery were omitted from the analysis.

Four variables were used as predictors of the criterion variable, the proportion of representatives of each presbytery who voted against presbyterian union. Accordingly, there are five characteristics of each presbytery which were analyzed by means of rank correlation and partial correlation based on ranks: (1) proportion of repre-

TABLE 1
INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG FIVE VARIABLES
FOR 81 PRESBYTERIES, 1950

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Against union . . .	—				
2. Negro . . . . .	.57	—			
3. Urban	-.31	-.04	—		
4. College . . . . .	.05	.39	.53	—	
5. Low income . . .	-.16	-.53	-.40	-.46	—

sentatives voting against merger; (2) proportion of Negroes in the total population; (3) proportion of residents living in urban areas; (4) proportion of white persons over twenty-five years of age who had one or more years of college education; and (5) proportion of white families having a family income in 1949 under \$2,000.

Variables 4 and 5 are both related to socioeconomic status, but they use opposite ends of the socioeconomic scale. These measures were used because the additive process of determining data for presbyteries made it impracticable to employ measures of central tendency. No allowance can be made for the fact that Presbyterians in the south are more likely to be of high socioeconomic status. The use of data for the total white population assumes a high positive correlation across counties with the same indexes for Presbyterians.

The results of the ecological analysis are simple to report. Table 1 shows the matrix

² The location of churches in certain presbyteries was provided by the office of the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

of intercorrelations. The only variables with statistically significant relationships to vote against merger are the proportion of Negroes and the proportion urban. The first-order correlation coefficients are .57 and -.31, respectively.

The high correlations with the vote against merger for the measures of proportion Negro and urban and the low correlations for indexes of socioeconomic status may be due to relationships among the predictor variables. Therefore, partial correlation coefficients were computed. The results below are identical with the previous pattern, with proportion Negro and urban significantly related to the vote on merger and the socioeconomic variables of little predictive utility.

12.34549 significant at the .001 level
 13.245 . . . —.24 significant at the .05 level
 14.235 . . . —.02
 15.234 . . . —.05

The multiple correlation coefficient using the four predictor variables is .64. Considering the complexity of the forces acting on the votes of the individual delegates, this level of prediction, based almost entirely on two variables, is surprisingly high.

DISCUSSION

A previous study of the vote for States' Rights Democrats concluded that the two best indexes of prosegregation sentiment among whites in the South were the proportion of rural residents and the proportion of Negroes in an area.³

The ecological analysis of the failure of Presbyterian union indicates that these twin measures associated with white supremacy are as good predictors of attitude toward Presbyterian union as of votes for States' Rights Democrats. Although rurality may also be correlated with conservative theological views, such conservatism is also usually associated with measures of socio-

economic status. From these data one would conclude that the segregation controversy is the main basis for the failure of merger.

But the content analysis of antiunion propaganda produced a seemingly contradictory result. It indicated that doctrinal differences were basic and current social issues of relatively minor importance. We must now determine which of these explanations of the failure of merger is "true" in the sense that it is congruent with the perceptions of those persons involved in actual negotiation of the prospective merger.

Two reasons led us to accept the ecological findings. First, current sociological theory on the nature of ideology notes its often defensive quality. "It is likely to consist of elaborate treatises of an abstract and highly logical character. It grows up usually in response to the criticism of outside intellectuals, and seeks to gain for its tenets a respectable and defensible position in this world of higher learning and higher intellectual values. The ideology has another character, however—a popular character."⁴ The ideology, accordingly, has a rationalizing quality which may serve to distort the perceptual world of the adherents of a movement.

Second, the secular quality of much religious behavior makes it difficult to accept an explanation based on rigid acceptance of the details of religious doctrine. Not only is there a de-emphasis on dogma in the American scene,⁵ but the secular component has been important as far back as the German Reformation.⁶

⁴ Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in Alfred McClung Lee (ed.), *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1946), p. 210.

⁵ Louis Schneider and Sanford M. Dornbusch, "Inspirational Religious Literature: From Latent to Manifest Functions of Religion," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXII (March, 1957), 475-81.

⁶ During the German Reformation the profane interests of certain social groups led them to adopt the most conservative religious position available to them. In Lübeck, in the face of a Lutheran populace, the patricians were Catholic. In Augsburg, where the populace was Zwinglian, the equivalent

³ David Heer, "An Ecological Study of the Determining Forces of White Supremacy in the American South," paper delivered before the 1957 meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society.

There is obviously great difficulty in discovering which issues were paramount during the period of controversy. The only evidence we can report strongly indorses the finding of the ecological analysis. The Joint Negotiating Committee, which was charged with the responsibility of determining the possibility and terms of the merger, conducted all meetings in executive session. All members of the committee were instructed not to divulge any of the proceedings. This injunction obviously made it difficult to obtain the data we desired.

social stratum was Lutheran. In both cases members of these groups insisted upon the practical consequences of a conservative religious position, i.e., disincentive to radical political behavior (Norman Birnbaum, "Social Structure and the German Reformation," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1958).

Nevertheless, when interviewed, some members of the Joint Committee were willing to state that the segregation issue was, in their opinion, the major obstacle in the attempt to negotiate a merger. No member of the committee gave any other response. This type of data, which must respect the privacy of the informants, does not meet the usual canons of scientific verifiability. It is, however, the shared perception of a number of persons who were key participants in the decision-making process. We therefore conclude that the ecological finding—that the segregation issue was the main barrier to merger—is correct, despite the emphasis on theological discussions in the propaganda of the antiunion forces.

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MEN'S AND WOMEN'S BELIEFS, IDEALS, AND SELF-CONCEPTS

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ABSTRACT

Beliefs and attitudes which were expected to reflect current changes in and tensions about the roles of the two sexes were studied by means of a two-hundred-word adjective check list. One hundred men and one hundred women subjects were used. Data concerning women's self-concepts and their beliefs about the role desired for them by men proved generally consistent with the hypotheses and findings of Komarovsky. Findings relating to men, however, were often new and have important sociological and psychological implications.

This paper is the report on the third of a series of studies of sex roles in American society. These are investigations of the status, content, developmental aspects, and implications of the stereotypes of males and females.

We have previously determined by each of three quite different methods, and for procedural variations within each, that college men and women regard the male more highly than the female sex group.¹ These results are consistent with findings reported by Komarovsky based on yet another approach and on a different college population.² We consider the higher evaluation of males by college students of both sexes as established beyond reasonable doubt.

We have also examined the characteristics that college men and women ascribe to themselves and to each other.³ When such subjects were asked to indicate on an adjective check list those characteristics that are true of men in general and of women in general, the resulting male "stereotype" contained many more individual favorable char-

acteristics than did the female "stereotype." Male subjects particularly emphasized males' favorable characteristics, but female subjects emphasized females' unfavorable characteristics. Furthermore, women's self-descriptions also emphasized their unfavorable characteristics much more than did men's. In general, these stereotypes were confirmed by means of a different method when each of one hundred subjects was asked to list ten characteristics for each sex. It was possible to sort the many individual responses into a limited number of rational categories which differentiated the sex groups.

While undertaking our investigations, we accept without hesitation two basic assumptions made by nearly every writer in this field: that the roles of the two sex groups are changing today and that the relationship between the groups is in disequilibrium. Our data themselves give confirming evidence for these assumptions.

Our aim in this, the third investigation, is to study certain aspects of the attitudinal and belief systems of our subjects which might be expected to reflect the changes in roles of, and the disequilibrium between, the sex groups. Recognizing the differential status still accorded the groups and possessing empirical evidence regarding the definitions currently given the sex roles, we believe that we can find meaning in the resulting information.

We ask these questions about beliefs: What do men and women believe the other

¹ J. P. McKee and A. C. Sherriffs, "The Differential Evaluation of Males and Females," *Journal of Personality*, XXV (1957), 356-71.

² Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (1946), 184-89; "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 508-16; and *Women in the Modern World* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1953).

³ A. C. Sherriffs and J. P. McKee, "Qualitative Aspects of Beliefs about Men and Women," *Journal of Personality*, XXV (1957), 451-64.

sex wants them to be? To what degree does each sex group believe that the other *wants* it to conform to the sex-role stereotype? Our subjects certainly subscribe to stereotypes when describing men and women. This we had found earlier. And the stereotypes closely resembled those outlined by Komarovsky and Mead. In a period of cultural change for sex roles, however, we would expect to find differences between what are thought to be the characteristics of the sex groups and what is thought by members of one sex group to be desired of them by members of the other sex group. More specifically, we ask: Do women really believe that men are jealous of the characteristics that are allegedly masculine? Komarovsky and Mead⁴ argue that women hold such beliefs; Wallin⁵ does not go so far. And what about men? What characteristics do men believe women would like them to have? Komarovsky writes: "We place an intolerable burden upon men by re-emphasizing a model of 'masculinity' which is increasingly difficult to attain in modern society."⁶ But do men believe that women want them to demonstrate superiority and to personify virile and adequate masculinity to the extent that this writer suggests? We suspect that the situation will by now have been modified by the realities of the new social goals which have emerged for both men and women and by the very cultural contradictions which Komarovsky describes so well.

In the literature on sex differences there are statements that one sex must conform more rigidly to society's traditional mold than the other. However, in the literature there are nearly as many arguments for this sex's being male as for its being female. Belief about what the other sex wants should indicate some significant pressures for conformity—and conformity to what. How do the sex groups compare?

⁴ Margaret Mead, *Male and Female* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1949).

⁵ P. Wallin, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles: A Repeat Study," *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 288-93.

⁶ *Women in the Modern World*, p. 299.

Questions about sex-typing in the subjects' beliefs immediately raise questions about the correspondence between such sex-typing and the sex-typing that the two sexes actually do want in each other. Examination of this correspondence will throw light on the relative awareness by the sex groups of each other's desires. Further, examination of what each sex actually wants in the other will reveal whether the two sexes are equally insistent that the traditional roles be maintained.

Finally, it is of interest to see how these matters relate to the sex-typing in what men and women say they would *like* to be. Are men and women equally able to express and exhibit the characteristics that they desire? "Equally able" in terms of what they believe the other sex wants and "equally able" in terms of what the other sex really does want?

SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURE

One hundred unmarried men and one hundred unmarried women enrolled in introductory courses in psychology at the University of California were given four cards on which Sarbin's Adjective-Check List was printed.⁷ The responses to the ACL's are the basic data for this investigation. The subjects were asked to check on the first card "those adjectives which describe what you would *ideally* like to be." On the second card subjects checked "those adjectives which describe yourself as you really are." On the third card they checked "those adjectives which describe your ideal woman" ("man" for female subjects). On the fourth card men checked "those adjectives which *you think* describe the ideal man for women of your age," and women checked their beliefs about the desires of *men* of their own age.

We explained to the subjects that they were to try to predict, or guess, what members of the other sex had checked on the preceding card. For the sake of brevity we refer to card 1 as indicating the "Ideal Self,"

⁷ T. R. Sarbin, *Personality Word Card* (Berkeley: University of California Press, n.d.).

card 2 as "Real Self," card 3 as "Ideal Member of Other Sex," and card 4 as "Belief." Ideal Self was given before Real Self largely because this seemed the least threatening task. Cards 3 and 4 were placed in order to help clarify the instructions for card 4. In presenting the results, we shall follow the order of our logic rather than the order of procedure. Thus, we shall go from Belief to Ideal Member of Other Sex (or what other

there are twenty-nine favorable "male" words and twenty favorable "female" words in the stereotypes. There are eight unfavorable "male" words and seventeen unfavorable "female" words.⁹ The requirement that *both* men and woman agree on the stereotypic character of a word was made to facilitate the computation and interpretation of the analyses of variance. Since this requirement eliminates those adjectives that

TABLE 1
SUBGROUP MEANS FOR FAVORABLE WORDS

	I		II		III		IV	
	BELIEF		IDEAL MEM-		IDEAL SELF		REAL SELF	
	Words		BER OF		Words		Words	
	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male
Subjects								
Men**	78	76	Men.....	63 78	Men.....	76 65	Men.....	53 51
Women...	58	86	Women***	82 80	Women**	75 82	Women***	46 68
Interaction***			Interaction**		Interaction***		Interaction***	

SUBGROUP MEANS FOR UNFAVORABLE WORDS

	I		II		III		IV	
	BELIEF		IDEAL MEM-		IDEAL SELF		REAL SELF	
	Words		BER OF		Words		Words	
	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male	Male	Fe- male
Subjects								
Men.....	5	4	Men.....	2 5	Men.....	5 2	Men.....	25 17
Women...	3	9	Women...	8 4	Women...	4 5	Women***	23 27
Interaction*			Interaction***		Interaction		Interaction*	

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

sex "really" wants) to Ideal Self and finally to Real Self.

RESULTS

We have analyzed the data as follows. Each adjective received a score based on the proportion of subjects who chose it. These proportions were then transformed (arc sine transformation) and the resulting distributions subjected to a "Subjects \times Words" analysis of variance. The subject categories are "men" and "women"; the word categories are "male" and "female." A "male" or "female" word is one that is agreed by *both* men and women to characterize the stereotypes of men or of women.⁸ With *masculine* and *feminine* eliminated,

only one sex or the other includes in a stereotype, we shall present subsidiary findings to augment the analysis.

With four sets of instructions and with the favorable and unfavorable words analyzed separately, there result eight different analyses of variance. Table 1 presents the four means (given in percentages corresponding to the means of the transformed scores) for each of the eight analyses. We shall consider the favorable words first.

⁸ Sherriffs and McKee, *op. cit.*

⁹ Favorableness or unfavorableness was determined by the judgments of members of a different sample from the same student population. For details see McKee and Sherriffs, *op. cit.*

The table shows that for favorable words there is a significant subjects effect under each set of instructions: men select a larger number of favorable adjectives than women when indicating their Belief about what the other sex wants; for all other instructions women select a larger number of favorable adjectives than men.¹⁰ Table 1 also shows significant words \times subjects' interactions for the favorable words for each set of instructions. For the unfavorable words there is one significant main effect: to describe the Real Self, women choose a larger number of unfavorable words than men do. There are also significant interactions for the unfavorable words for all instructions except Ideal Self.

Belief.—What sort of sex-typing do members of one sex believe that members of the other sex want in them? Column I of Table 1 suggests that men believe that women want them to have the favorable qualities of both sexes and about equally. But women believe that men want them to possess favorable feminine characteristics to a much greater degree¹¹ than favorable masculine characteristics. In fact, women's choices of sex-inappropriate adjectives is so reduced that the over-all subjects effect is significant in favor of men, while in columns II, III, and IV it favors women. In short, Komarovsky's view of women's beliefs about the amount

of sex-typing demanded of them appears to be confirmed: women *do* think men wish to restrict them from characteristics that are thought to be masculine.

But what about men's Beliefs? For men the picture is different. Where women believe they are restricted by men, one might almost say that men believe that in the eyes of women the ideal male is one who exemplifies not only much that society alleges to be masculine *but also much that society alleges to be feminine.*

Ideal Member of Other Sex.—And the men are correct. At least they are correct if we take women's description of their Ideal Man as the criterion. In column II of Table 1 we find that, when women describe the ideal male, he is almost exactly what men believe women would have him be. He has the favorable characteristics of both sexes equally, and he has most of them. Significantly more is asked of him than he himself asks of women. And most of this over-all subject difference is due to women's greater choice of the sex-inappropriate characteristics. In fact, the median (but not the mean) discrepancy between women's choices of favorable female characteristics for the Ideal Self and for the Ideal Male is *negative.*

To some extent the women's Beliefs are also correct: men do restrict women. But women's Beliefs exaggerate the degree of this restriction. On the average, the favorable female characteristics are selected by 78 per cent of the men for the ideal woman, while the favorable male characteristics are selected by only 63 per cent. But this 15 per cent differential is not nearly so large as the 28 per cent differential that women *believe* to be the case.

There are qualitative aspects of men's "restrictions" which help to clarify the picture. In describing the ideal woman, men selected ten of the twenty-nine adjectives in the male stereotype significantly less often than other male words. These ten words are *aggressive, courageous, daring, deliberate, dominant, dynamic, forceful, independent, rugged, and sharp-witted.* On the average, these words were selected by only 31 per

¹⁰ That the significant judges effect for Belief is different from the judges effect under other instructions gives us a good deal of confidence that the ACL reflects motives and attitudes and not simply verballity or "check adjectives. We do not assume the ultimate validity of a self-description (or any other description) given on an ACL, but to some extent the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the qualitative aspects of previous findings seem to us to make good sense. So do the qualitative findings presented in later sections of this paper.

¹¹ Technically, the term "degree" is perhaps misleading. The scores are based on the percentage of the subjects who selected each adjective in the two stereotypes. Theoretically, all subjects could select an item, but none of them feels very strongly about it. Marbe's Law suggests that this possibility is not in fact likely. Consequently, we have used this simplest terminology.

cent of the men to describe their Ideal Woman. Eight of these words, all save *deliberate* and *sharp-witted*, are members of our¹² twelve adjective, third masculine "cluster" which appears to represent action, vigor, and a kind of almost "muscular" effectiveness. *Deliberate* and *sharp-witted* are from the twelve-item "cluster" of rational competence and effectiveness, and there are no items from the small "cluster" involving uninhibited social style. In short, if men are somehow jealous of their masculinity or feel that some characteristics are simply inappropriate in women, that feeling seems to apply primarily to those characteristics related to strength and personal force.

Ideal Self.—The data for the Ideal Self cast more light on just which characteristics seem to be peculiarly masculine and peculiarly feminine. Women's Ideal Self is a trifle less differentiated than men's. That is, for favorable words men show an 11 per cent differential between their average choice of sex-appropriate and sex-inappropriate characteristics, while for women the differential is 7 per cent. We had expected the sex difference to be somewhat larger; that is, we had expected women to show a much greater interest in male characteristics than men showed in female characteristics. This was apparently just somewhat naïve: to some extent women simply accept men's pre-emption of the cluster involving strength and personal force. Well under 50 per cent of the women choose *aggressive*, *daring*, *dominant*, *forceful*, and *rugged* for the Ideal Self. And each of these is in the upper half of the distribution of discrepancies between women's choices for the Ideal Self and their choices for the Ideal Man. Furthermore, three additional adjectives from the same cluster are also in the upper half of this distribution of discrepancies, even though they are chosen by over half of the women for the Ideal Self. These three are *adventurous*, *ambitious*, and *individualistic*. In other words, for eight of the twelve items in the strength and personal force cluster, there is evidence that women, even as men, feel them to be more appropri-

ate in men than in themselves. But this is as far as the women go. They choose the remaining four words in the cluster (*courageous*, *dynamic*, *independent*, and *self-confident*) at least as often for the Ideal Self as for the Ideal Man, and the vast majority of women choose them. And much the same is true of the remaining favorable items in the male stereotype—most women choose them for the Ideal Self, and they choose them as frequently for the Ideal Self as for the Ideal Man.

But, while this is true for women's choices of adjectives in the male stereotype, the converse is not true for men's choices of adjectives in the female stereotype. In every case but one, men select favorable female characteristics less often for the Ideal Self than for the Ideal Woman. Since fifteen of these twenty female characteristics are chosen for the Ideal Self by over half of the men, one can hardly say that they *reject* female traits. But we do suspect that simple positive affect in themselves, or at least the thought of it, is a little unsettling to men—*affectionate*, *lovable*, *sentimental*, *sensitive*, and *soft-hearted* are the five words for which men's choices for Ideal Self and Ideal Woman are most discrepant, and the discrepancies are very large (mean = 31 per cent). Compelling as this is, it is not quite conclusive, for, while *gentle* and *kind* are also in the top half of the distribution of such discrepancies (speaking now only of female words), the magnitude of the discrepancy for these two words is only 12 per cent. And for *warm* and *sympathetic* the discrepancies are less than for the average female word.

In any event, and for whatever reasons, it is true that, apart from the strength and forcefulness cluster, women do desire allegedly male characteristics more than men desire allegedly female characteristics. If one's *ideals* be taken as the criterion of one's conformance to a social norm, then, rather surprisingly, it is men who conform to the norm more than women, rather than the other way around.

Real Self.—But if one's self-description be the criterion, then women are the con-

¹² Sherriffs and McKee, *op. cit.*

formers. The data for the Real Self (col. IV of Table 1) show that for the favorable characteristics there is a significant interaction and a significant subjects effect favoring women. The key to both effects is women's choice of female words. On the average, female words are chosen by 68 per cent of the women, while male words are chosen by only 53 per cent of the men. It is this difference between men's and women's choices of the sex-appropriate items which must be responsible for the main effect, for the sex difference in choice of sex-inappropriate items would give a subjects difference in the other direction—one favoring men rather than women. Another way of putting it is to say that women, so far as the favorable elements of their self-descriptions are concerned, are more exclusively feminine than men are exclusively masculine. This, of course, corresponds to the subjects' Beliefs about what the other sex wants and also to what the other sex "in fact" does want. When *all* the favorable adjectives are examined (as opposed to only those which both men and women agree to be stereotypic), we find that, on the average, the sex-appropriate adjectives are selected by 55 per cent of the men and 67 per cent of the women; neutral words, by 55 per cent of the men and 61 per cent of the women; and sex-inappropriate words, by 52 per cent of the men and 49 per cent of the women.¹³ Thus, men show an average difference of only 3 per cent between their choices of sex-appropriate and sex-inappropriate items, while for women this differential is 18 per cent. For all favorable words combined the values are 55 per cent for men and 59 per cent for women, and the difference is not significant.

One other feature of the self-descriptions calls for comment. This is the fact that women choose a significantly larger number of *unfavorable* characteristics than men do. The effect is present for both male and female words and somewhat more marked for

the sex-inappropriate ones (6 per cent) than for the sex-appropriate (2 per cent). However, the somewhat greater effect for the sex-inappropriate adjectives turns out to be due to the fact that the analysis is based on only those characteristics which *both* men and women agree to be stereotypic. Examination of *all* the unfavorable characteristics reveals that the sex-appropriate ones are selected by 22 per cent of the men and by 29 per cent of the women, while the sex-inappropriate ones are selected by 21 per cent of the men and 23 per cent of the women. Thus the differential is greater (7 per cent) for the sex-appropriate ones than for the sex-inappropriate (2 per cent), which is in keeping with the results for favorable characteristics.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

1. For all instructions except Belief, women check more favorable stereotyped adjectives than men. For Belief instructions, men check more. This finding does not relate to questions raised earlier except, perhaps, to reflect a greater person-orientedness on the part of women—an expression of the role for which they are trained in our society (and these words *do* describe people).

2. Women believe that, from men's point of view, the Ideal Woman is markedly sex-typed. This corroborates the thinking and findings of other investigators. Here, as in the case of our other variables, we have quantitative results for the present day which we will be able to compare with responses to the same method in future years.

3. Men believe that, from women's point of view, favorable male characteristics and favorable female characteristics are equally desirable.

4. And when women describe their Ideal Man, they do select favorable female characteristics as often as they select favorable male characteristics.

Two findings above are new to us. They suggest not only that the "model of masculinity [is] increasingly difficult to attain in modern society" (Komarovsky) but that there are now in fact strong pressures to bring about a change. We do not have evi-

¹³ For this analysis "sex-appropriate" and "sex-inappropriate" refer to those adjectives which members of the *subjects' own sex* ascribe significantly more often to own sex or the other sex.

dence for a decrease in pressure on men to maintain their masculine qualities, but we find a pressure by women to have men more oriented to interpersonal relations and more expressive of human (feminine in the stereotype) feelings. If college women now exert such pressure and if they have communicated it to men, then both men and women should, as they become parents during the next few years, teach these values in rearing the new generation of sons (and daughters).

Our findings do not support that part of Komarovsky's statement which refers to boys: "If the more rigid masculine model penalizes the boys who have feminine tendencies, it also has its advantages. Once a boy can adjust himself to the masculine model, he will be spared the contradictory pressures which tend to impinge upon the growing girl no matter which model she accepts in childhood."¹⁴ The masculine model no longer seems so rigid.

5. Men, when they describe their Ideal Woman, include favorable male characteristics considerably less often than they include favorable female characteristics. However, when we examine the data which led to this conclusion along with our information concerning women's beliefs in this regard, we see that men are—or at least claim to be—somewhat less restrictive than women believe them to be; they allow women to have some "masculine" characteristics. The fact that there is least "give" by men on what are probably the most basically masculine variables (action, vigor, and achievement effectiveness) suggests the hypothesis that a change in the traditional female sex role stereotype may be under way, with the most crucial variables to be affected last, if at all.

6. Women's Ideal Self is a trifle, and by statistical test insignificantly, less sex-typed than men's. Close examination of individual items of the ACL suggests that women, though often including male attributes in their Ideal Self, do not yet, by and large, desire a life of robust and vigorous masculin-

ity. Similarly, men, though valuing for themselves such traits as "warm" and "sympathetic," and accepting the virtue of being "gentle" and "kind," balk at attributes which would require open demonstration of personalized feelings or which might suggest sentimentality. When those adjectives most related to such "essence of sex-role" traits are set aside, then, for the large remainder women's Ideal Self is, indeed, less sex-linked in its content than men's.

7. Women's Real Self is more sex-typed than men's. We subscribe to the interpretation made by Komarovsky that in their everyday life women still feel that they must behave according to the traditional stereotype; and men, we would guess, though behaving less like this hypothetical norm, are probably uneasy in their failure to do so.

8. Women's Real Self is also more unfavorable than men's; this we have found before.

In summary, the findings are completely consistent with the assumptions that the roles of men and women are changing and that there is disequilibrium in the relationship between the groups. During a time of such change it is to be expected that attitudes will shift more rapidly than overt behaviors, that beliefs about the demands of others will reflect both the present facts and the traditional expectations (and therefore not perfectly predict either), that the sex with higher status in the society will be able to express overt change sooner than the sex with less security, and, finally, that those attributes which are at the core of the sex-role stereotypes will change least and last. We would interpret the discrepancy which we have found between college women's ideals for themselves and the attributes they say they actually express as reflecting in addition the dual training of American daughters: preparation to meet economic exigencies and the responsibilities of modern life (emphasized in the Ideal Self) and training to be feminine in the tradition of the

¹⁴ *Women in the Modern World*, p. 76.

female stereotype (emphasized in the Real Self).

Thus far our findings are either supportive of or consistent with the ideas of Komarovsky, who has published widely on such questions as they relate to the American scene.

However, we also present data which indicate that there is no inconsiderable pressure on men to modify their role by incorporating more of the traditionally "feminine" qualities. This pressure we assume to be present because of the wishes of our women subjects—wishes of which the men

are well aware. This important fact has hitherto been understressed, but it seems to us eminently reasonable under present circumstances of social change. Also, we observe that men subjects are more perceptive of what women desire in them as attributes than are women subjects insightful about the current desires of men for characteristics in them. The often-made generalization about the greater social perceptiveness of women may require modification under particular psychosociological circumstances.

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ETHNIC SEGREGATION AND ASSIMILATION¹

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ABSTRACT

An ecological conceptualization of the processes of immigrant adjustment permits a demonstration of close correlations of residential segregation and centralization with selected indicators of assimilation, socioeconomic status, and social distance ranking of ethnic groups. Changes in residential patterns in Chicago between 1930 and 1950 were in the direction expected on the basis of a positive relationship between assimilation and length of residence; but such changes did not disrupt a pattern of differential segregation and spatial separation of ethnic colonies, this pattern exhibiting remarkable stability over the twenty-year period.

This study of residential patterns of ethnic groups in Chicago provides further evidence for R. E. Park's contention that "social relations are . . . frequently and . . . inevitably correlated with spatial relations."² It summarizes more recent data to supplement earlier studies of ethnic residential patterns in Chicago³ and illustrates the use of certain methods adapted to comparative analyses which are needed to establish more general propositions than those emerging from case studies of individual ethnic groups.⁴ Our leading hypotheses are, first, that the degree of residential segregation of a group of foreign stock at any given time is inversely related to appropriate indicators of its socioeconomic status and degree of assimilation and directly related to indicators of its "social distance" from the population of native stock and, second, that

ethnic segregation patterns are relatively stable over time but change in directions to be anticipated on the basis of the positive correlation between assimilation and length of time that the immigrant group has been established in the United States.

DATA AND METHODS

Except as noted otherwise, the data for the study are from official census publications or special compilations of unpublished census data. Such a special compilation of the 1930 data⁵ provides what is certainly an unusual, if not a unique, body of information on intracity residential distributions of both the first and the second generation of foreign stock by country of origin. Because these statistics have not been analyzed adequately hitherto and because their detail cannot be duplicated for other periods, the emphasis of the paper is on the 1930 material. However, we also include comparative data for 1950.⁶

¹ We wish to acknowledge the financial assistance of the Social Science Research Committee, University of Chicago.

² See Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (March, 1955), 493-503.

³ Ernest W. Burgess, "Residential Segregation in American Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXL (November, 1928), 105-15; Maurice Halbwachs, "Chicago, expérience ethnique," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, IV (January, 1932), 11-49; Paul Frederick Cressey, "Population Succession in Chicago: 1898-1930," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 59-69; and Richard G. Ford, "Population Succession in Chicago," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (September, 1950), 156-60.

⁴ As represented by such studies as Christen T. Jonassen, "Cultural Variables in the Ecology of an Ethnic Group," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (February, 1949), 32-41; Jerome K. Myers, "Assimilation to the Ecological and Social Systems of a Community," *American Sociological Review*, XV (June, 1950), 367-72; and Francis A. J. Ianni, "Residential and Occupational Mobility as Indices of the Acculturation of an Ethnic Group," *Social Forces*, XXXVI (October, 1957), 65-72.

⁵ Ernest W. Burgess and Charles Newcomb (eds.), *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

⁶ Tabulated from census-tract summary cards supplied by the Bureau of the Census; these data

All our measures of residential distributions are based on statistics compiled for the seventy-five community areas of the city of Chicago. While it is certain that the results would have differed somewhat had census tracts or some other areal unit been employed, we believe that the grosser unit is adequate, particularly since we do not attempt to reach highly specific or refined conclusions.

In respect to analytical methods we follow closely the pattern of an earlier paper.⁷ The index of dissimilarity between residential distributions is used to measure the segregation of a group of foreign stock from the native population or the separation of one such group from another. The same index serves for comparing residential distributions at two points in time. The index of centralization, computed as described in earlier paper, measures relative concentration of residences toward the center of the city. Correlations between two characteristics of several ethnic groups are computed by the Spearman rank formula. For a ranking of ten groups a correlation with an absolute value of .62 is significant at the 5 per cent level by the appropriate *t*-test.

Except for a few remarks about Negroes and Jews at the end of the paper, we limit the study to the foreign-born and the second generation from Europe. In some places we employ a classification of them as "old" immigrants—those from northern and western Europe—and "new" immigrants—those from central and eastern Europe. This conventional classification is subject to criticism; in particular, it does not characterize them very precisely with respect to time of arrival.⁸ However, it provides a gross classification in terms of the similarity of their

national origins to those of the native population in the United States.

To simplify the exposition, we use the abbreviations N for native; W, white; F, foreign; B, born; M, mixed (one parent native, one foreign-born); and P, parentage. Thus the "second generation" is identified as NWFMP, that is, native whites of foreign or mixed parentage. According to census rules, the nationality of a NWFP is that of the father and the nationality of a NWMP is that of the foreign parent.

In 1930 the FBW population made up 25 per cent of Chicago's total population; the percentage had declined to 14.5 by 1950. The country-of-origin groups of FBWs listed in Table 1 were the ten largest in both years. In 1930 they ranged in size from 25,000 (Austria) to 150,000 (Poland); in 1950, from 15,000 (England and Wales) to 94,000 (Poland). A good deal of our analysis of the 1930 data employed information on thirteen smaller groups, ranging down to as few as 2,000 FBWs. The results are quite consistent with those reported here and need not be summarized in detail, particularly since there are some reservations about the meaning of segregation indexes for such small categories.

SEGREGATION

There is considerable variation among the FBW groups in the extent to which they are residentially segregated from the total NW population. To make the proportional distribution by community areas for FBWs from England and Wales the same as that for all NWs, only 19 per cent of them would have had to move to other areas in either 1930 or 1950. By contrast, the segregation index for Lithuanian FBWs was 57 per cent in 1930 and 51.5 per cent in 1950 (cols. 1 and 2, Table 1). For all ten countries shown in Table 1, the mean of the segregation indexes with respect to NWs was 39.4 per cent in 1930 and 35.9 per cent in 1950, indicating a small decline in degree of segregation. This decline, however, was confined to the FBW groups from the "new" countries of immigration. The mean for the four

⁷ are partially reported in Philip M. Hauser and Evelyn M. Kitagawa (eds.), *Local Community Fact Book for Chicago 1950* (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, 1953).

⁸ Duncan and Duncan, *op. cit.*

⁸ Niles Carpenter, *Immigrants and Their Children 1920* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1927), chaps. iv and v.

"old" countries was 27.7 in 1930 and 27.8 in 1950, whereas the mean for the six "new" countries dropped from 47.1 in 1930 to 41.4 in 1950. Despite this differential change, the "new" groups remained much more highly segregated in 1950 than the "old," Austria being the only exception among the larger groups, as it is also in respect to several other comparisons between "old" and "new."

For 1930 we can calculate the segregation of FBW groups against the NWNP population, as well as against the total NW pop-

removed from the first generation in terms of residential distributions than was the case for the "new" countries. On the whole, not only were the FBWs from "old" countries less segregated from the NWNP population than were either the FBWs or NWFMPs from the "new" but also their offspring had moved away from a segregated residential pattern at a faster rate than had the second generation from "new" countries.

The interannual rank correlation between columns 1 and 2 of Table 1 (.99) indicates high stability of the pattern of differences

TABLE 1
INDEXES OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND NET REDISTRIBUTION
OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, CHICAGO: 1950 AND 1930

Country of Origin	FBW vs. NW 1950 (1)	FBW vs. NW 1930 (2)	FBW vs. NWNP 1930 (3)	NWFMP vs. NWNP 1930 (4)	FBW vs. NWFMP* 1930 (5)	FBW, 1930 vs. FBW, 1950 (6)
England and Wales.....	18.9	19.1	12.5	9.4	9.9	9.4
Irish Free State (Eire)....	31.8	31.8	26.3	22.4	10.5	13.3
Sweden.....	33.2	34.0	28.1	24.0	11.6	10.2
Germany.....	27.2	26.0	28.0	19.6	12.8	14.0
Poland.....	45.2	50.8	62.5	63.7	8.5	11.2
Czechoslovakia.....	48.8	51.9	60.5	58.9	7.4	10.2
Austria.....	18.1	25.0	32.9	28.6	9.1	15.5
U.S.S.R.....	44.0	49.8	55.7	46.9	11.3	26.0
Lithuania.....	51.5	57.0	63.9	61.4	5.2	14.5
Italy.....	40.5	48.3	53.7	51.4	5.0	21.7
Unweighted means:						
4 "old" countries.....	27.8	27.7	23.7	18.8	11.2	11.7
6 "new" countries.....	41.4	47.1	54.9	51.8	7.8	16.5

* First vs. second generation from the same country.

ulation. The former basis (col. 3, Table 1) yields somewhat lower segregation indexes for the "old" countries but rather higher indexes for the "new." Nevertheless, the two bases of computation rank the countries in much the same way; rho is .90 between columns 2 and 3 of Table 1.

A comparison of columns 3 and 4, Table 1, shows that the pattern of differential segregation is much the same for the second as for the first generation, as indicated by the rho of .96. However, on the average and for most individual countries, the second generation is somewhat less segregated from the NWNP population than is the first; this is especially true of the "old" countries. As shown by the figures in column 5, the second generation from "old" countries was farther

in degree of segregation. This stability of areal pattern is in contrast to the well-known instability of individual residential units. Although we have no figures on particular ethnic groups, we know that 79 per cent of all Chicago families in 1934 lived in homes different from those they had ten years earlier and that 76 per cent of the dwelling units in Chicago in 1939 were occupied by households different from those residing there a decade previously.⁹ Much of the dwelling-unit turnover occurs within

⁹ Charles S. Newcomb and Richard O. Lang (eds.), *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934) (supplementary tables for Chicago total); Chicago Plan Commission, *Residential Chicago* (City of Chicago, 1942), Summary Table XXI, Appendix, p. 70.

local areas, of course, as is suggested by the fact that the index of *net* residential redistribution of the ten FBW groups, 1930-50 (col. 6, Table 1), averaged only 14.6 per cent. The fact that the net redistribution of the "new" groups (mean 16.5) was somewhat greater than that of the "old" groups (mean 11.7) is no doubt related to the fact that the average degree of segregation declined for the former though not for the latter.

Table 2 shows the index of dissimilarity between residential distributions of specific country-of-origin groups in 1930. (The fig-

NWFMPs from the six "new" countries in Table 2 is 55.3. The situation revealed by these data, therefore, is one of a multiplicity of ethnic colonies scattered among the residential areas occupied by the native population rather than of a single "ghetto" for all foreign groups. The persistence of such colonies over generations is indicated by the rank correlation of .94 for the forty-five pairs of observations for corresponding countries in Table 2. The correlation is .89 for the six pairs of indexes of dissimilarity among "old" countries, .93 for the fifteen pairs of indexes among "new" countries, and

TABLE 2

INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY AMONG RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF SELECTED
GROUPS OF FOREIGN STOCK AND NEGROES, CHICAGO: 1930
(Above Diagonal, FBW; below Diagonal, NWFMP)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	1	2	3	4	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (SEE STUB)						
					5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. England and Wales.....		24.7	30.7	35.0	64.6	60.0	34.3	50.1	62.5	53.4	83.6
2. Irish Free State	20.3		42.4	44.1	68.3	63.7	43.9	59.5	62.2	56.6	84.3
3. Sweden.....	24.0	35.6		35.1	73.5	68.8	45.3	65.5	72.8	66.9	90.1
4. Germany.....	27.2	34.3	25.3		57.7	58.6	22.3	56.4	65.5	57.4	88.6
5. Poland.....	68.8	68.6	70.7	58.4		47.2	49.4	56.7	51.2	58.8	93.2
6. Czechoslovakia.	61.9	61.4	66.0	56.2	49.8		49.1	62.5	49.9	63.6	92.7
7. Austria.....	34.8	38.3	37.3	19.9	49.9	47.1		48.2	57.1	52.2	88.4
8. U.S.S.R.....	47.0	50.2	55.4	47.9	63.7	62.2	42.1		68.6	56.7	89.8
9. Lithuania.....	63.2	60.0	68.0	61.0	52.0	45.9	52.2	66.1		66.4	90.9
10. Italy.....	53.9	54.6	63.4	54.0	60.9	64.0	50.5	56.3	66.1		79.2
11. Negro*	84.4	84.7	90.0	88.2	94.1	92.9	89.5	90.1	91.4	79.2	

* Almost all born in the United States.

ures for Negroes are referred to subsequently.) Although there is considerable variation in these intercountry indexes of residential separation, the indexes by no means fall into any perfect hierarchical pattern. In particular, the separation of one FBW or NWFMP group from another cannot be predicted closely from their respective indexes of segregation from the NW or NWNP populations (shown in Table 1). The figures do reveal certain significant patterns, however. On the whole the intercountry indexes run as high as or higher than the segregation indexes with respect to NWs or NWNPs. For example, the mean of the six segregation indexes with respect to NWNPs for NWFMPs from "new" countries (col. 4, Table 1) is 51.8, whereas the mean of the fifteen intercountry indexes for the

.92 for the twenty-four pairs of indexes for "old" versus "new" countries.

Table 3 (upper right half) presents similar intercountry indexes for 1950, for FBWs only, since information on the second generation is lacking. This table gives much the same picture as the preceding one. In fact, the interannual correlation is .93 between the forty-five pairs of corresponding indexes in Tables 2 and 3; the correlations are .94 for the "old" countries, .88 for the "new" countries, and .91 for the "old" versus "new" countries. Both the intergeneration and the interannual correlations support the previous observation as to the stability of segregation patterns.

Averages (Table 4) summarizing the data in the two preceding tables reveal markedly lower intercountry indexes for the "old"

countries. Moreover, the "new" country groups of both generations were as much separated from each other, on the average, as they were from the "old" country groups. The intergeneration decline in mean inter-country indexes was rather greater for the "old" than for the "new" countries, but the difference between the 1930 and 1950 means

pers of Cressey and Ford cited in n. 3). From our point of view, centralization is an aspect of segregation. A group highly concentrated toward the center of the city, as compared with the general or native population, is necessarily segregated; but the converse is not necessarily true: a group may be highly segregated without being

TABLE 3

INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY AMONG RESIDENTIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS
OF SELECTED FOREIGN-BORN WHITE GROUPS AND NEGROES, CHICAGO: 1950

(Above Diagonal, Residential Distributions, City of Chicago; below
Diagonal, Occupational Distributions, Employed Males,
Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (SEE STUB)										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. England and Wales.....		28.5	29.7	29.5	58.4	55.9	26.3	38.3	56.8	45.7	77.8
2. Ireland (Eire)...	30.2		40.2	43.9	66.7	63.2	38.3	54.2	59.8	52.0	81.4
3. Sweden.....	28.1	32.5		32.3	67.8	66.0	38.8	54.0	66.2	60.9	85.5
4. Germany.....	16.0	23.8	17.9		55.9	47.2	21.3	47.2	54.3	54.3	85.4
5. Poland.....	28.4	15.5	26.4	21.0		43.5	47.3	58.3	50.8	52.6	90.8
6. Czechoslovakia.	29.0	19.3	16.6	14.9	13.3		47.8	61.4	50.5	55.9	89.2
7. Austria.....	20.3	18.5	20.7	9.2	15.0	14.3		45.6	53.8	45.6	82.5
8. U.S.S.R.....	17.7	33.4	38.7	23.8	35.2	36.1	27.3		67.5	57.5	87.1
9. Lithuania*.....										61.6	84.7
10. Italy.....	30.4	10.4	29.6	23.0	10.3	18.6	14.4	34.1			69.6
11. Negro†.....	48.4	18.7	48.7	41.0	24.0	32.5	34.9	46.7		21.1	

* Occupation data not available.

† Almost all born in the United States.

TABLE 4

MEAN INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY AMONG OCCUPATIONAL AND RESIDENTIAL DIS-
TRIBUTIONS OF SELECTED GROUPS OF FOREIGN STOCK, CHICAGO
1950 AND 1930

GROUPS OF COUNTRIES* COMPARED	No. OF COMPARISONS†	1950, FBW		1930, RESIDENTIAL	
		Occupational	Residential	FBW	NWFMP
"Old" vs. "old".....	6	24.8	34.0	35.3	27.8
"New" vs. "new".....	15 (10)	21.9	53.3	55.8	55.3
"Old" vs. "new".....	24 (20)	22.3	52.1	57.9	55.0

* See Table 1 for identification of countries and Tables 2 and 3 for data from which means were computed.

† Figures in parentheses pertain to occupational comparisons; data not available for Lithuania.

for FBWs was greater for "new" than for "old" countries. Although ethnic colonies were becoming less distinct during the period 1930-50, they still remained quite visible at the end of the period, especially those of the "new" immigrants.

CENTRALIZATION

Centralization, or zonal pattern, was emphasized in earlier research on residential distributions of ethnic groups (see the pa-

pers of Cressey and Ford cited in n. 3). It is even possible for a segregated group to be decentralized, that is, to have its major concentrations located toward the periphery of the city. The classic hypothesis, of course, is that immigrants initially tend to locate near the center of the city and, in the course of time and with the progress of assimilation, to disperse toward the periphery until they are no more centralized than the native population. Cross-sectional and longitudinal compari-

sons of indexes of centralization afford a somewhat more precise test of this hypothesis.

The indexes of centralization presented in Table 5 largely confirm expectations based on observations of previous students. In both 1950 and 1930 the "old" immigrant groups were considerably less centralized than the "new"; the Swedes, in fact, were rather decentralized in comparison with the native population. All ten FBW groups were relatively less centralized in 1950 than in 1930 (compare cols. 1 and 2 of Table 5), although they maintained their relative po-

erty than toward the center of the city. (The index of centralization of the 1950 with respect to the 1930 NW population was $-.05$.)

That the classic hypothesis, though seemingly applicable to the countries discussed above, may not fit all instances is indicated by an interesting extreme case. With respect to total NWNPs, the Netherlands FBWs had a centralization index of $-.28$, and the Netherlands NWFMPs had an index of $-.34$ in 1930; they were, therefore, even more decentralized than the Swedes. The Dutch are a relatively small

TABLE 5
INDEXES OF CENTRALIZATION FOR SELECTED GROUPS OF FOREIGN STOCK
CHICAGO: 1950 AND 1930

Country of Origin	FBW vs. NW 1950 (1)	FBW vs. NW 1930 (2)	FBW vs. NWNP 1930 (3)	NWFMP vs. NWNP 1930 (4)
England and Wales.....	$-.05$	$-.04$	$.03$	$-.06$
Irish Free State (Eire).....	$-.05$	$.00$	$.07$	$.00$
Sweden.....	$-.19$	$-.18$	$-.11$	$-.18$
Germany.....	$.04$	$.09$	$.17$	$.04$
Poland.....	$.22$	$.27$	$.33$	$.29$
Czechoslovakia.....	$.19$	$.23$	$.31$	$.27$
Austria.....	$.03$	$.13$	$.20$	$.13$
U.S.S.R.....	$.10$	$.24$	$.33$	$.25$
Lithuania.....	$.08$	$.15$	$.21$	$.18$
Italy.....	$.25$	$.38$	$.43$	$.42$
Unweighted means:				
4 "old" countries.....	$-.06$	$-.03$	$.04$	$-.05$
6 "new" countries.....	$.14$	$.23$	$.30$	$.26$

sitions with respect to each other, as indicated by the interannual rank correlation of $.96$. Similarly, the intergenerational shift, as indicated by a comparison of columns 3 and 4 in Table 5, was uniformly in the direction of less centralization of the second generation, again with a high stability of the pattern of differential degrees of centralization summarized by a rho of $.98$. The difference between generations was, however, somewhat greater for those from the "old" than from the "new" countries. It is important to note that these interannual and intergenerational shifts do not refer merely to a centrifugal movement of the foreign stock but to a net centrifugal shift relative to the native population, which was itself increasing more rapidly toward the periph-

group consisting of 9,000 FBWs and 16,000 NWFMPs in 1930; 28 per cent of the former and 27 per cent of the latter lived in one community, "Roseland," about twelve miles south of the center of the city. The Dutch settled in this neighborhood as farmers and railroad construction workers in the latter half of the nineteenth century, long before it became a part of the built-up urban residential area.¹⁰ Their present decentralization, therefore, is not the outcome of a process of dispersal from an initial settlement near the center of a city. This shows the need for caution in interpreting strictly cross-sectional comparisons of centralization indexes.

¹⁰ Hauser and Kitagawa, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

ASSIMILATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC
STATUS

The processes by which immigrants adjust to conditions in the country of destination include *naturalization*, the acquisition of legal citizenship; *absorption*, or entry into productive economic activity; *assimilation*, or integration into the social structure more or less on terms of socioeconomic equality; and *acculturation*, or the adoption of the local customs and the relinquishing of such cultural characteristics as would identify the immigrants as a distinct ethnic group. For our purposes it is unnecessary to make an issue of the distinctions among these processes, since the available data do not permit their independent measurement. Moreover, we feel justified in treating conventional measures of socioeconomic status along with other indicators of immigrant adjustment on the grounds that ethnic differentials in socioeconomic status are indicative of incomplete absorption and assimilation.

The significance of the various indicators itemized in Table 6 is more or less obvious. First of all, it should be noted that the classification of countries on the basis of several of these indicators (with appropriate choice of cutting points) is the same as the "old-new" categorization. However, these indicators serve to specify certain major aspects of the differential assimilation of the two categories. For example, the proportion arriving in the United States in 1900 or earlier (col. 1) is based on a classification of individuals, in contrast to the characterization of country-of-origin groups in historical terms according to the period in which they began to come to this country in large numbers. The variable in column 5, "NWMP as Per Cent of NWFMP," is a rough indication of intermarriage as an aspect of assimilation. Other things being equal, the higher the percentage of the second generation with one native parent, the greater the amount of intermarriage between the first generation and the native population. It should not be overlooked that in many cases the native parent is a second-

generation member of the same stock as the foreign parent, but the census data do not permit us to distinguish such cases from those involving intermarriage in a stricter sense. The available data on rentals and homeownership are somewhat unusual in that they rest on a classification of individuals rather than dwelling units. This means, for example, that many NWFMP individuals are classified by the rental of the dwelling unit occupied by a household with a FB head. It should also be observed that the rental and homeownership data pertain to 1940, although there is no reason to believe that the ranks of the several countries changed greatly between 1930 and 1940.

The lower panel of Table 6 shows correlations of the indicators of assimilation and socioeconomic status with the indexes of segregation of the foreign stock groups. For the most part, the correlations indicate that segregation is inversely related to assimilation, confirming the hypothesis stated by Halbwachs, who suggested that "plus une population d'immigrants est concentrée, moins elle est assimilée,"¹¹ and Hawley, who concluded that "redistribution of a minority group in the same territorial pattern as that of the majority group results in a dissipation of subordinate status and an assimilation of the subjugated group into the social structure."¹² It may be noted that the correlations of the indexes of centralization (not shown) with the indicators of assimilation and socioeconomic status were much like those for the indexes of segregation, though generally slightly lower in absolute value.

Despite the confirmation of our general hypothesis, attention must also be given to the negative findings. Unfortunately, the only indicator available for both 1930 and 1950 is percentage of naturalized citizens among the FBWs. Whereas in 1930 this variable was clearly correlated with assimilation,

¹¹ Halbwachs, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹² Amos H. Hawley, "Dispersion versus Segregation: Apropos of a Solution of Race Problems," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, XXX (1944), 674.

lation and exhibited higher values for the "old" immigrants, by 1950 all country-of-origin groups had moved so far toward complete naturalization that the variable no longer correlated with segregation or discriminated between "old" and "new" groups. The correlation between income and segregation in 1950, though in the expected direction, was too low to be statistically significant. The low correlation may be partly due to the use of an income figure for all individuals with income rather than median family income, which is not available. But the major finding which is contrary to expectations is the positive correlation of homeownership with segregation. Although the correlation is of doubtful significance, it is certainly not in the direction anticipated on the basis of the usual positive association of homeownership with other indicators of socioeconomic status. That homeownership does not behave exactly like an indicator of assimilation is indicated by the fact that it poorly discriminates between "old" and "new" countries and is consistently lower for the second generation than for the foreign-born. The contrast between generations is magnified when a family, rather than individual, basis of classification is employed. In 1930, 41.8 per cent of the families in Chicago headed by a FBW person lived in homes they owned, as compared with 29.6 per cent of families with NWFMP head and only 18.6 per cent of those with NWNP head.¹³ Although the high proportion of homeownership among the FBWs may be related to their high average age, it is unlikely that age differences account for the difference in homeownership between NWFMPs and NWNPs. Quite similar differences in homeownership between nativity categories were observed in Detroit, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia in 1930, although they failed to appear in New York. Moreover, there was some consistency in the ranking of the various country-of-origin groups from one large city to another. This

¹³ *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, Vol. VI: *Families* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), State Table 4.

suggests a connection between "propensity to homeownership" and factors such as previous urban or rural residence differentiating the backgrounds of the respective ethnic groups, although it is difficult to specify what these factors may be. It may be, too, that a high propensity to homeownership, whatever its explanation, retards the residential mobility required for lessening of segregation.

Whereas the residential segregation of FBWs with respect to NWs was significantly correlated with their occupational segregation (col. 12, Table 6), the residential separation of one ethnic group from another had little to do with the dissimilarity of their distributions by major occupation groups. The rank correlation between the thirty-six corresponding indexes in Table 3 is only .26—too low to be significant. Moreover, there is little difference between the average indexes of occupational dissimilarity among "old" and "new" countries (Table 4) or between their average indexes of occupational dissimilarity with respect to NWs (col. 12, Table 6). Apparently the existence and perpetuation of ethnic colonies are not to be explained primarily by occupational differentiation, although our measure of the latter is rather crude owing to the use of only eleven broad occupational categories.

SOCIAL DISTANCE

Although "psychological distance" may be a more appropriate term, the concept of "social distance" has been applied to feelings of acceptance or rejection of minority ethnic groups by the general population. To indicate the close association between the ranking of ethnic groups in this respect and their ranking in terms of residential segregation, reference is made to the studies of Bogardus,¹⁴ who asked subjects in various parts

¹⁴ Emory S. Bogardus, "The Measurement of Social Distance," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, ed. T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947); "Changes in Racial Distances," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, I (December, 1947), 55-62.

of the United States to indorse or reject such statements as the following with respect to specified ethnic categories: "Would admit to my street as neighbors" and "Would admit to close kinship by marriage."

For sixteen European groups, the ranking on the "neighbors" question obtained by Bogardus in 1926 correlated .73 with the ranking of our segregation indexes for FBWs versus NWNPs and .80 with the ranking of the segregation indexes for NWFMPs versus NWNPs. These correlations differ but slightly from that of .83 between rankings based on the "marriage" question and our indicator of intermarriage—NWMP as percentage of NWFMP. Bogardus found that the social distance rankings of ethnic groups have been relatively stable over time, as were our segregation indexes. Consequently, it is difficult to detect any significant change in the relationship between the two.

NEGROES

With the restriction of immigration, Negro migrants to the city have been said to have taken over many of the former roles of immigrants. Our data point to one limitation of the analogy: Negroes are much more segregated than any immigrant group. On a community-area basis, the index of segregation of Negroes with respect to NWs was 85.2 in 1930 and 79.7 in 1950. The indexes of dissimilarity between the Negro residential distribution and those of the several FBW groups were, for the most part, even higher; and they were uniformly higher than the intercountry indexes of dissimilarity (see col. 11, Tables 2 and 3).

One of the early papers on segregation patterns called attention to "the importance of further study of the relative resistance of different immigrant groups in determining the direction of the movement of Negro population in northern cities," in connection with its presentation of the following informal observations: "No instance has been noted . . . where a Negro invasion succeeded in displacing the Irish in possession of a community. Yet, frequently . . . Negroes

have pushed forward in the wake of retreating Jews. . . . It is rather significant to point out in passing the frequent propinquity of Negroes and Italian settlements in our larger cities."¹⁵ The hypothesis of differential "resistance of different immigrant groups" is supported indirectly by the variation among groups in their indexes of dissimilarity to Negroes and especially by the persistence of its pattern as indicated by the interannual rank correlation of .92 between column 11 of Table 2 and column 11 of Table 3. The net redistribution of Negro population over the twenty-year period is indicated by an index of dissimilarity of 22.3 per cent between Negro residential distributions in 1930 and 1950; this net shift, together with those shown in column 6 of Table 1, was quite sufficient to have produced substantial modification of the pattern had forces not been at work to maintain it.

The comparatively low index of dissimilarity between Negroes and Italian FBWs in both years accords with Burgess' observation. On the other hand, on the basis of his remark about the Irish, one might well anticipate that their residential dissimilarity to Negroes would be greater than the data show it to be. The suggestion that there is an especially noteworthy tendency for Negroes to succeed Jews is not supported by the observation that the index of dissimilarity between Negroes and the predominantly Jewish U.S.S.R. FBWs was close to the median of such indexes for the ten FBW groups in both 1930 and 1950. Estimates of the distribution of the total Jewish population for 1931 and 1951¹⁶ indicate an index of residential dissimilarity between Jews and Negroes of 85.9 in 1930-31 and 80.9 in 1950-51. As compared with the other indexes given here, however, these are understated, inasmuch as the Jewish estimates are available for only fourteen individual community areas and seven combinations of

¹⁵ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹⁶ Beverly Duncan, "Estimated Jewish Population of Chicago and Selected Characteristics, 1951" (Chicago Community Inventory Report, University of Chicago, 1954) (hctographed).

community areas. Even so, they are approximately equal to the indexes of dissimilarity between Negroes and NWs and are higher than several of the indexes between Negroes and FBW groups.

A close check on the foregoing hypotheses would require the use of data with greater areal detail than we employ here, and one would, of course, have to turn to sources other than the Census to get evidence of any organized "resistance" of immigrant groups to Negroes. No doubt the present interrelations of residential patterns of immigrants and Negroes reflect in large measure the historical accidents of the locations of areas of first settlement and access to areas for expansion and dispersion. To isolate any specific "ethnic" factor in the variation of Negro-immigrant indexes of dissimilarity, one would doubtless have to compare a considerable number of cities.

On the evidence of this study we believe that much can be learned about processes of migrant adjustment from kinds of data which are readily available and amenable to comparative analysis. Even if an investigator makes a case study of a particular ethnic group, comparisons of the kind presented here can be illuminating, if only in identifying extreme or deviant cases. No doubt there is some connection, for example, among the high mobility of the U.S.S.R. FBWs between 1930 and 1950 (col. 6, Table 1), their relatively rapid decentralization over the same period (cols. 1 and 2, Table 5), their low proportions of homeownership (col. 8, Table 6), and their relatively high incomes (col. 11, Table 6).

Moreover, we believe that the coherence

of our findings and their consistency with our major hypotheses afford support for the conceptualization of assimilation in ecological terms. It is not only that readily computed indexes based on areal data are closely related to indicators reflecting cultural characteristics and even subjective evaluations—though this finding is highly significant. Equally important are the implications of using indicators based on attributes of aggregates in intercorrelations with other aggregate characteristics. There is, of course, no necessary contradiction between findings based on comparisons of individuals and those derived from groups, critics of "ecological correlation" to the contrary notwithstanding. In some cases the transition from one level of analysis to the other is made directly: we would tend to classify an individual as "unassimilated" if he had not learned to speak English and a group as relatively "unassimilated" if a high proportion of its members spoke only a foreign tongue. But there is no individual characteristic which strictly parallels the degree of occupational differentiation or residential segregation of an ethnic group. It would be unreasonable, for example, to characterize an individual as "unassimilated" solely on the grounds that he followed a semiskilled occupation; but, if a disproportionately large number of members of an ethnic category are semiskilled workers, one has presumptive evidence of incomplete assimilation. Finally, such a correlation as that between an index of residential segregation and an index of occupational differentiation cannot even be conceptualized on the individual level.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PART-TIME FARMING AND THE PUSH-PULL HYPOTHESIS¹

GLENN V. FUGITT

ABSTRACT

The hypothesis that the extent of part-time farming is directly related to a measure of off-farm opportunities and, independent of this, inversely related to a measure of opportunities in agriculture is tested, using the counties of Wisconsin as units. This hypothesis is supported by the analysis of all farmers considered together and of commercial farmers considered separately, while the facts about non-commercial farmers are not inconsistent with the hypothesis in view of the uniformly low opportunities in agriculture for this segment.

One of the most important changes now taking place in American rural life is the continued increase in the non-farm employment of farm operators. Since 1930, when information on this subject was first included in the *Census of Agriculture*, the number and proportion of operators working off their farms has shown a steady upward trend.

This phenomenon is of course only one of many changes in contemporary rural society. Perhaps a more dramatic change is the great depopulation of rural areas through migration to the cities. In several ways these two trends are rather closely related. Thus, for operators farming full time, becoming a part-time farmer might be thought of as a possible alternative to migration. From the economic point of view, both migration from farm areas and part-time farming involve a transfer of labor resources from agricultural to non-agricultural employment.² Indeed, in many cases, part-time farming might be thought of as a daily rural-urban migration, giving the countryman many of the experiences and social contacts of his urban counterpart.

Therefore, it should be worthwhile to bring to bear on the study of part-time farming approaches and concepts used in

the field of migration. One of these is the so-called "push-pull" hypothesis: that migration is due to socioeconomic imbalances between regions, certain factors "pushing" persons away from the area of origin, and others "pulling" them to the area of destination.³

It is the object of this paper, then, to test the push-pull hypothesis for the extent of part-time farming, using a number of ecological areas as the basic units. Analysis has been carried out by obtaining a measure of off-farm opportunities tending to pull persons toward non-farm work, of opportunities in agriculture tending to push persons away from full-time farming, and of the extent of part-time farming for a number of ecological units in a given year. If the extent of part-time farming is positively associated with the level of off-farm opportunities and, independent of this, negatively associated with the level of opportunities in agriculture, this will be taken as evidence supporting the push-pull hypothesis locally.

The basic data used in this study have obtained from the 1950 censuses of agriculture and population. The ecological units examined are the counties of the state of

¹ This research was supported by the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station. The Numerical Analysis Laboratory provided assistance in computations for the study.

² Stephen L. McDonald, "Farm Outmigration as an Integrative Adjustment of Economic Growth," *Social Forces*, XXXIV (December, 1955), 119-28.

³ See, e.g., Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941); Margaret J. Hagood and Emmet F. Sharp, *Rural-Urban Migration in Wisconsin, 1940-1950* (Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bull. 176 [August, 1951]); Theodore Anderson, "Inter-metropolitan Migration: A Correlation Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (March, 1956), 459-62.

Wisconsin. Since this constitutes a 100 per cent sample of a specifically defined universe, tests of significance have not been carried out. The data were placed in two or four ranked groups for each variable, and frequency tables were constructed for each pair of variables. A measure of association was then computed for each table. This measure, called "gamma" by its originators, Goodman and Kruskal, ranges in value from +1 to -1, so as to indicate the extent and direction of the association between a given pair of variables.⁴

The measure of off-farm opportunities used to test the hypothesis is the percentage of the labor force in each county employed in non-agricultural occupations. This is, of course, a crude measure which could not reflect in detail variations in actual available jobs of the type that would be expected to be suitable for persons in full-time farm work.

The measure of the extent of part-time farming used is the percentage of farm operators working off their farms one hundred days or more in 1949. This may be tabulated separately for farms reporting a value of farm products sold during the year which was either more or less than \$1,200. These two groups are termed "commercial" and "non-commercial" farmers in the present study.

The value of farm products sold in 1949 in each county is used as the basis of the measure of opportunities in agriculture. The *Census of Agriculture* includes a frequency distribution of farms according to value of farm products sold in five groups above \$1,200 and two groups below this figure for each county. From this table summary figures of the value of farm products

sold may be obtained for all farms, as well as separately for commercial and non-commercial farms in each county. Hence it is possible to test the push-pull hypothesis separately for commercial and non-commercial farmers, under the assumption that the index of off-farm opportunities has the same effect for these two categories.⁵

For all farmers considered together and for commercial farmers separately, estimates of the median value of farm products sold, based, respectively, on the seven and five groups, are used as the summary measures of opportunities in agriculture. As non-commercial farmers are divided into only two groups by value of farm products sold, the percentage which the number in the higher group (those reporting more than \$250) is of all such farmers is used in place of the median for this segment.

The results for all farmers and for commercial farmers directly support the push-pull hypothesis and are considered together in the analysis below. The results for non-commercial farmers, which vary from the explicit statement of the hypothesis, follow.

ALL FARMERS AND COMMERCIAL FARMERS

Measures of the individual relationships between the independent and dependent variables are shown in Table 1. The gamma values both for all farmers combined and for commercial farmers show the relationship between the percentage of farmers classified as part time and the percentage of the population in non-agricultural industries to be moderate and about equal to that of the percentage part time and value of farm products sold, though, consistent with the hypothesis, the former relationship is positive and the latter is negative.

Tables 2 and 3 show the association between the percentage classified as part time and, in turn, each of the two independent

⁴ Gamma is defined as the difference between the probability of drawing two cases at random from the table, one of which is in a cell below and to the right of the other, minus the probability of drawing two cases, one of which is in a cell above and to the left of the other, given that the two cases are not drawn from the same cell (L. A. Goodman and W. H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross-classifications," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLIX [December, 1954], 747-54).

⁵ Analysis, though necessarily restricted to the total farmer group, also was carried through using the farm-operator level of living index as the push factor, and the results obtained were practically identical with those reported here.

factors with the other controlled. This is accomplished by obtaining the gamma score for the relation between the percentage part time and one factor among all counties in a given quartile of the other factor. For example, the first score on the left in Table 2 (+.98) measures the relationship between the percentage part time (all farmers) and the percentage of the labor force in non-agricultural occupations for those 18 counties having a median value of farm products sold which is higher than that of the other three-fourths of Wisconsin's 71 counties. The average of the scores for the four quartiles

gamma values in Table 1. This indicates that these indexes of off-farm opportunities and opportunities in agriculture operate independently of one another and, indeed, that each has a somewhat depressing effect on the other's relationship to the extent of part-time farming.

The association between the extent of part-time farming and the two independent factors considered together is shown, for broad groupings, in Table 4. According to the first section of the table in all those 16 counties with the percentage of the labor force employed in non-agricultural occupa-

TABLE 1

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE PART TIME, PERCENTAGE LABOR FORCE IN NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS, AND VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD

	All Farmers	Commercial	Non-commercial
Percentage farmers part time by percentage labor force in non-agricultural occupations..	0.58	0.53	0.81
Percentage farmers part time by value of farm products sold.....	-.61	-.48	-.36
Percentage labor force in non-agricultural occupations by value of farm products sold..	0.14	0.14	-0.51

TABLE 2

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE PART TIME AND PERCENTAGE LABOR FORCE IN NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS, CONTROLLING VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD

Value of Farm Products Sold	All Farmers	Commercial	Non-commercial
First quartile.....	0.98	0.98	0.89
Second quartile...	.82	.51	.88
Third quartile....	.55	.59	.74
Fourth quartile...	0.73	0.62	0.51
Average.....	0.77	0.67	0.75

is in each case a rough summary measure of partial association.⁶

For all farmers and for commercial farmers considered separately, these two tables reveal an increased relationship between the extent of part-time farming and either independent factor when the other independent factor is controlled. Thus at least three out of four of each set of within-quartile relationships are larger than the corresponding over-all relationships as measured by

TABLE 3

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE PART TIME AND VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD, CONTROLLING PERCENTAGE LABOR FORCE IN NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

Percentage Labor Force in Non-agricultural Occupations	All Farmers	Commercial	Non-commercial
First quartile....	-0.86	-0.60	-0.41
Second quartile..	-.90	-0.82	.15
Third quartile...	-.96	-1.00	-.18
Fourth quartile..	-0.95	-0.47	0.50
Average.....	-0.92	-0.72	0.06

tions above the median for the state (i.e., the top one-half of Wisconsin's 71 counties in this respect) and with the summary value of farm products sold below the median, the proportion of total farmers working off their farms one hundred days or more is above the median. Conversely, in all 15 counties below the median in percentage employed in non-agricultural occupations and above the median in value of farm

⁶ Goodman and Kruskal, *op. cit.*, pp. 760-61.

products sold, the percentage of part-time farming among all farmers is below the median. Those counties either above or below the median in both percentage employed in non-agricultural occupations and value of farm products sold are about evenly divided above and below the median in the percentage of farmers working off their farms one hundred days or more.

Approximately the same relations are

group and the extent of part-time farming is lower than is the case for the other two segments.

The third line of Table 1 shows that the relationship between non-commercial value of farm products sold and the percentage of the labor force employed in non-agricultural industries is, unlike the corresponding low positive values for commercial and total farmers, moderately negative.

TABLE 4

RANKED GROUPS OF COUNTIES, BY PERCENTAGE FARMERS PART TIME, VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD, AND PERCENTAGE LABOR FORCE IN NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

	VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS				
	Above Median		Below Median		
	PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS				
	Above Median	Below Median	Above Median	Below Median	TOTAL
	All Farmers				
Percentage farmers part time:					
Above median.....	11	0	15	10	36
Below median.....	9	16	0	10	35
Total.....	20	16	15	20	71
	Commercial Farmers				
Percentage farmers part time:					
Above median.....	11	1	15	8	35
Below median.....	9	15	0	12	36
Total.....	20	16	15	20	71
	Non-commercial Farmers				
Percentage farmers part time:					
Above median.....	10	2	21	3	36
Below median.....	2	22	2	9	35
Total.....	12	24	23	12	71

seen to exist for commercial farmers shown separately in the second part of Table 4.

NON-COMMERCIAL FARMERS

The results for non-commercial farmers in Tables 1-4 are quite different from those just discussed. According to Table 1, off-farm opportunities are directly associated to a much greater extent with part-time farming for this category than for all farmers together or for commercial farmers. Also the inverse association between value of farm products sold within this low-income

When the percentage of the labor force employed in non-agricultural occupations is controlled, as indicated in Table 3, the relationship between value of farm products sold and the percentage of non-commercial farmers classified as part time is very erratic, ranging in value from $-.41$ to $+.50$. On the other hand, Table 2 shows that controlling value of farm products sold has little effect on the relation between the percentage part time and the percentage of the labor force employed in non-agricultural occupations for this segment.

These findings support the conclusion that most of the low negative association found between non-commercial value of farm products sold and the percentage part time for non-commercial farmers is explained by the moderate negative association, shown in Table 1, between value of farm products sold and the percentage employed in non-agricultural occupations.

In Table 4 it is seen that a high proportion of non-commercial farmers in practically all counties high in off-farm opportunities and low in value of farm products sold are part time, while the reverse is true in counties low in the index of off-farm opportunities and high in value of farm products sold. This is similar to the relationships found for all farmers and for commercial farmers. Unlike the situation for the latter two segments, however, counties high in both opportunity indexes are mostly high and counties low in both are mostly low in the percentage of non-commercial farmers classified as part time. This is consistent with the high positive association for the non-commercial farmers between part-time farming and off-farm opportunities, along with the low negative association between part-time farming and opportunities in agriculture.

The hypothesis that the proportion of farm operators engaged in part-time farming is directly related to off-farm opportunities and inversely related to opportunities in agriculture by counties for Wisconsin has been supported in the analysis of preceding data for all farmers considered together and for commercial farmers separately. The indexes of off-farm opportunities and opportunities in agriculture were shown by a partial and multiple analysis of the relationships between the variables to be operating independently of one another in a reciprocal fashion.

For non-commercial farmers, on the other hand, the results do not explicitly agree with the hypothesis. County variations in off-farm opportunities are highly associated

with the extent of non-commercial part-time farming, but the low negative association between the index of opportunities in agriculture for this segment and the extent of part-time farming appears to be due to the negative association of the latter index with the index of off-farm opportunities.

While these findings for non-commercial farmers are at variance with the explicit statement of the hypothesis, they are not really inconsistent with it if one considers the county segments, which include only farmers who grossed less than \$1,200 from their farms in 1949, as rating uniformly low in opportunities in agriculture. Taking these segments separately, county variations in value of farm products sold would thus be expected to have little effect upon the proportion of farmers employed off their farms, since this value would in any event be very low. Furthermore, with uniformly low opportunities in agriculture as measured by value of farm products sold, the proportion of non-commercial operators working off their farms one hundred days or more could well be highly responsive to variations in off-farm opportunities.

Further understanding of the associations involved here might come through relating this analysis based on geographic areas to additional information obtained on, and considered in terms of, individuals.⁷ By extensive interviewing in carefully selected areas it should be possible to see how non-farm opportunities and opportunities in agriculture, as measured here by county units, tend to affect the decisions of individual farmers to become part-time operators. Such a project would be an important step forward in this research area.

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⁷ For a discussion of the relationship between analysis using geographic areas and analysis using individuals as the primary unit see W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, XV (June, 1950), 351-57; Herbert Menzel, "Comment on Robinson's 'Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals,'" *American Sociological Review*, XV (October, 1950), 674.

THE ECOLOGICAL FIELD AND THE METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY: MANUFACTURING AND MANAGEMENT¹

DONNELL M. PAPPENFORT

ABSTRACT

A metropolitan community is a unit in a more inclusive ecological field rather than a discrete entity. The location of operating combinations consisting of factories and administrative offices in Illinois justifies defining the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area as a central dominant for the state. At the same time, Illinois factories with administrative offices outside the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area are located with reference to the influence of adjacent and even more distant metropolitan areas. The structure of a metropolitan community must be explained by participation in a national ecological organization as well as by principles internal to itself.

The large city in the metropolitan community has been described as playing the role of a "dominant" which "exercises its control over a community of inter-functioning units." Control through the "means of heightened interdependence, and a modification of the conditions under which small cities may thrive, are the elements by which the great city dominates its neighbors."² Research inspired by these propositions and directed at relationships between the metropolis and surrounding territories has demonstrated an urban-oriented structure as a basis of contemporary ecological organization.³

However, studies of the metropolitan community have not sufficiently emphasized equally important intercommunity relations that characterize ecological organization. A "community"—whether the concept is applied to plants, animals, or human beings and their institutions—by definition is not a discrete entity. It is an identifiable set of symbiotic relationships which necessarily are involved with and have implications for other such identifiable sets. Several or many

such communities constitute an ecological "field," which is the fundamental unit of analysis. Hypotheses and methods used in the study of several communities or even a single community need to be predicated upon a process of abstraction from the more inclusive area. Attention should be directed at relations between contiguous metropolitan communities and to those between more widely separated areas. If metropolises are central dominants for hinterlands, their simultaneous, as well as independent, influences may affect the structure of the metropolitan community.⁴

This paper reports a part of a case study of Illinois which uses data on the operating combination, a variety of manufacturing organization.⁵ The findings presented are these: The spatial distribution of the production and administrative units of operating combinations falls into a consistent pattern in relation to Chicago which justifies defining that metropolitan area as a central

¹ Revision of a paper read at the Midwest Sociological Society, April, 1958.

² Don J. Bogue, *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, 1949), pp. 11, 12.

³ See N. S. B. Gras, *An Introduction to Economic History* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1922); R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933); and Bogue, *op. cit.*

⁴ Hence boundaries of metropolitan communities are misleadingly defined, and arbitrary solutions are utilized. No metropolitan community has an empirical boundary, since, by definition, it is an abstraction from a more inclusive functioning field.

⁵ Donnell M. Pappenfort, *Industrial Control in the Metropolitan Community* ("Urban Analysis Reports," No. 19 [Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1953] [holographed]), a monograph prepared under contract of the Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, with the Human Resources Research Institute, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama.

dominant for the state. At the same time, the joint influence of the metropolitan centers of St. Louis and Chicago is related to the distributions of certain subgroups of operating combinations. Finally, when the home office of an Illinois factory is in another state, the administration is situated in a region which is related to the production unit's location in Illinois. The conclusion is that the community's central metropolis is a dominant in terms of which the hinterland is meaningfully arranged; however, examination of spatial relationships only with respect to the central dominant obscures elements of community structure which result from the participation of a community in a more inclusive ecological unit. In addition, a method for taking into account the influence of multiple dominants is explained, and hypotheses suitable for testing with national data are suggested.

The "operating combination" here is defined as a minimum of two units, one of production (factory) and the other of administration (home office), which are separated in space from each other.⁶ The data offer a special advantage in the analysis of control patterns within and between metropolitan communities: the unit of control and the unit or units of production can be located specifically.⁷

Spatial distributions are described, principally, by means of indexes of centralization and concentration, obtained from the following formula:

$$\sum_{i=1}^k X_{i-1} Y_i - \sum_{i=1}^k X_i Y_{i-1}$$

⁶ The definition of units differs from those reported by the U.S. Census and utilized by Willard L. Thorp in *The Integration of Industrial Combination* ("Census Monographs," Vol. III [Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1924]) in two ways. First, the Census definition excludes a "central-office group" composed of a single plant and its home office; these are included in this report. Second, the central-office group includes all manufacturing establishments, regardless of location, controlled by an administrative office; here only production units located in Illinois and their home offices throughout the United States are included.

where X_i is the cumulated proportion of operating combination factories through the i th zone, Y_i is the corresponding cumulated proportion of the base quantity, and k is the number of zones.⁸ The indexes vary from + 1.0 to - 1.0, from complete centralization (or concentration) to complete decentralization.

THE CENTRAL DOMINANT

The production units of operating combinations within Illinois are decentralized and removed from their administrative offices, the two being found at different distances from the central business district ("the Loop") of Chicago. The city of Chicago and the remainder of Illinois, eliminating the St. Louis Standard Metropolitan Area,⁹

⁷ Bogue has stated that "at the present stage of research in social science the term 'dominance' must be used as a class name for many different controls, most of which have never been subjected to rigorous study" (*op. cit.*, p. 13). Definition of the mechanisms of dominance in terms of observable entities is required for further development. For information about operating combinations cf. *Illinois Directory of Manufacturers, 1949*, supplemented by Chicago Plan Commission records (Chicago: Manufacturers' News, Inc., 1949).

⁸ Number of manufacturing establishments (*Census of Manufactures: 1947*, III, Table 2, 175-77) is used as the base quantity, except where noted. The indexes and computing procedures are explained in Philip M. Hauser, Otis Dudley Duncan, and Beverly Davis Duncan, *Methods of Urban Analysis: A Summary Report* (San Antonio, Tex.: Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center, 1956); Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (March, 1955), 493-503, and "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," *American Sociological Review*, XX (April, 1955), 210-17; Otis Dudley Duncan, "The Measurement of Population Distribution," *Population Studies*, XI (July, 1957), 27-45, and "Population Distribution and Community Structure," *Cold Spring Harbor Symposium on Quantitative Biology*, XXII (1957), 357-71.

⁹ Production and administrative units in the St. Louis Standard Metropolitan Area and production units elsewhere in Illinois with home offices in that standard metropolitan area or out of state are excluded from the data upon which centralization coefficients are based.

were divided into thirty concentric zones, at given distances apart, with Chicago's central business district as the center.¹⁰ Each factory was first placed in its proper zone; then it was categorized in the zone of its home office. The coefficient of centralization of production units, in comparison with their classification according to the location of administration, is $-.622$, indicating a strong tendency for production to be farther than administration from Chicago's center. This high degree of separation is partly explained by the fact that 45 per cent of Illinois operating combinations are controlled by administrative offices in the Loop, while only 2 per cent of the factories are located there.

The same pattern obtains within the city of Chicago and within the non-metropolitan counties¹¹ when these areas are examined independently of one another. Within the city limits, administrative offices are centralized in comparison with the distribution of all manufacturing establishments in Chicago ($+.489$).¹² The centralization coefficient for Chicago plants with home offices in the same city is $-.179$. Production units of the operating combinations are decentralized in comparison both with manufacturing establishments as a whole and with the administrative offices. The Loop is even more important as a control site for Chicago factories: 58 per cent of the home offices are in it; two-thirds of them are in Zones 1 and 2, together.

¹⁰ The thirty zones include sixteen 1-mile zones within the city, the Chicago metropolitan counties (the non-Chicago part of the Illinois section of the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area) as a seventeenth zone, and the Illinois non-metropolitan counties grouped into thirteen zones of equal width. The Peoria-Tazewell Standard Metropolitan Area here is classified as non-metropolitan.

¹¹ The non-metropolitan counties are defined as the 95 Illinois counties that are not a part of either the St. Louis or the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Areas.

¹² The Chicago Plan Commission provided the zonal count of manufacturing establishments within Chicago.

Within the thirteen zones going out from Chicago, to which the non-metropolitan counties were assigned, the same relationship between production and administration is present. Non-metropolitan home offices are centralized, with a coefficient of $+.090$; their manufacturing establishments are decentralized ($-.067$). Again, the operating combination factories are decentralized in comparison both with total manufacturing establishments and with administration. However, the degree of separation between the two distributions is smaller than that of operating combinations within Chicago.

Production-administrative units within Illinois are, then, distributed consistently according to the logic of contemporary interpretations of the metropolitan community. Chicago, the largest city adjacent to or within the state, and particularly its central business district constitute a major site of administrative control over production organized in operating combinations. They also clearly function as a central dominant in structuring spatial distributions. Throughout the state, administrative and production units tend to fall into an identical pattern with respect to one another: control extends from locations nearer the Loop to production sites more remote. This centrifugal direction of control characterizes operating combinations located entirely within the non-metropolitan counties as well as those with all units in Chicago.

COMBINED INFLUENCE OF TWO DOMINANTS

The definition of the metropolitan community as an abstraction from a larger ecological field suggests that influences penetrate Illinois from urban centers other than Chicago and that these affect the spatial structure of operating combinations. The most obvious is the St. Louis Standard Metropolitan Area, which lies on the border of Illinois and partly within it. This metropolitan area, smaller in population and number of manufacturing establishments than the Chicago area, can be expected on theoretical

grounds to exert a less intense influence in Illinois.¹³

Classification of Illinois non-metropolitan counties by an "Index of Metropolitan Dominance Potential" takes into account the combined or simultaneous influence of metropolitan areas of differing size, as well as the fact that each is at a different distance from each hinterland county.¹⁴ The index was computed by determining the distance from Chicago's Loop to the mid-point of a selected non-metropolitan county and dividing it into the total number of manufacturing establishments within the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area.¹⁵ The number

of manufacturing establishments in the St. Louis Standard Metropolitan Area was also divided by the distance from the central business district of St. Louis to the mid-point of the same county. The two dividends were then summed and assigned to that county as its potential value of metropolitan dominance. The same procedures were followed to provide a theoretical value for each non-metropolitan county. The counties were arrayed in order of declining values and grouped into ten zones. Indexes of concentration, comparable to the previously employed indexes of centralization in utilizing number of manufacturing establishments as a base quantity, describe the tendency for production units of operating combinations to concentrate in the zones of high or low potential.

Concentration coefficients do not provide meaningful distributions of hinterland factories with home offices in the metropolitan areas of St. Louis and Chicago. The two groups of plants have quite separate spatial patterns: theoretical zones of highest potential are close to Chicago, and factories with home offices in Chicago are represented heavily in them; in contrast, St. Louis-controlled plants show a negative concentration coefficient, reflecting location near St. Louis in zones of lower potential.

However, when the index is applied to operating combinations divorced from both standard metropolitan areas, relationships consistent with theoretical expectations are obtained. Home offices of hinterland-operating combinations have a concentration coefficient of $+.080$; the plants they control, $-.172$. In other words, administrative offices tend to be located in zones of higher potential than their production units. More important than the direction, which might be a function of the superior influence expected of Chicago, is the degree of separation between the two distributions. The difference in index points between these ad-

¹³ This is supported by the empirical observation that manufacturing plants in the Illinois non-metropolitan counties with home offices in the St. Louis Standard Metropolitan Area are considerably more centralized in relation to St. Louis than are those with Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area administrative offices in relation to Chicago. The two coefficients are $+.642$ and $+.172$.

¹⁴ The name acknowledges the suggestion of Edna Raphael in her work on "population potential": "When potential of population is extended to describe the patterns of 'influence' for large and unevenly distributed populations it is this weighting of population sizes and their distances by the size and distance of other populations which determines the appearance and values of contours of equipotential of population on a population potential map. The concept of population potential as a measure of influence may be seen as closely related to the ecological concept of 'dominance'" (*Calculation of Population Potential for an Urban Area* ["Urban Analysis Reports," No. 18 (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1953)] [hctographed], p. 2). Also see the following articles by John Q. Stewart: "An Inverse Distance Variation for Certain Social Influences," *Science*, XCIII (January 24, 1941), 89-90; "A Measure of the Influence of a Population at a Distance," *Sociometry*, V (1942), 63-71; "Suggested Principles of 'Social Physics,'" *Science*, CVI (August 29, 1947), 179-80; "Empirical Mathematical Rules Concerning the Distribution and Equilibrium of Population," *Geographical Review*, XXXVII (July, 1947), 461-85; "Demographic Gravitation: Evidence and Applications," *Sociometry*, XI (1948), 31-58; "Concerning 'Social Physics,'" *Scientific American* (May, 1948), 20-23; "The Development of Social Physics," *American Journal of Physics*, XVIII (May, 1950), 239-53. The index, here based upon only two metropolitan areas, can be expanded to include a greater number.

¹⁵ Population, rather than number of manufacturing establishments, might be used; the substitution of it in the present example makes little difference in the rankings.

ministrative offices and their factories is .252. Centralization (toward Chicago) coefficients applied to the same data produced a difference of only .157. Combining the influence of the two metropolises results in a more distinct separation of offices and plants.

Comparison of the centralization and concentration coefficients points to these conclusions: when administrative units are located in a central dominant, hinterland production units are distributed primarily with reference to that metropolis; when both administration and production are in the hinterland, they are distributed with reference to the several dominants.

OUT-OF-STATE CONTROLS

Home offices in 23 states other than Illinois administered 335 manufacturing establishments in Illinois.¹⁶ States inclosed by two lines drawn due east and north from the mid-point of Illinois—an approximation to the area sometimes called the "Industrial Belt" of the United States—contain administrative offices for 81 per cent of these production units. This in itself is a commentary on the national organization of control.

The factories with administrative offices in the Industrial Belt are located differently in Illinois from the remainder with offices in other states. For example, 64 per cent of plants controlled from the Industrial Belt are in the Chicago Metropolitan Area, and 36 per cent are in the hinterland. Those with administrative offices elsewhere in the United States reverse the pattern: only 30 per cent are in the Chicago Metropolitan Area, while 70 per cent are in non-metropolitan counties. A simple chi square with one degree of freedom applied to the actual numbers yields a significance well beyond the .001 level.

The same tendency toward greater centralization of factories with administrative offices in the Industrial Belt in comparison with the remainder with out-of-state controls is present within the Chicago Standard

Metropolitan Area. Sixty-one per cent of plants whose control is in the Industrial Belt are in the city of Chicago; 53 per cent of the others are in the city. The same is true within the city alone. The centralization coefficient for factories controlled in the Industrial Belt is —.193; that for those controlled elsewhere is —.284. Plants with out-of-state home offices as a group are decentralized within Chicago, but those with home offices in the Industrial Belt are more centralized than those with administrative offices elsewhere.

The same pattern obtains within the non-metropolitan counties: plants controlled in the Industrial Belt are nearer Chicago (+.110) than those with home offices in other states (+.056).

Use of the Index of Metropolitan Dominance Potential produced, for operation combinations with production and administration both in non-metropolitan counties, a clearer demarcation of the distributions of plants and home offices than did reliance on the single metropolitan area of Chicago. Similarly, the index distinguishes more clearly between the distributions of plants with administrative offices in the Industrial Belt and those controlled elsewhere. The concentration coefficient for Industrial Belt-controlled factories is +.095; that for the others is +.012. The separation of .083 index points between the coefficients of concentration is greater than the .054 that separates the comparable coefficients of centralization. The difference is slight, but it is in the anticipated direction.

Thus Illinois factories with out-of-state administrative offices have a characteristic spatial distribution which is a function of both the location of control outside the state and the metropolitan centers nearby. When the Chicago Metropolitan Area is compared with the non-metropolitan counties, Chicago with its suburbs, Chicago's inner zones with the outer, or hinterland zones nearer

¹⁶ An operating combination with either the administrative office or all the manufacturing establishments located in the St. Louis Standard Metropolitan area is excluded.

Chicago with those farther away, factories with home offices in the Industrial Belt are consistently more centralized with respect to Chicago. A theoretical estimate of the combined influence of the St. Louis and Chicago metropolitan areas retains the same relationship between the two groups of production units in the hinterland and produces a clearer separation of their distributions. These empirical findings justify speculation that future research may reveal a national structure with two aspects: control extending out of the northeast into the central dominants (and areas where their influence is greatest) of less influential metropolitan communities and a reverse pattern in which administrative influence from less influential metropolitan communities extends into the more influential in those areas where the influence of the central community dominant is least.

CONCLUSION

Definition of the metropolitan community as an abstraction from a more inclusive ecological field provides hypotheses through which understanding of metropolitan community structure can be refined. Analysis

of the units of operating combinations in Illinois indicates that their locational distributions are related to the simultaneous influence of at least two metropolitan centers. A method of assigning a theoretical value to the combined influence in a given area of several dominants was described. In addition, Illinois factories with out-of-state administrative offices are differentially located according to the national region in which the unit of control is situated. These patterns exist at the same time that the over-all locational distributions of factories and home offices are consistent with an interpretation of the metropolitan community which considers only the influence of one central dominant. The consistency of the relationships suggests that they may reflect general principles of ecological organization on the national level that the contemporary interpretation of the metropolitan community does not include. Generalization of the implications of a field theory must await investigations with national data. In the meantime this report demonstrates that it is possible to take the conception into account, even in a case study.

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ACTION THEORY AND RESEARCH IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION¹

FRANCES GILLESPIE SCOTT

ABSTRACT

The usefulness of the theory of action developed by Talcott Parsons and his associates as a frame of reference in research in organizational structures is demonstrated. Generalizations may be gained through the application of the theory to different organizational types. Mental hospitals and prisons are considered as examples of integrative organizations; both have the twin goals of custody or protection of society from outcaste members and the resocialization of them. The structure of both organizations has resulted in the most strenuous system requirements being placed upon those persons least able to deal with them—the attendant and the guard. Such organizations, whose goal involves the re-forming of an indifferent and/or hostile inmate system, must give primacy to the solution of the integrative problems of the organization's internal structure.

The general theory of action as put forth in the writings of Talcott Parsons and his associates² and in two recent articles by Parsons³ provides a theoretical framework for research on social organization which offers an alternative to *ad hoc* studies. Of theoretical and methodological importance is its conception of the organization as a social system in its own right, related in stated ways to other social systems, all operating within the society, which in its turn is seen as the most inclusive system.

An organization is defined as "a social system which is organized for the attainment of a particular type of goal; the attainment of that goal is at the same time the performance of a type of function on behalf of a more inclusive system, the society."⁴ The society, acting on the basis of its values, evaluates, ranks, and rewards an organization according to the latter's contribution to the society's functioning. The result is

the differential distribution of power to organizations performing different functions.⁵ Continued access to and exercise of power is, to be sure, directly related to the organization's ability to operate successfully, that is, to its continuing performance of socially valued functions. It would follow that, if the functions are highly valued and so the prestige of the organization is high, the requisite power will be allocated sooner or later, and, if the functions are obsolete, unnecessary, or ill performed, the organization will either acquire new ones or cease to exist. An analysis of the allocation of power and its exercise is crucial to an analysis of the structure and function of the organization.⁶

Organizational types.—On the most general level organizations may be classified according to the *primacy* of the type of function as assessed by the society. It is with reference to the function in the *society* as a system that we now view organizations. Parsons' conception of the four basic problems of any action system is of central interest.⁷ An "action system" is composed of a number of units (which are, observably,

¹ Expansion of a paper read to the American Sociological Society, Seattle, August, 1958.

² Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951); Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952); Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1953).

³ Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations—I and II," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, I (June and September, 1956), 63–85 and 225–39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁵ See Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytic Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1953), pp. 92–128.

⁶ For a more detailed discussion see *ibid.*; also Parsons *et al.*, *Working Papers*, esp. chap. v.

⁷ See Parsons *et al.*, *Working Papers*, esp. pp. 179–90.

role behaviors in a *social* system); this action system is confronted with a series of basic problems which must be solved if it is to continue operating as a system. These are: (1) *adaptive problems*, the adapting of behavior to the physical and social environment of the system and the manipulation of objects, including persons, so as to make for more favorable relations; (2) *gratificatory problems*, activity connected with the attainment and enjoyment of the goals of the system; (3) *integrative problems*, activity directed to the "adjustment" of the relations of system members to each other; and (4) *pattern-maintenance problems*, activity directed toward the maintenance of the identity of the system as a system, renewal and reaffirmation of its own values and existence.

In a social system some of the members have primarily adaptive roles, some primarily integrative, and so on. The system is conceived as directing attention, by virtue of the interaction of its members among themselves or with members of other systems, to first one and then another problem. Normally, the direction of activity or movement is from the solution of pattern-maintenance problems to either the solution of adaptive or integrative problems and thence to the solution of goal-attainment problems. A "phase" of a social system is considered as the interval of time when one of the four is being given primacy.⁸

This paradigm is, first of all, applied to the society as a social system to determine the predominant system problem of the society at any given time toward the solution of which a given organization is functioning and thus the type of goal of the organization. An indication of the power allocated to it is given by the type of function, or goal, and by its relationships to other organizations. The paradigm is also applied to the organization itself as a social system with problems of its own system maintenance. Indeed, the paradigm is applicable not only on these two levels of analysis but further in investigating smaller divisions of the organization, such as departments, as social systems in

their own right, thus establishing for each role the primacy of the problem of the organizational system toward which behavior in the role is directed.⁹

In relationships between a system and its component subsystems, the subsystems perform functions that are primarily, but not exclusively, directed to one or another of the system problems. For example, the economy as a subsystem of society functions to produce goods valued by the society; these goods may be used to solve the adaptive system problem of the larger society by "adding value" to the society's ability to control and manipulate its environment. The functions of any subsystem may contribute to the solution of more than one system problem, just as any given action of a role incumbent within the subsystem may contribute to the solution of more than one problem for the subsystem. However, the relative primacy of the function for solution of one of the four system problems of the larger system is the basis for classification of the organization.

Methodological usefulness of organizational types.—While it may be extremely enlightening to contrast the internal structure of organizations which perform different and perhaps differentially evaluated functions for the society, and hence belong to different primary types on the most general level, it is methodologically important to compare the structure of organizations which function with respect to the same problems of the society, in order to derive generalizations valid for this type. When such preliminary work has been accomplished, comparisons of organizations belonging to different primary types would provide generalizations valid for all organizations, as well as statements of special variables which affect the organizational structure and the interaction processes in organizations performing different and differently

⁸ *Ibid.*, chaps. iii and v.

⁹ The application of the paradigm on different levels of analysis is suggested by Parsons, "A Revised Analytic Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 108-11.

valued functions. If this work were undertaken systematically with the theory of action as the explicit theoretical frame of reference, prediction in terms of action theory would then be possible.

The empirical work on bureaucracy, industrial organizations, and the social organization of various specialized institutions such as mental hospitals yields hypotheses which can be stated in systematic terms and which future studies can utilize and attempt to test. We shall examine investigations of mental hospitals and penal institutions, classified as integrative organizations which operate to solve integrative problems for the society.

Similar theoretical formulations and research hypotheses can eventually be constructed for organizations having different functions, for example, churches and schools as pattern-maintenance organizations, business and manufacturing organizations as functioning to solve adaptive problems, and some governmental agencies and fiduciary firms as oriented to goal-attainment. Systematic relationships thus established can lead to valid generalizations about social organizations.

RELATIONS OF INTEGRATIVE ORGANIZATIONS TO SOCIETY

Although there are other organizations which perform integrative functions, mental hospitals and penal institutions have been chosen for two principal reasons. First, there apparently has been no systematic linking of studies of these organizations, although the fruitfulness of such a comparison has been suggested by several writers. This may be due to a division of labor whereby social psychologists study mental hospitals and criminologists study penal institutions in an attempt to solve practical problems which have been considered entirely different. Second, as yet there have been few published structural studies of either of these, especially of prisons.¹⁰ Their philosophies of administration and their public expectations are undergoing considerable change at present; hence they offer oppor-

tunities for experimental studies in the processes of organizational change and accompanying structural transformations.

In the activity of these organizations directed to solution of society's integrative problem, the emphasis is upon identifying and determining the relationships between and among the units in such a way that the system is enabled to maintain itself. A distinction is made between members and non-members on the basis of their particular relationship to the system, and the release of emotionally toned activity toward them is permitted. However, the system's interest in the individual member is not in terms of his specific performances in a given role but in his diffuse quality as system member. He must demonstrate that he shares the same values, that he has the same expectations, that he "likes the same things," as the other members, or at least that he is trying to come to this state of affairs. The integrative organization functions to see to it that members of society *do* in fact manifest the same values and expectations within allowable limits and, if they do not, to win them over or to expel them. Classified with mental hospitals and prisons as integrative are organizations concerned with "the adjustment of conflicts and the direction of motivation to the fulfillment of institutionalized expectations."¹¹ Interest groups, the courts, the legal profession, and jails, parole agencies, reformatories, and general hospitals also belong in this category. The last are included because the ill person is considered as temporarily relieved of his social responsibilities but is expected to help cure himself as soon as possible so he may return to the full status of societal member.¹²

Both the criminal and the madman are

¹⁰ A notable exception is Donald Clemmer, *The Prison Community* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1940). Several studies by other American social scientists are nearing completion.

¹¹ Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organization," *op. cit.*, p. 229.

¹² Parsons, *The Social System*, chap. x, "The Case of Modern Medical Practice," esp. pp. 439-47.

viewed as non-system-members in all respects. The madman is committed to a mental hospital and the criminal is sentenced to prison without their consent and against their will.

The goals of integrative organizations.—The primary goal of these organizations is protection of society from former members who have been designated as feared and dangerous by the courts. In varying degrees punishment is also an aim. However, a relatively new course of action has been gaining acceptance, that is, "treatment" or resocialization. It was extended first to madmen, who were redefined as mentally ill; eventually, it was applied to the criminal, who in many circles is also considered either as mentally ill or as socially maladjusted and in need of treatment rather than punishment. There has been a shift from the protective closing of ranks as a technique of integration to the re-forming, in a literal sense, of the offending member and then readmitting him to the system. The re-forming has become a new goal of these organizations.

Relations to other organizations in society.—The complications which arise from the often co-existing goals of protecting society by safe custody and of resocialization are reflected in the relationships of the organizations to others as diverse as state legislatures, newspapers, courts, research agencies, professional associations, and private philanthropic and "social action" interest groups. Frequently, appropriations of public money or the operation of the mental hospital or prison are foci of contention with these outside groups.¹³ These power relationships between and among organizations affect the attainment of goals and can and do result in their redefinition.

Power is allocated by society to organizations in a proportion roughly correlative to the importance of their functions. The

one considered most important in American society today is the solution of the adaptive problem (e.g., economic production, technical competence), although this may be in the process of change.¹⁴ Probably next is pattern maintenance (e.g., science, education), on the one hand, and the maintaining of personal motivation on the other (e.g., family, personal health). Integrative problems come third. This consideration, when combined with the fact that state mental hospitals and penal institutions are thought of as non-profit organizations and yet must recruit personnel in a competitive labor market, leads to difficulties in financing and staffing.

That budgeting for both organizations is usually done by state legislatures¹⁵ distinguishes organizations such as prisons and mental hospitals from the privately financed or general hospital. Public schools, highway construction and maintenance, military and defense activities, of course, compete with integrative organizations for tax appropriations, possibly at the expense of mental hospitals and prisons. Such deprivation of financial resources has apparently led, in part, to the production by inmates (prisoners of patients) of goods and services necessary to their own maintenance, so that the "output" of the organization is used as human resources for the upkeep of the organization. The system necessity for this particular kind of work has important implications for internal structure.

Several considerations enter into the problem of personnel recruitment: the existence of a free labor market, the inability to pay a fair wage, and the generally low prestige of workers who perform personal services, unless they are professionals. The

¹⁴ Parsons, "A Revised Analytic Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹³ See Lloyd E. Ohlin, "Interest Group Conflict and Correctional Change," unpublished paper read before the Social Science Research Council Conference Group on Research in Social Organization of Correctional Agencies, April, 1957.

¹⁵ See Ivan Belknap, *Human Problems of a State Mental Hospital* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 31–36; M. Greenblatt, R. H. York, and E. L. Brown, *From Custodial to Therapeutic Patient Care in Mental Hospitals* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955), pp. 38–39; Clemmer, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

professional personnel—physicians, nurses, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists—create further problems of recruitment; such persons have professional standards and ethics which are often violated in the day-to-day operation of large-scale mental hospitals and prisons. They often have professional standards of success which have little or nothing to do with their formal position in the organization but are related to the outside. However, many mental hospitals and prisons have been able to provide intern or in-service training. Thus a relatively constant stream of medical interns, junior psychiatrists and psychologists, student psychiatric social workers and nurses, and prospective parole and probation officers pours in and out; few of them remain.

Furthermore, mental hospitals have historically been administered by medical doctors, on the commonly held assumption that physical and mental diseases are closely related; penal institutions have been administered by untrained political appointees, on the assumption that little professional skill is necessary to keep men safely confined. Neither organization has had trained administrators; the experience neither of a doctor nor of a politician necessarily equips one to attain the two goals of the organizations simultaneously; yet, if these organizations do not enjoy a traditional method of recruitment which guarantees effective personnel, it is because society has not granted the requisite power.

State mental hospitals and prisons usually have little to say about the assignment of inmates, which further distinguishes them from other organizations performing similar integrative functions. For example, private hospitals may require that patients be cared for by specified physicians and so on; "interest groups" have varying conditions of membership; private psychiatric hospitals almost always select patients on financial and sometimes symptomatic grounds. In private general or psychiatric hospitals as contrasted with state mental hospitals or prisons, we should expect to find different points of strain which would to a large de-

gree stem from their very different relationships to the larger society and other organizations with respect to financing and admittance of patients.

Problems created by the value system of society.—The value system of society must be taken into account when considering exchange across the boundaries of the organizational system with other units of society, for example, the occupations as exemplified by specific employers; here the social worker in the mental hospital and the guidance or welfare officer in the prison (who may also be a social worker) play crucial roles.

One job of the social worker is to see to it that the society, or at least the local community, accepts the "cured" inmate as a system member. This usually means that the prospective "readmitted" member must accept society's values in making his own living and in his behavior in general. Society is reluctant to take back those it has defined as non-members, especially since diffuse, affectively toned actions have been taken against them. On the individual level we might profitably analyze this reluctance as guilt or fear; in the social system it involves receiving a member who is thought likely to disrupt the system. This consideration, combined with the inability of experts to effect reliable cure or resocialization in any given case, makes the problem of exchange across the boundaries of the organizations as systems unlike the problems of exchange, for example, of pattern-maintenance organizations, like universities, which also "produce" socialized and trained human beings. The larger social system does not *want* the products of the mental hospital or the prison. But the social worker or, to some extent, the administrator is expected to find a market for these products. Here the social worker is faced with revising the value system of society, a difficult and sometimes impossible task. When it can be accomplished locally, the problems of exchange are solved;¹⁶ otherwise, frustration results both for the organization and for the social worker, whose

¹⁶ See Maxwell Jones, *The Therapeutic Community* (New York: Basic Books, 1953).

loyalty to the organization may be jeopardized.¹⁷

Certain aspects of the operation of prisons, and to some extent of mental hospitals, have traditionally put strains upon the loyalty of employees, in addition to those strains brought about by low-prestige, low-salaried employment. Few are motivated by personal or professional ethics to remain in positions simply to help other people when better-paying positions carrying higher prestige are available. Added to this is the frequent requirement that employees live in the institution or be on call at all hours or the further restrictions on personal life which conflict with society's conception of a contract of employment as based principally upon technical or productive efficiency and not upon one's way of life.

That change is taking place in the value system of the society with respect to integrative organizations is evident from public concern with "cure," therapy, rehabilitation, resocialization, or whatever name is given to the process by which outcaste members are expected to be transformed into responsible persons who can be reincorporated into the societal system. It is this very concern which presents dilemmas and misunderstandings within the internal system of the mental hospital and the prison, for the staff of these organizations are also members of the larger society.

STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS IN INTEGRATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

The operative code of an organization, its mechanisms of achieving its goal, is a problem of internal structure; it is this area which has been the focus of most empirical studies. Strains arise not only from power relations with other subsystems, from conflicts and changes in social values, but also from the structure of the organization itself. We shall examine some of these strains, especially as they become manifest through

the role of the attendant in the mental hospital and the guard in the prison and of the professional "treatment" officers of both organizations, always assuming that both organizations explicitly hold to the equally valued goals of custody and of resocialization and that the relative emphasis given either goal varies considerably from one concrete organization to the next.

Mechanisms of goal attainment may be seen in the structure of authority through which processes having to do with policy decisions, allocative decisions, and integration of the organization take place. If the only goal of the prison, for example, were custody and/or punishment, a rigidly hierarchical structure, resembling as closely as possible the prototype of the military organization, would be ideal. In fact, prisons have traditionally been organized along much these lines. In such an organization the inmate population is to be "kept in its place," quiet and confined. There is little need for communication from guards to warden, for decisions are made by the warden and transmitted downward. The prison is run "by the book," and rules for the behavior of inmates, as well as guards, theoretically are universally applied and swiftly enforced. There is likely some division of labor, for example, a recognition of the "business" part of the prison, the "medical," and the "custody" divisions. Policy and allocative decisions, however, place the emphasis upon the custodial division and assign it primacy not only with respect to facilities and personnel but with respect to implementation of its goal—secure confinement.¹⁸ The structure of mental hospitals has been of this nature, with separation of the custodial from the medical-psychiatric functions and emphasis upon the goals of the former, owing to whatever exigencies of operation. Although the goal of the mental hospital has from the beginning been resocialization or cure to a greater extent than has that of the prison,

¹⁷ L. E. Ohlin, Herman Piven, and D. M. Pappenfort, "Major Dilemmas of the Social Worker in Probation and Parole," *National Probation and Parole Association Journal*, II (July, 1956), 211-25.

¹⁸ For a discussion of the difficulties this causes for the professional subsystem see Harvey Powelson and Reinhard Bendix, "Psychiatry in Prison," *Psychiatry*, XIV (February, 1951), 73-86.

in actual fact the two organizations have traditionally achieved virtually the same goal, namely, custody.

Goal implementation and the "inmate subsystem."—We have outlined above the conception of an action system, the maintenance of which requires the solution of the four system problems of adaptation, goal-attainment, integration, and pattern-maintenance. Our postulate is that solution of the integrative problem of the organizational system of the mental hospital or prison and the structural problems connected with it require primacy in order that the goal of resocialization be carried out successfully.

Here we must consider not only the subsystems within the organization, such as the "professional subsystem" composed of physicians, psychiatric "experts," social workers, and nurses, and the "attendant subsystems" in the mental hospital, and their organizational parallels in prisons, but the very important fact that goal implementation for the organization is predicated upon the existence of an "inmate subsystem," with which the whole of the organizational staff must come to terms.¹⁹ This inmate subsystem is both raw material and product to the staff. However, resocialization requires it to be intimately associated with the staff subsystems, to adopt their values and goals, and to help with their goal implementation. Hence the staff system must, as a functional prerequisite to goal attainment, integrate the inmate system into its own system. This is a more formal way of stating what has been attempted in organizations where "twenty-four-hour therapy," the "therapeutic community," and "total push" emphasis has been introduced. It is, on the organizational level, what is implied by Sutherland's "differential association" theory.²⁰

The traditional conception of therapy is individualistic: the doctor and patient form

a microscopic social system wherein the rules of the game of the outside world are suspended. This is a one-to-one relationship; it is time-consuming, requires highly skilled professional services, and in the present shortage of professional personnel is obviously unattainable in state mental hospitals and penal institutions. In the latter, indeed, it is doubtful whether such therapy can ever be completely successful because of the workings of the inmate system. However, systematic theoretical consideration provides us with a key; resocialization can be realized by "integrative therapy." By this, we do not mean group therapy as practiced by one psychiatrist and a group of patients but a common effort by the entire staff of the mental hospital or prison to integrate individuals and groups belonging to the inmate system into its own social system; only when this has been done can the resocialization goal be accomplished. This requires a reorientation of the values of the employees, and especially of non-professional staff, so that they accept, as system members, persons stigmatized by social expulsion. And it requires supreme integrative efforts within the organization to keep the system together in the face of these unusual requirements. The very structure of both mental hospitals and prisons has resulted in the most strenuous requirements being placed upon those persons least likely to be able to accept and deal with them from the standpoint either of training or of professional ethics, namely, the attendant and the guard. Upon them, too, fall custodial and housekeeping duties; they are responsible for preventing escapes, for preventing inmates from injuring each other, and for seeing that the wards are clean.

The consequences of incomplete integrative processes, both on the level of the integration of inmate with guard subsystems and of the integration of guard with professional subsystems, can hinder goal attain-

¹⁹ For a discussion of the "inmate system" in prisons see Lloyd W. McCorkle and Richard Korn, "Resocialization within Walls," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXCIII (May, 1954), 88-98; McCleery, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Donald R. Cressey, "Changing Criminals: The Application of the Theory of Differential Association," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (September, 1955), 116-20.

ment. In a prison which recently became treatment-oriented, the professional staff mistrusts the ability of the guards to accept the deviations of prisoners (i.e., to accept them as members of the guard's own system) and hence withholds information which would be important to the guard in dealing with the inmate, except from some guards who are considered more responsible. There is incomplete integration of the professional subsystem with the guard subsystem, as well as lack of integration of the guard subsystem with the inmate subsystem. The result has been a testing and challenging of the skill, authority, and knowledge of the professionals by the guards, which sometimes is observed by inmates, before whom the professional cannot easily defend himself, with ensuing defeat and degradation of the professional. The extent to which fear of the inmates, either as a group or as individuals, prevents integration of the attendant-guard system and the inmate system is indeterminate; the discussion of fear of inmates is taboo, at least in prisons. This is an aspect of the integrative process which warrants further research.

Interesting parallels may be seen in the use made of the inmate system in the mental hospital and in the prison. For example, both systems give rise to a classification of inmates which is not in accordance with the professional classification but is custodial. In mental hospitals patients are classified by attendants as "privileged patients, limited privilege patients, and patients without privileges." In prisons, the guards classify prisoners as "minimum, medium, or maximum security risks." Every new patient or prisoner must undergo classification; his actions for the first few days or weeks of his confinement play a large part in establishing his category, and assignment ultimately affects his chances for treatment, for work and recreation—indeed, for his entire experience there. The classification is essentially the basis of a status hierarchy, made mandatory by the demands placed upon the attendant-guard for custody and for housekeeping. The attendant must rely upon some

of the patients not only to keep the wards clean and tidy but to control other patients; the guard in a parallel manner must rely upon some of the prisoners. The effect of the structure of informal authority is to emphasize custody or housekeeping at the expense of resocialization. Even more subversive results arise: patients in actual fact are put in the position of controlling the chances of other patients for treatment and privileges. There are indications that prisoners control the accumulation of "good time" by other prisoners through the ability to "frame," "mess up," or "bring heat to" a fellow prisoner, leading to punishment, solitary confinement, and loss of parole chances. The privileged inmates are those most useful to the attendant-guard system and, to some extent, those most nearly integrated with it. But, instead of this leading to prompt readmission into society when the inmate is cured, it may lead to the inmate's being kept on to do custodial work and housekeeping, especially in mental hospitals.

The integrative situation in prisons is different in at least one important respect: the relative strength, hostility, and rationality of the inmate subsystem. Each new prisoner not only must be subjected to classification by the guards but also must come to terms with the inmate subsystem and be assigned a status there. The values of the "prisoner's code" are inimical to those of the guard; hence the problem of integration becomes even more difficult of solution and crucial to resocialization. McCorkle suggests that the chief value in the inmate system is the possession and exercise of coercive power, a condition which disorganizes the system, where, indeed, many controls are not internal but are supplied by the external coercion of the guard's system.²¹ However, this shaky inmate system is not further undermined and exploited for resocialization purposes because the guards need it to keep order in the prison. Moreover, the custodial officer is likely to look upon the psychiatrist or other treatment officer as obstructing discipline, while the latter regards

²¹ McCorkle and Korn, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

the former as obstructing treatment. This is, in fact, precisely what is occurring, because of the lack of system integration of the two arms of the organization's staff.

We can now see why a change from custodial to "therapeutic" structure may result in prison riots. If the administration permits the allocative and integrative decisions necessary to implementing resocialization, this means a change in the established relationship between the guard's system and the inmate system and a breakdown of the inmate system as an effective means of coercing inmates and guards. The old relationship in which the guard had to grant privileges to powerful inmates in order to perform his own custodial and housekeeping duties gives way to a situation where the need for and preferred response to treatment determines the relationship between guard and prisoner and between guard and professional as well. Resocialization is given equal or preferential value with custody, and a concomitant breakdown of the old basis of guard-inmate interaction results.²²

The result of the interrelationships between the attendant-guard subsystem and the inmate subsystem, and of the relative paucity of professional personnel and the prestige and authority differentials between them and the attendant-guard subsystem, is a blocking and/or distortion of communication precisely at the point crucial to goal attainment. The attendant-guard is given authority for custody but not at all or only indirectly for resocialization. Yet he is expected to promote resocialization, although he neither knows how nor has he been assigned clear-cut authority to do so. Nevertheless, attendants feel that they know what is good for the patient and what his capacities with respect to resocialization are; guards feel that they know what the prisoner is "really" like and what steps must be taken to control him—because they are, in fact, the persons nearest him

for the longest periods of time and because they are, in fact, in the position to implement or ignore directives.

In actual practice the professional who most highly values resocialization and is most capable of implementing it is separated from the inmate not only by the attendant-guard system but also by his administrative functions, such as supervision of personnel, record-keeping, and so on. What little time he has left for direct therapeutic work is likely to be confined to the few inmates who are already in a favorable position vis-à-vis the attendant-guard system; and these are not necessarily the inmates who can benefit most from therapy or who need it most in the light of the goals of the organization. This problem is particularly crucial in mental hospitals, where "back-ward" patients tend to accumulate over the years. In prisons, under the present system of sentencing for a minimum number of years, successful cure often could not hasten release. Whether the inmate subsystem can, under these conditions, ever contribute positively to resocialization is problematic. Certainly, it would have to be closely integrated with the attendant-guard system, and the attendant-guard system, in turn, would have to be closely integrated with the professional system.

The structure of an organization which gives primacy to integrative problems, under conditions where integration involves the dual problems of integration of an uninterested or hostile subsystem and of system members themselves, must of necessity be decentralized with respect to allocative decisions, insofar as is possible within the limits of its total resources and facilities. In the mental hospital the attendant must be able to requisition whatever supplies he needs on the ward without bureaucratic delays and inconveniences; he must be able to ask for and receive additional personnel during critical periods when such personnel might very well enable members of the attendant system to interact more frequently and intimately with the members of the in-

²² See Greenblatt *et al.*, *op. cit.*, chap. xv, pp. 295-321.

mate system and hence prevent overt outbreaks.²³ It is the attendant who is most likely to be able to anticipate the day-to-day needs, both physical and emotional, of the ward.

But this does not mean that decentralized decision-making must necessarily lead to unclearness and confusion of the lines of authority. The decision to assign allocative decisions to the attendant is itself a policy decision and can be made only when both the attendant-guard and the professional subsystems are agreeable to relinquishing some of their former authority. Such agreement is closely linked with decisions related to integration of the organization; if allocative decisions are to be decentralized to facilitate goal implementation, the professional and the attendant-guard subsystems must be in agreement, and the attendant-guard must be so integrated into the professional system as to be motivated toward implementing the resocialization of the inmate. It is known that attendants and guards have a conception of mental illness and of crime different from that of the professional staff. Furthermore, it does not seem possible to set forth specific "rules of treatment." The professional must work through the attendant-guard subsystem to reach the inmate system which is the object of resocialization; apparently, the only way is through a conscious decision to concentrate upon integration of the attendant system with the

professional system on one level, and, through it, integration of the inmate system with the attendant system, as the means of goal attainment.

Structural restrictions unfavorable to goal implementation.—It is suggested that indeterminate sentences, the length of which would be determined by professionals such as psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, or sociologists, based upon the inmates' progress toward resocialization or incorporation of conventional social values, would overcome some of the hindrances to therapy of fixed sentences. On the one hand, this involves the relationship of the prison as an organization to the courts; we would have here the commutation of legitimately imposed sentences by an unauthorized organization; profound changes must take place in values to legitimize such procedure. An important practical obstacle, at the moment, is the inability of social scientists to measure such variables as degree of resocialization or of incorporation of values. On the other hand, even with indeterminate sentences, the "prisoner's code" will not permit special privilege based on treatment criteria, for it is extremely difficult, as we have seen, to state just what are the rules for treatment because of their individualistic nature. Release would be considered by other inmates as special privilege, with resulting disturbances and further alienation from the guard subsystem. Theoretically, effective integration could overcome these disturbances; empirically, since such procedures have never been tried, the result is problematic.

²³ That such additional personnel can be effective in preventing ward disturbances and that attendants can sense when such disturbances are about to erupt is shown by A. H. Stanton and M. S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital* (New York: Basic Books, 1954), pp. 394-400.

LEISURE AND LIFE-STYLE

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST and KENNETH FEIGENBAUM

ABSTRACT

The Kansas City Study of Adult Life, studying the social role performance of people aged forty to seventy, gave ratings of performance on various social roles. When leisure activity was related to the pattern of social role performance (called "life-style"), four general life-styles were found: community-centered, home-centered high, home-centered medium, and low level, the adjectives for altitude referring to level of social role performance. The most successful life-styles, judged by the level of role performance, involved patterns of leisure which were active and similar rather than contrasting with the other social roles. Middle-class people may be community-centered or home-centered in life-style and in leisure, but working-class people are either home-centered or generally low in social role and leisure performance.

Leisure has generally but vaguely been seen as a source of satisfaction and even of delight. In a society in which most people had to work, and to work hard and long, leisure was scarce and was regarded either as a reward to be earned by work and to be enjoyed because one had worked so hard for it or as a good thing conferred by inherited wealth or by marriage to wealth.

With the coming of more leisure in the lives of the common people, not all the rosy promises have been realized. Some people have found themselves with more leisure than they really wanted. The values of increased leisure to welfare and the quality of living of society as a whole have been seriously questioned. It is clear that modern leisure is not an unmixed blessing. This suggests the desirability of studying the uses that people make of their leisure, what satisfactions they get out of it, and how it fits into the rest of their lives.

Using the concept of "life-style" to describe a person's characteristic way of filling and combining the various social roles he is called on to play, we may see how leisure fits into it. To do so, the Kansas City Study of Adult Life interviewed a sample of men and women aged from forty to seventy to get an account of the way the person spent his time and the significance to him of his major social roles—those of parent, spouse, homemaker, worker, citizen, friend, club or association member, and user of leisure time. About a quarter of the interview was devoted to leisure. The individual was asked

about his favorite-leisure activities, what they meant to him, why he liked them, whom he did them with, as well as a number of questions about vacations, reading, television, radio, and movies, and what he did around the house.

On the basis of this interview, ratings were made of the competence of the individual in his social roles. Rating scales were devised to represent the general American expectations or definitions of these roles.¹ The rating scale for user of leisure time follows:

a) High (8-9).—Spends enough time at some leisure activity to be rather well known among his associates in this respect. But it is not so much the amount of leisure activity as its quality which gives him a high rating. He has one or more pursuits for which he gets public recognition and appreciation and which give him a real sense of accomplishment.

Chooses his leisure activities autonomously, not merely to be in style. Gets from leisure the feeling of being creative, of novel and interesting experience, sheer pleasure, prestige, friendship, and of being of service.

b) Above average (6-7).—Has four to five leisure activities. Leisure time is somewhat patterned, indicating that he has planned his life to provide for the satisfaction of the needs met through these activities.

Leisure interests show some variety. Displays real enthusiasm for one or two—talks about

¹ For the other role-performance scales and for the pattern analysis mentioned later see Robert J. Havighurst, "The Social Competence of Middle-aged People," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, LVI (1957), 297-395.

them in such a way as to indicate that he has put considerable energy into acquiring proficiency or the requisite understanding and skills and prides himself on it.

c) *Medium (4-5)*.—Has two or three leisure activities which he does habitually and enjoys mildly—reading, television, radio, watching sports, handwork, etc. May do one of these things well or quite enthusiastically, but not more than one. Gets definite sense of well-being and is seldom bored with leisure.

ment of talent; instrumentation or expressiveness; relation of leisure to work; gregariousness or solitude; service or pleasure; status and prestige; relaxation; ego integration or role diffusion; new experience or repetition; vitality or apathy; and expansion or constriction of interests.

The results of the several methods of studying leisure were related to one another and to a set of social and personal variables,

TABLE 1
LEISURE, PERSONALITY, AND SOCIAL VARIABLES*

	Sex	Age	Social Class	Personal Adjustment	Manifest Complexity	Social Mobility	Content	Significance	Meaning
Content.....	+++	+++	+++	+	++	+	+++	+++
Objective significance.....	+	+	++	+++	+++	++	+++	+++
Subjective meaning.....	+	—	+	+	+	+	+++	+++

* + = a small degree of relationship (not more than two or three of the content or significance or meaning variables are reliably related to a social or personal variable)

++ = a fair degree of relationship

+++ = a high degree of relationship (more than half of the leisure variables are reliably related to a social or personal variable)

Leisure activities are somewhat stereotyped; they do not have a great deal of variety.

d) *Below average (2-3)*.—

(1) Tends to take the line of least resistance in leisure time. Needs to be stimulated. Looks for time-fillers.

May have one fairly strong interest but is content with this one which brings him some sense of enjoyment. Leisure time is usually spent in passive spectatorship. Or:

(2) May have very little spare time. What time he has is taken up with activities related to his job or profession or with work around the house viewed as obligatory and not as a pastime.

e) *Low (0-1)*.—

(1) Apathetic. Does nothing and makes no attempt to find outside interests. Or:

(2) Tries anxiously to find interesting things to do and fails to find them. Is bored by leisure and hurries back to work. Dislikes vacations and cannot relax.

Not only was the person's use of leisure time rated according to the foregoing scale but the objective significance of his favorite activities was evaluated according to a set of nineteen variables,² of which the most useful appear to be: autonomy or other-direction; creativity; enjoyment; develop-

including age, sex, social class, personal adjustment, and manifest complexity of life. The interrelations are summarized in Table 1.

The procedure in studying life-style was based upon the use of the scores for performance in the eight social roles previously mentioned. A life-style was defined as a pattern of role-performance scores shared by a group of people.

Life-styles in this sense were discovered among the 234 persons in the Social Role Sample of the Kansas City Study of Adult Life. There were actually twenty-seven

² In addition, two other aspects of the person's favorite leisure activities were studied: (1) the *content* of the favorite leisure activities (eleven categories of content) and (2) the *subjective meanings* of the favorite leisure activities (a set of twelve statements of the kinds of satisfaction a person might get from a leisure activity, from which the respondent picked the meanings most applicable to his favorite activities). For details concerning the significance, content, and meaning studies see Robert J. Havighurst, "The Leisure Activities of the Middle-aged," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (September, 1957), 152-62; Marjorie N. Donald and Robert J. Havighurst, "The Meanings of Leisure" (MS).

specific patterns, or life-styles, each characterizing from 8 to 34 members, with some people belonging to two or more. The specific patterns were grouped into four major groups, using broader criteria for membership in a group than in a pattern, and these four groups may be regarded provisionally as life-style groups. Their characteristic role-performance scores are shown in Figure 1. The names given to the life-style groups, and a brief description of each, follow:

A. *Community-centered*.—This is a pattern of uniformly high performance scores in all eight social roles. It is called "community-centered" for the sake of contrast with the following group, though the performance scores in the community roles of citizen, club or association member, and friend are not higher than those in the family areas but about the same. The social class distribution of these people in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area is shown in Table 2.

B. *Home-centered high*.—These people have

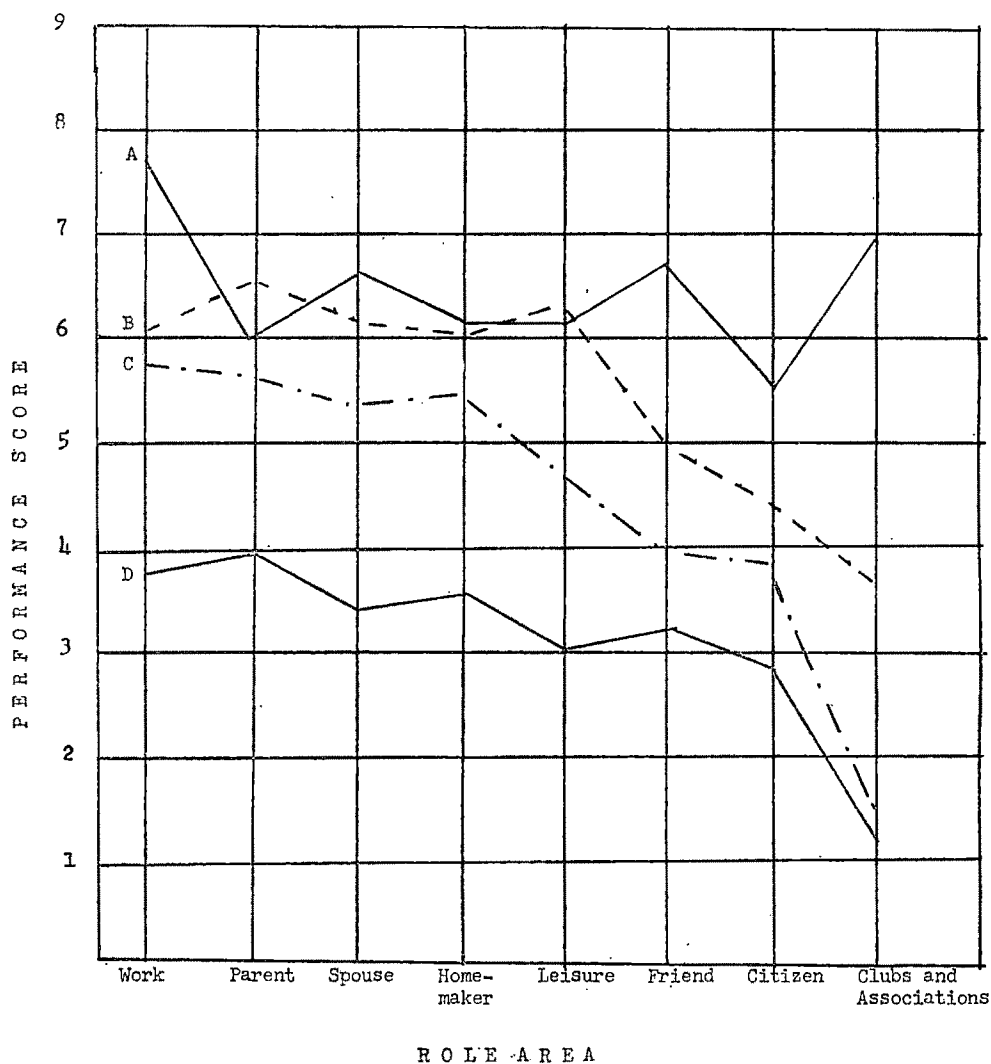


FIG. 1.—Life-styles of middle-aged people: A, community-centered; B, home-centered high; C, home-centered medium; D, low level.

performance scores in the roles of parent, spouse, homemaker, worker, and user of leisure time which are about the same as those of the community-centered, but they fall far below the latter in the roles of friend, citizen, and club or association member. These people and the community-centered group have the highest personal adjustment scores and the highest scores on a rating of manifest complexity of life-style.

C. Home-centered medium.—These people have a family-centered pattern, though below that of the home-centered high group in role-performance scores.

D. Low level.—This is a pattern of generally low role-performance scores, with the family

community-centered style of leisure tend to be more autonomous, that is, to "choose activity with purpose and regard for its function in one's personal life" and to engage in activities in which there was some element of novelty. They are more instrumental and more inclined to "play a game or participate in an activity for some goal beyond the game or activity (philanthropic activity, etc.)." "Benefit for society" was given quite often as the motive.

Community-centeredness is the favorite leisure style of upper-middle-class people. Being successful in business or a profession induces them to join business and social or-

TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF LIFE-STYLES
(Per Cent)

Social Class	Sex	Communi- city-cen- tered	Home- centered High	Home- centered Medium	Low Level	Un- grouped	Total Group
U & UM.....	M	7	3	1	0	2	13
	F	6	3	3	0	1	13
LM.....	M	8	11	10	3	1	33
	F	5	4	17	3	4	33
UL.....	M	4	8	18	8	2	40
	F	2	5	23	7	3	40
LL.....	M	0	0	6	7	1	14
	F	1	0	5	7	1	14
Total group...	M	19	22	35	18	6	100
	F	14	12	48	17	9	100

NOTE.—The actual distribution of individuals in the Study Sample was the basis for this table, but the figures have been adjusted to fit the true social class distribution of adults in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area, as determined by Richard Coleman (unpublished working paper in the files of the Committee on Human Development). Since some people fell into two groups, they were assigned to the particular groups which they fitted most closely.

and work roles somewhat above the external roles. This group has very low scores on personal adjustment and on complexity.

We shall first answer the question, "What are the 'leisure styles' of the four life-styles?" By "leisure style" we mean the Gestalt formed when one observes an individual's kinds and number of activities.

The community-centered style of leisure emphasizes activities engaged in away from home. The individual uses entertainment institutions, such as the theater or the concert, or social institutions, such as the country club, Rotary, chamber of commerce, Red Cross, etc., as the context for a major part of it, either jointly by the members of a family or individually. On the basis of the significance ratings people employing the

organizations where they interact with each other to form wider circles of social and business contacts. Membership in the country club is part of their proper and accepted style of living. The community-centered individuals also tend not to have young children at home, which allows freedom for outside activity.

In contrast, the people who enjoy the home-centered style of leisure engage in most of it around their residence. This style is strongest in lower-middle- and upper-lower-class individuals and falls off in the lower-lower class, where family values lose some importance and the few pastimes become sex-differentiated, the men going fishing alone or to the bar or poolroom with the "boys."

Leisure activities are engaged in jointly by the members of the family for the majority of the home-centered, whether it be a church outing, a fishing trip, or watching television. Sex-differentiated activities, such as sewing and embroidering for the women and carpentry and "fixing around the house" for the men, still allow for conversation and interaction between spouses. Friendship and sociability are cultivated by visits from neighbors rather than through any membership other than in the church or perhaps a fraternal organization. For some people the family-centered style was not one of choice but of necessity, owing to the presence of young children.

A number of activities such as fishing and traveling during vacations were common to both leisure styles, with some differentiation as to the manner of them. In the community-centered style travel consists of going to resorts and sightseeing, while for the people engaged in home-centered leisure travel consists of a car trip to relatives in other cities. For the upper-lower-class members of the home-centered style travel may be quite circumscribed; one spoke of "taking a trolley trip to see the city."

In spite of the relationship between life-style and social class position, there were people whose life-styles did not correspond with their class positions, as would be expected in a society with a considerable degree of social mobility. From Table 2 it appears that some 10 per cent of the population may have patterns above their class level and 5 per cent below it.

This scheme of leisure activities can be further comprehended by consulting Figure 2. Each of the concentric circles contains examples of the type of activities engaged in by the subjects making up the sample. The center of the concentric circles is common living in the home, the other radiating circles representing the physical and psychological distances of activities from it. The "activity radius" of the community-centered group is much greater than that of the home-centered group, whose leisure activities never transcend circle 8, and are

usually no broader than the kind of activities listed in circle 6. In graphic form this illustrates the socially and spatially restricted nature of the leisure of the home-centered.

Two examples, one of a community-centered man with a high rating as a user of leisure and the other of a high leisure home-centered man, may further the reader's image of the difference between the two styles of leisure.

Mr. X is a fifty-year-old executive vice-president of a bank, with a pattern of leisure activities which is the prototype of the community-centered style of leisure. He is president of one country club, a member of another, a Shriner, and a member of the executive council of a national Boy's Club movement and of a number of charity organizations. Mr. X's favorite leisure activity is to go on trips during his vacation, to New York City to see the Broadway theater, and to see exhibitions of modern art. He is active in encouraging the local art museum to acquire examples of modern art. He enjoys playing golf once or twice a week at the country club, playing cards, painting his garage, and entertaining business people both at home and at the club. He does not own a television set, preferring the good music on the radio. He goes with his wife to the movies and to all the musical comedies that come to Kansas City. As for friends, Mr. X calls ten to twelve couples "close." He met them through various activities: "My business connections here at the bank, civic clubs, church, etc." With his wife he goes out to eat once a week and entertains other couples.

In contrast to Mr. X, Mr. Y, a fifty-eight-year-old social worker, is an example of an individual who employs the home-centered style of leisure. His favorite activity is gardening, in which he spends one-half hour to an hour a day during the growing season. Mr. Y's hobby is model railroading, which he engages in with his wife in the basement of his home. He also does some woodworking and woodcarving and manual work around the home. Once in a while he reads historical

fiction. The television set plays for two hours an evening, showing sports events, quiz shows, and plays. With his wife he reads, plays cards, does model railroading, and takes walks. Living in a neighborhood of younger adults, he claims that he has few friends and that a large part of his time is spent taking care of the two children of his son. Mr. Y's "going out" consists only of movies (with wife) and American Legion meetings once a month.

From this one can see that both in number and in kind of activities engaged in outside the home the "leisure complexity" of Mr. X is far greater than that of Mr. Y.

The differences between the home-centered high, home-centered medium, and low-level life-styles as far as leisure is concerned are mainly those between high, medium, and low ratings on the scale of competence as a user of leisure. A higher role performance is associated with the following significance variables: autonomy, creativity, getting strong pleasure from the activity, instrumental, high energy input, ego integration, vitality, and expansion of interests and activities.

Have those whose leisure is home-centered different personalities from the com-

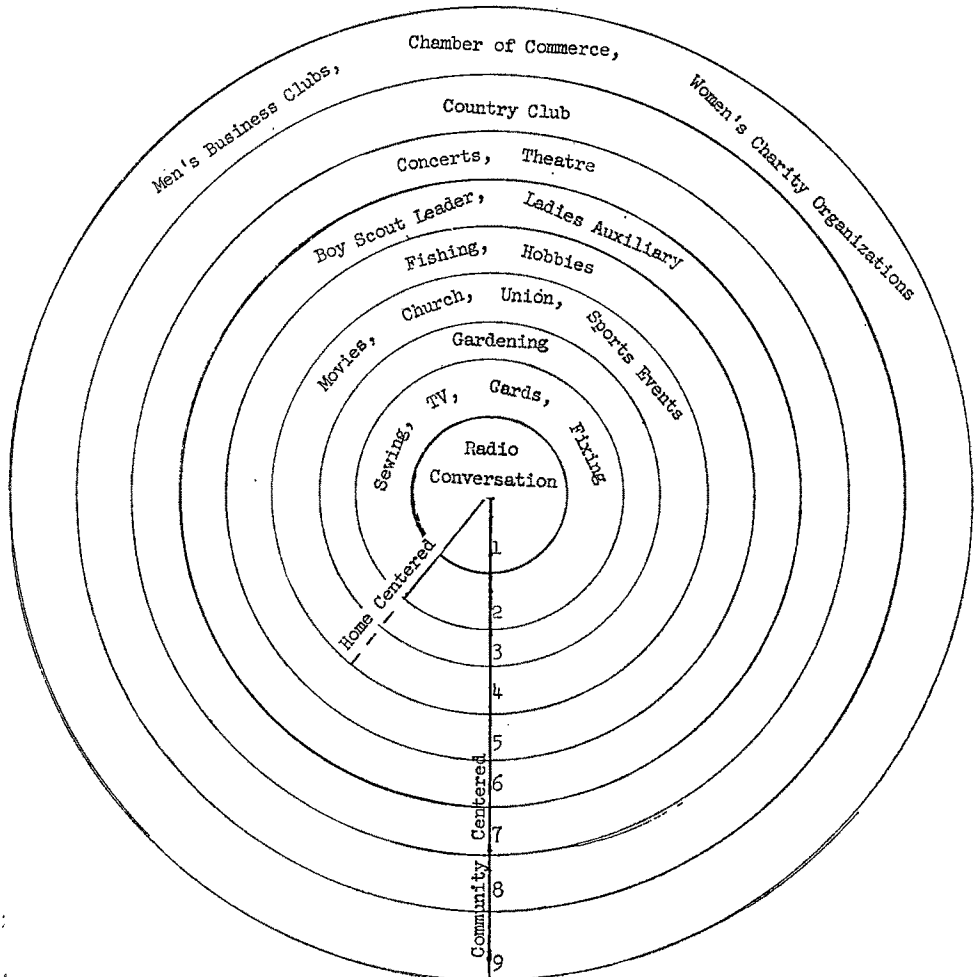


FIG. 2.—The circles of leisure

munity-centered? Or is the difference caused by some external factor, such as residence in a suburb versus residence in an apartment area in the center of the city, or having several young children versus having one or none? It has been suggested by David Riesman³ and by Margaret Mead,⁴ among others, that the trend toward suburban living and the trend toward larger numbers of children are making for values and leisure activities that are more home- and family-centered.

Riesman speaks of "suburban styles of life and thought" and stresses the suburban constriction of leisure to the family and the living-room-garden-television set, at the expense of theater, concert hall, downtown meetings, country clubs, and heterogeneous social groups. Margaret Mead says that the generation which has married since the war is much more concerned with home and family life than earlier generations and is busy trying to turn home life into "a self-rewarding delight."

To explore the differences between home-centered and community-centered people, we compared a community-centered group with a similar number of home-centered people, equating the groups for age and socioeconomic status. There was no difference between the two groups in the proportions of suburban dwellers and the proportions who lived in single-family houses with gardens and recreation rooms. However, the home-centered had more children living at home. This suggests that the presence of children in the home, together with the desire to have children and to have a home-centered life, are more influential than the actual physical location of one's house in determining leisure style. It should be borne in mind, however, that Kansas City does not have many apartment dwellings for

upper-middle-class people near the city's center.

The foregoing facts point to the conclusion that the personality, more than the situation, determines the leisure style.

For each of these life-style groups there are some people with relatively high leisure performance scores and some with relatively low scores. By comparing these two subgroups, it is possible to compare the leisure characteristics of people with high and with low leisure scores within a life-style. However, the range of leisure performance scores within a life-style is relatively small.

Within the community-centered life-style group there is one pattern with seventeen members which consists of people with relatively high leisure scores, and another group of nine people with somewhat lower scores. The individuals of the higher leisure pattern show more creativity and more autonomy in their leisure and a sense of vitality in it. The individuals of the lower leisure pattern are less enthusiastic and speak of pastimes as something of a burden; they join the country club because it is expected that they do so, but they do not enjoy it intrinsically. Business activity dominates the lives of some; they claim that they have relatively little leisure time and that they had more in the past when they were not so busy. The low leisure individuals with the community-centered life-style engage in the same kinds of activities as the high but are not so active in them and do not engage in as many.

In the home-centered high group the individuals with the higher leisure pattern are more creative than those in the lower leisure group (woodworking versus watching television), and they are more instrumental in their activities, being members of PTA and church service groups, being leaders in Boy Scout work, etc. In the home-centered medium group the same differences appear between those of the higher and those of lower leisure.

In general, within a life-style group which is large enough to permit some variation in

³ David Riesman, "The Suburban Dislocation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCCXIV (November, 1957), 123-46.

⁴ Margaret Mead, "The Patterns of Leisure in Contemporary American Culture," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCCXIII (September, 1957), 11-15.

leisure-role performance scores, those with higher leisure scores are more autonomous, more creative, more instrumental, and more vital in their use of leisure.

It has been assumed up to this point that there was a close correlation between personal adjustment and performance in the leisure role. The correlation coefficient is .32 for men and .33 for women, with socioeconomic status partialled out. Clearly, there are some exceptions to this rule. Study of these exceptions may teach us something more about the value of leisure.

Accordingly, we selected the cases which showed most markedly a high adjustment-low leisure performance combination and those who combined low adjustment with high leisure performance. There were nine of the former and twelve of the latter in the sample of 234 people. The criterion for the high adjustment-low leisure combination was an adjustment score of 6 or above on the ten-point adjustment scale and a score of 5 or below on the ten-point leisure performance scale. The criterion for the low adjustment-high leisure group was an adjustment score of 4.5 or below and a leisure score of 6 or above.

The content of the leisure and the significance ratings of the leisure activities of the low leisure-high adjustment people were similar to the general pattern of people with low leisure and low adjustment scores. There are low significance ratings as to the autonomy of the leisure activity, the creativity expressed in it, some apathy with respect to the activity, and either a decline in leisure interests or no expansion of interests.

These are people who get along very well with little or no leisure. They show a great deal of vitality in the instrumental activities of life. The men are busy with their jobs and the women with their children, allowing little time for leisure and restricting them to leisure activities near home. Six out of the nine in the group are females and follow this pattern. Their leisure activities are centered either at home, where they sew, watch

television, and take care of the children, or in the church. The relationship between the spouses is good, and there is a general feeling of contentment and emotional security. It is this basically which accounts for the high adjustment scores of the group.

The group of individuals with high leisure scores and low adjustment tend as a whole to be maladjusted socially or occupationally and attempt to get through leisure what they cannot get in the other roles. They use their leisure as a compensation to make up for their deficiencies and to give their life some meaning.

The men in the group, often alienated from work, from spouse, or from the "community," attempt to adjust to this alienation by engaging in leisure activities where they invest a lot of energy and through which they can enjoy themselves and see themselves as socially acceptable. One is a factory manager. He finds no satisfaction in this position but rather pictures himself as an intellectual and therefore spends a great deal of time reading. A second, an amateur pilot, directs his leisure away from a home where some emotional difficulties exist. Another man was trained as an engineer and has shifted over the years from one job to another, finally going into a business with his wife, which he does not enjoy. Like the factory manager, he pictures himself as a scholar and spends his leisure time reading oriental history. One of the men is a light-skinned Negro, cut off socially from both the white and the Negro community, who engages in leisure activities that he can perform alone or with his family, such as hunting and fishing—activities which do not put him in social contact with others.

The women in the group have difficulty in relating to their husbands and are emotionally insecure; there are degrees of feelings of unwantedness and not being loved. They concentrate their energies into a single activity which they engage in alone and where they can achieve a great deal of proficiency, such as sewing, embroidery, or petitpoint, or in church activities where they can spend time with the "women" and

achieve the feeling of "doing something worthwhile."

CONCLUSIONS

1. The most successful life-styles, as judged by the level of role-performance scores, have concomitant patterns of leisure activity. The community-centered life-style includes a leisure pattern which spreads from the home out through a variety of community circles. On the other hand, a successful home-centered life-style contains a home-centered leisure pattern. These successful leisure patterns tend to be autonomous, creative, instrumental, vital, and ego integrative, whether they be community-centered or home-centered.

The lower-level life-styles are lower in performance in roles external to the home than in the home roles. They also have lower-level leisure styles, with lower scores on the values listed in the preceding paragraph.

2. The two major types of leisure style, the community-centered and the home-centered, appear to be equally accessible to mid-

dle-class people, but rarely are working-class people community-centered. An individual with a large family of children is more likely to be home-centered. However, his place of residence—whether in a suburb, single-family home, or city apartment—does not seem to affect his leisure style to any great degree. The personality of the individual appears to find its own leisure style.

3. There are a few exceptional cases where the life-style and the leisure style are not in close relation. One group of such cases consists of about 5 per cent of adults. They are people with little or no leisure activity who have a successful life-style and good personal adjustment. These men and women generally invest most of their energy in work or in home and children, with little time and inclination for leisure.

Another group consists of about 6 per cent of adults. They have a high level of leisure activity but are dissatisfied or inadequate workers or parents or spouses who attempt to compensate with a high leisure performance.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Robert Redfield

1897-1958

Robert Redfield died on October 16, 1958. Many social scientists will have known him as a scholar and author or through his lifetime connection with the University of Chicago, where he served as Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, Dean of the Division of the Social Sciences, and, later, Robert Maynard Hutchins Distinguished Service Professor. Many others knew him as president of the American Anthropological Association or as a director of the American Council of Learned Societies or of the Social Science Foundation. His international reputation was recognized by the Huxley Memorial Medal and, at home, by American anthropology's highest award, the Viking Medal.

Those who only knew him thus and those who knew him also personally have common ground in considering the relation of the man to his ideas. His quick, original, incisive mind was combined with great warmth of human feeling and strength of personal values. Possessions, kudos, and position meant little to him; ideas meant much. He was a family man, in a family circle which readily expanded to include the student or colleague of kindred spirit. In the interplay of his intellect and his sensitivity to his fellowmen lie the dynamics of his career. Through his life, he continued to change, and in this he but followed his own idea of the educational process as a continuing thing, the distinguishing of the better from the worse in books, in music, and in men.

Redfield started professional life as a lawyer and was admitted to the bar, but, finding social science more challenging, he soon undertook graduate work in anthropology at the University of Chicago. His doctoral dissertation, "Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village," was a complete departure from the descriptive ethnographic monograph and the historical and psychological studies characteristic of the time. In it germinated his distinctive concept of societal change, the "folk-urban continuum."

His next field project, organized on a grander scale, was made possible by a research associate-ship with the Carnegie Institution in Washington, of whose ethnological and sociological field work in Yucatan and Guatemala he was in charge from 1930 to 1946. This project was a tour de force in comparative community study, involving four Yucatecan communities. The research reflected Redfield's belief in the feasibility of experimental method in anthropological research; *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* supports his societal typology and its related view of culture change.

The development of the folk-urban frame of reference was even more influential in sociology than in anthropology, but in both disciplines its stimulus to field research and constructive thought con-

stitutes a notable feature of modern social science. Because of the global character of the systematic scheme, it tended to fill the vacuum left by the old evolutionary explanations.

The most dramatic documentation of the change which Redfield underwent after this Yucatecan study is to be found in the comparison of his earlier work with *A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited*. In 1931 he had tried to understand Chan Kom's changing culture in terms of social theory. Restudying the community in 1948, he saw its marked change from the earlier period as "progress," and he was unable to attribute the progress of this particular village, as compared with similar ones, to "anything except the accident of the competence of its first settlers."

As Redfield continued to dwell upon the problem of values for the social scientist, he found that he could not separate within himself "the feeling man" from "the objective anthropologist." While continuing to recognize the desirability of objectivity, he parted company with the cultural relativists, acknowledging as universally good the values which the history of civilization has so designated. His ensuing writings all reflect his dual interest in the proper study of mankind and the relation of the social scientist to humanistic values.

He became increasingly involved in bringing his knowledge and wisdom to bear on contemporary problems. He became a director of the American Council on Race Relations and testified for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its legal efforts to eliminate segregation in the public schools. He was on the Commission on the Freedom of the Press and participated in the activities of the Fund for Adult Education.

Above all, it was as a scholar and educator that he left his mark on a generation of social scientists at home and abroad. From the University Lectures at Cornell University has come *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*; his lectures at the University of Upsala have become generally available in *The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of the Human Whole*; the Swarthmore College Lectures have appeared as *Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization*. His strong sensitivity and, at the same time, objectivity are nowhere more apparent than in his literary style—direct, clear, and unpretentious, yet communicating a feeling of the human scene.

While the loss of Robert Redfield is great, more significant is the fortune of his students, friends, and colleagues to have had him among us.

HORACE MINER

University of Michigan

NEWS AND NOTES

African-American Institute.—The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program has been set up to further understanding between professional, business, and civic leaders of the United States and the Union of South Africa by the Institute, which is a private, non-political American organization. The first South African leader to come to the United States under the program is the Reverend J. S. Gerrie, vice-chancellor of Stellenbosch University, who is studying the administration of American universities, student religious work, and basic trends in American race relations. The first American leader to go to South Africa will be Hodding Carter, editor and publisher of the *Delta Democrat-Times* of Greenville, Mississippi.

Twelve American and South African leaders will be exchanged in 1959, including Dr. G. D. Scholtz, assistant editor of the *Transvaler*, a Johannesburg Afrikaans newspaper; Dr. F. J. De Villiers, organizing director for industrial development of the Department of Native Affairs; Dr. D. Hey, director of nature conservation in the Cape Province; David A. McCandless, director of the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville; Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, executive secretary in the United States for the World Council of Churches; and Dr. Guy Johnson, professor of sociology and anthropology, University of North Carolina.

For information, communicate with the African-American Institute, 345 East Forty-sixth Street, New York 17, New York.

American Psychopathological Association.—An international work-conference on problems in field studies in mental disorders will be held February 16-19, 1959, at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York City, financed by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Fifteen American and fifteen foreign participants have been invited. Among the foreign participants will be: Professors Jan Boök and Erik Essen-Möller, Sweden; Aubrey Lewis, Donald D. Reid, and E. Stengel, England; J. E. Meyer, Germany; Ø. Ødegaard, Norway; Pierre Pichot, France; H. C. Rümke, Holland; Erik Strömberg, Denmark; and Dr. E. E. Krapf, Switzerland.

At the end of the work-conference meeting of the American Psychopathological Association will take place. The subject of this year's meeting on February 22 will be on the epidemiology of mental disorders. Topics for the symposium will include field studies in the mental disorders, studies of the incidence and prevalence of hospitalized mental patients, current prognosis and outcome of therapy, and studies in the etiology of mental disorders.

Requests for further information should be addressed to Dr. Joseph Zubin, American Psychopathological Association, 722 Broadway Street, New York 32, New York.

Brandeis University.—The Department of Sociology, until recently part of a Department of Sociology and Anthropology, has been organized separately and now consists of: A. Coser, associate professor; Robert A. Feldmesser, Jerome H. Mervin, Maurice Stein, assistant professor; and Suzanne Keller, visiting lecturer.

Robert A. Feldmesser is working on problems of social stratification and social change in pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary Russia and is also collaborating with I. J. Diamond and with Stanley Diamond, of the Department of Anthropology, on a long-term study of a New England city.

Jerome H. Mervin is conducting a study of the Waltham Jewish community and the development of a new brief Role-play technique for use in social research.

University of Buffalo.—The Department of Sociology now includes Rodney C. Hall, Isabel MacAulay, and Norman K. Denzin as teaching fellows; Eric Buck, Ronald L. Burgess, Eugene Piedmont as instructors; and Elwin Povinelli as assistant professor; Milton Albrecht, Niles Carpenter, Gross (chairman of the Department), and Marvin Opler as professors.

Dr. Albrecht is acting dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Dr. Carpenter is emeritus of the School of Social Sciences. Marvin Opler is on permanent part-time

in the Medical School as professor of social psychiatry. Both he and Saxon Graham, of the Roswell Park Cancer Research Institute, will offer courses in medical sociology.

University of California, Berkeley.—Reinhard Bendix, newly appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology, has received the 1958 annual MacIver Award for the best sociological work of the year for his study *Work and Authority in Industry*.

Charles Y. Glock, professor of sociology and director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, has accepted an appointment as professor of sociology and director of the newly established Center for Survey Research. He will give a course in the sociology of religion.

Three members of the Sociology Department of the London School of Economics will be visiting members of the Berkeley faculty during 1958-59: Julius Gould, Hilde Himmelweit, and Donald MacRae. Gould and MacRae will teach in the fall and spring semesters, respectively, in the Department, while Himmelweit will be in the Psychology Department lecturing on social psychology.

Hernan Godoy, professor of sociology at the University of Chile, will be in residence in 1958-59 engaged in study and research in industrial and political sociology.

Ernest Greenwood, now professor in the School of Social Welfare, is conducting research on social work as a profession and has recently completed a study of the careers of a sample of social workers.

Judson T. Landis, professor of family sociology in the Department of Home Economics, has been elected to the General Council of the International Union of Family Organizations. He has returned to Berkeley after teaching at the University of Alaska.

Jack London, associate professor in the School of Education, served as a faculty fellow in the Summer Institute of Social Gerontology at the University of Connecticut.

Clark E. Vincent, assistant professor of family sociology in the Department of Home Economics, has completed a study of unwed mothers, to be published shortly.

University of California, Los Angeles.—Joseph W. Eaton has been put in charge of the School of Social Welfare's sequence of research

courses. He is completing a research planning survey of corrections, sponsored jointly by the School and the State Board of Corrections. In the spring semester of 1959 he will join the faculty of the Graduate School of Social Work of the University of Pittsburgh as professor of social work research. He will continue for some time to serve the University of California as visiting professor to direct a study on "Assessment of Group Treatment" in the Department of Corrections, with funds from a grant of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Walter G. Bailey, formerly training specialist with the Department of Human Factors of the System Development Corporation, has been appointed as assistant researcher and lecturer at the School of Social Welfare. He is collaborating in the "Group Treatment" study and will teach research.

University of Chicago.—Elihu Katz has returned from two years' leave spent in Jerusalem at Hebrew University.

Phillip M. Hauser, chairman of the Department of Sociology, took part in the Seminar on Regional Planning in Asia, held in Tokyo in August and will attend the Seminar on Urbanization in Latin America, of which he is scientific director and general *rapporteur*, in Santiago, Chile, in 1959.

Donald Bogue leaves in April for India for a year's teaching at the United Nations Demographic Center at Bombay. This is one of two centers set up by the United Nations to train demographers and social research workers. He and Everett C. Hughes have started together a study of Chicago's various ethnic and racial groups, thus reviving a traditional interest of the Department which dates from the early twenties and was inspired by Ernest W. Burgess, professor emeritus of the Department, and the late Professor Robert E. Park.

University of Cologne.—Professor René König held an all-day seminar of sociologists and physicians in July to hear A. B. Hollingshead, of Yale University, report his study on "Social Class and the Treatment of Mental Illness" and to discuss proposals for sociological study of medical problems.

University of Colorado.—Three acting assistant professors have joined the Department: Earl E. Huyck, Robert C. Hanson, and E. Merle Adams, Jr. Dr. Huyck, who is on leave from

the federal government in Washington, is teaching courses and seminars in demography; Dr. Hanson, on leave from Michigan State University, is engaging in public health research and teaching research seminars; Mr. Adams, who has taught at Syracuse University and the University of North Dakota, is teaching courses on family, urban sociology, and communities.

New part-time instructors, all graduate students in the Department, are Gary Willoughby, Jules Wanderer, and Charles Gray.

Howard Higman, associate professor, has returned from leave of absence spent in Europe, where he gave a series of lectures on "The Pattern of American Society" at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies.

Gordon H. Barker, recently promoted to professor, continues as chairman of the Department. He and Thomas Adams, sociologist with the Colorado State Industrial School, are currently engaged in research on the institutional delinquent.

Blaine E. Mercer was recently promoted from assistant to associate professor.

Judson B. Pearson, assistant professor, is on leave and is teaching in Germany in the Overseas Program of the University of Maryland.

William Petersen, associate professor, is spending the academic year as a National Science Foundation Fellow in the Netherlands, doing demographic research.

Edward Rose, who participated in an interdisciplinary research program in the behavioral sciences held at the University of New Mexico in the summer, is currently engaged in historical and experimental studies of cultural formations.

University of Connecticut.—Edwin G. Burrows, emeritus professor of anthropology, died on July 13, 1958. He taught in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology for eighteen years and retired from the University in 1957. Professor Burrows was best known for his ethnological studies in western Polynesia and especially for his collection of song texts from Uvea, Futuna, and Ifaluk.

An Institute of Gerontology has been established at the University, with Donald P. Kent as director. Its program includes research on aging and the sponsorship of adult education in matters pertaining to the aged in the state.

Three members of the Department have received grants from the University's Research Foundation: Floyd Dotson, who was recently promoted to associate professor and is on sab-

batic leave for 1958-59, is working on leadership and urbanization in a Mexican city; Dennison Nash, who has returned after completing field work on acculturation of the Japanese on the Isle of Pines, Cuba; and Jerold S. Heiss, who is working on a study of marriage orientation among "steady daters" in high school.

Walter I. Wardwell has returned from a year's sabbatical leave during which he collaborated with the Connecticut Department of Health, supported by the United States Public Health Service, in a study of stress as a factor in coronary heart disease.

Bernard C. Rosen, who has been promoted to assistant professor, has received a three-year grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to continue his study of the psychological origins of achievement motivation.

Arthur L. Wood, under a grant from the American Philosophical Society, is completing his study of crime in Ceylon.

The Department of Rural Sociology has received a five-year contract with the State Highway Department to determine the impact of the Connecticut Turnpike on the economy of the eastern region of the state.

The University now has full and/or part-time staffs teaching introductory sociology and anthropology at four branches throughout the state, in addition to the program offered on the main campus at Storrs: Norman Ofslager at the Waterbury Branch, Donald Simmons at the Hartford Branch, George LaPorte at the Stamford Center, and Absalom Vilikazi, of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, at the Torrington Center.

Cornell University.—It is with deep regret that the Department of Sociology and Anthropology reports the death of Allister Macmillan, senior research associate, who had served for a number of years as deputy director of the Study in Community Development and also of the Cornell Program in Social Psychiatry.

Robin M. Williams, Jr., chairman of the Department, has returned after serving as Carnegie Visiting Professor at the University of Hawaii for the spring term and teaching in the summer session of the University of Southern California.

Edward A. Suchman is on leave for the year during which time he will be visiting professor of medical sociology in the School of Public Health, Columbia University, and director, Social Science Activities, City of New York Department of Health.

William W. Lambert has received a Fulbright appointment to the University of Oslo, Norway, where he will be teaching seminars in social psychology and socialization and also writing up data compiled on socialization techniques in several cultures.

William Delany, who has been made an assistant professor, has been appointed to the editorial staff of *Administrative Science Quarterly*, published by the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration.

Wayne Thompson has been appointed assistant director of the Social Science Research Center and assistant professor in the Department.

Rose K. Goldsen has returned after leave of absence as a Fulbright lecturer at the universities of Bordeaux and Rennes. While in France she wrote a monograph, "L'Interview à reponses libres," which was published by the Institut des Sciences Humaines Appliquées, University of Bordeaux.

A forthcoming number of the *Journal of Social Issues* will be published soon on the Cornell Studies of Occupational Retirement, editors for the issue being Gordon Streib and Wayne Thompson.

Norman Kaplan is continuing his research on the sociological study of research organizations in medical and related sciences under a grant from the National Institute of Health.

Alexander Leighton, who has returned from the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, where he was a Fellow for the year 1957-58, now holds a joint appointment in the Department and is professor of psychiatry in the Cornell Medical College.

Charles Hughes has been appointed assistant director of the Cornell Program in Social Psychiatry.

The National Institutes of Health have renewed the grant for the Study of Retirement and Family Relationships, directed by Gordon Streib and Wayne Thompson.

J. Mayone Stycos is continuing the Jamaica Life Project, sponsored by the Population Council, and is initiating a study of fertility in Haiti under the sponsorship of the Conservation Foundation.

John M. Roberts, who was professor of anthropology at the University of Nebraska, has joined the staff and will teach courses in cultural anthropology and comparative law.

Leo Meltzer, who has joined the Department as assistant professor, will be teaching in the

social psychology program sponsored by the Department of Psychology and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Robert J. Smith has returned from his field research in Japan, which was supported by the Institute of International Education. He conducted a follow-up study of the village which he investigated originally in 1951.

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie.—The 1959 Congress of the Society will take place in Berlin from May 20 to 24. The subject, the role of sociology in modern society, has been chosen to mark its fiftieth anniversary. There will be sections on educational sociology, the sociology of religion, and the sociology of the community and industry, and on empirical method in sociological research. The opening address will be given by the president. Professor Plessner (Göttingen). Commemorating the lecture given by Professor Georg Simmel at the Society's first session, held in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1910, Professor Leopold von Wiese (Köln) will speak on "The Sociology of Sociability" on the evening of the first day.

Dillard University.—Daniel C. Thompson, professor of sociology and chairman of the Division of the Social Sciences, has been awarded a grant of \$22,000 by the Ford Foundation for a study of the role of leaders in the changing pattern of Negro-white relations in New Orleans. The two-year study will test many current theories of social change and the part played by community leaders in the Negro's rapidly changing status in the South.

University of Frankfurt.—Professor Julius T. Kraft, who spent several years in England and America, has been called to the chair of sociology in the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences. His inaugural lecture in June, 1958, dealt with the relations between sociology and philosophy. The chair had been vacant since Karl Mannheim left it at the beginning of the National Socialist regime.

The Institute of Social Research, directed by Professors Max Horkheimer and Theodore Adorno, is carrying on a number of studies. Dr. von Friedeburg is conducting the German part of a study of conditions affecting productivity in industry in the several countries of the Western European Union. The Institute has organized a course of theoretical and empirical study to prepare students for the new diploma

in sociology, which has been approved by the government.

University of Göttingen.—Professor Helmuth Plessner, director of the Sociological Seminar, is this year president of the German Sociological Society. Several volumes of a series of monographs on studies done at the Seminar have already been published. The next volume to appear will be *Entscheidung* ("Decision"), a contribution to political sociology, by Dr. Christian Graf von Krockow, an assistant in the Seminar. Dr. Christian von Ferber is preparing a volume analyzing German and American literature of the last fifty years on the problem of satisfaction at work. Dr. W. Strezelewicz is conducting a major study of the cultural assumptions and interests of the population of western Germany. One volume of the study has been published, reporting an experiment in adult education: *Ansatz und Wirksamkeit der Erwachsenenbildung*, by W. Schulenberg. [See review, pp. 419–20 in this issue.—EDITOR.] J. Prater is studying the relation between social status and practices of spending and house-keeping.

University of Hamburg.—Mr. Rohde, an assistant in the Sociological Seminar, is preparing a volume on sociological study of hospitals.

Hofstra College.—Walter B. Simon has been appointed assistant professor. He taught formerly at the College of the City of New York, Dartmouth, and Columbia University.

Baidya Nath Varma, who has been appointed instructor, is co-author and associate editor of *India: A Sociological Background*, and has contributed articles to the book *Uttar Pradesh: A Case Study*.

Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek has been made an adjunct lecturer. He is a graduate of the University of Leiden, having done his doctoral work on the rise and development of the Dutch Labor party. His book on contemporary trends in the social sciences in the United States is to be published in Dutch.

University of Illinois.—The Department now consists of twenty-three persons on the regular teaching faculty, nine graduate teaching assistants, fourteen on the sociology research staff, and nine on the anthropology research staff.

In September the Department initiated a

program of study leading to the Ph.D. degree in anthropology. Students may specialize in cultural anthropology or archeology, and course work is also available in ethnology, linguistics, and physical anthropology.

Richard Dewey has left the University and is now chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of New Hampshire.

The Department has recently received a grant of \$225,000 from the Ford Foundation to support a four-year study of recidivism among parolees from federal prisons, directed by Associate Professor Daniel Glaser.

Joan M. Chapman, formerly of New York University, and Ralph G. Connor, from the University of Washington, are instructors in sociology.

Bernard Phillips, for the last three years research assistant professor in the School of Public Health, University of North Carolina, has joined the staff as assistant professor of sociology.

Charles R. Kaut, formerly research associate in the Philippines Studies Program of the University of Chicago, has been appointed visiting lecturer in anthropology.

Institut International de Sociologie.—The Institute held its eighteenth biennial congress at Nürnberg, Germany, September 10–18, 1958, with an attendance of 295 participants, of whom 221 were delegates from thirty-one countries. Professor Hans Freyer, formerly of the University of Leipzig, but now in West Germany, was president of the congress. Professor K. Valentin Muller of the Technical University of Nürnberg, general secretary of the IIS, was host this year. Four days of panel discussions of the several hundred papers were spent at the Technical University. The delegates then traveled for five days in large busses to see postwar Germany, particularly East Germany, West and East Berlin, including the receiving station at Marienfeld, where the hundreds of persons who flee from East Germany daily are held until they can be placed in West German industries and occupations.

The IIS is the oldest sociological organization, being founded by René Worms at Paris in 1893. Scientific papers for it may be written in English, French, Spanish, Italian, or German. A summary is given in another language and an oral presentation in a third. Afterward the papers are printed in bound volumes for distribution to the members. Since the war,

meetings have been held in Rome, Istanbul, Lebanon, and France. Negotiations are under way with Portugal, Mexico, Argentina, and Sudan for the 1960 meeting. Membership is elective, but national quotas are limited to prevent domination by one country. Religious and political discussion is prohibited. The host institution generally takes care of the major internal expenses of the delegates, other than modest costs of lodging. Other than a first membership fee of about \$500, there are no dues. Subscription to the biennial meetings, which gives the right to present a scientific paper, is about \$5.00.

International Catholic Child Bureau.—The Seventh Congress will be held in Lisbon, Portugal, from June 8 to 14, 1959, on the theme of the child and his vocational future.

All persons interested in this Congress and in receiving further information are requested to write to the Secretariat-General of the International Catholic Child Bureau, 31, rue de Fleurus, Paris 6, France.

University of Kiel.—Dr. M. Bolte, *dozent* in the Sociological Seminar, has in press a book on *Sozialer Aufstieg und Abstieg: Eine Untersuchung über Berufsprestige und Berufsmobilität* ("Upward and Downward Mobility").

"Lock Haven Bulletin."—The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction announces the establishment of a new scholarly journal to be devoted to the social sciences and humanities. The first issue will appear in March, 1959. The 1960 issue is to be a social science number.

Inquiries concerning articles should be sent to Professor Paul Bernstein, Managing Editor, *Lock Haven Bulletin*, Lock Haven State Teachers College, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania.

Michigan State University.—Charles R. Hofer, acting head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, is the president-elect of the Rural Sociological Society.

J. Allan Beegle has accepted the appointment as editor of *Rural Sociology*.

Charles P. Loomis has been made responsible for the Carnegie-supported Latin-American and Border Projects as well as studies carried on by contract with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Costa Rica. In

collaboration with John C. McKinney, he has reworked the Introduction to the translation of Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* for a new edition published by the Michigan State University Press, which includes a new preface by Rudolf Heberle and a foreword by Pitirim A. Sorokin.

Richard N. Adams has returned from Chile, where he participated in the study of the overseas programs of American universities being carried out by the University's Institute of Research on Overseas Programs.

Duane Gibson, in addition to his duties as professor of sociology and anthropology and co-ordinator of Continuing Education for the College of Science and Arts, has been named director of the Program for Liberal Arts Education for Adults, an activity supported by a five-year grant from the Fund for Adult Education.

Walter Freeman has been promoted to the rank of associate professor and appointed chief of research for the Institute for Community Development and Services.

Iwao Ishino, who was recently promoted to the rank of associate professor, has been awarded a Fulbright grant for 1958-59 and at present is lecturing in cultural anthropology at the University of Tokyo.

Jack Preiss has been appointed to the Governor's Committee on Research and Training in Psychiatry.

New appointments to the staff include: Moreau Maxwell, who will divide his time between departmental activities and the curatorship of anthropology in the museum; John Gullahorn, who has a joint appointment in the Department and Continuing Education Services and is teaching off-campus courses; Harold Goldsmith, who is working on migration projects in the Social Research Service; John Howell, who is teaching courses on juvenile delinquency in the Department; and John Messenger, who is teaching anthropology part time.

Moreau Maxwell returned in September from the High Arctic, where he carried out a three-month archeological reconnaissance of northeast Ellesmere Island as a member of the National Museum of Canada. His activities there were part of the Canadian Geophysical Year Program at Lake Hazen under the sponsorship of the Canadian Defence Research Board.

John Messenger returned in September after conducting ethnographic research for three months in the Aran Islands of Ireland.

Murray Beauchamp, James Geshwender, Victor Goldkind, Kim Rodner, Robert Holloway, Irwin Miller, Clinton Jesser, Rolf Schulze, Walter Banks, Verl R. W. Franz, Thomas Ruhala, Edward Pryor, and Gary King have been appointed to graduate assistantships.

The Social Research Service in the Department has received a grant of \$142,760 from the United States Public Health Service for a five-year study of Anglo-Latino relations in hospitals and communities, of which Charles Loomis is the principal investigator and William V. D'Antonio, who spent the summer coordinating research in four different United States-Mexican border area sites, is field director.

A grant of \$14,662 has been received from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for a study of the structure of a new test measuring occupational aspiration level and the variation of test scores under different sociological, psychological, and educational conditions. Archie Haller is directing the study.

A grant of \$18,322 from the United States Department of State to study the professional and social consequences of Fulbright and Smith-Mundt awards for approximately 10,000 grantees has been made to the Social Research Service. John Gullahorn will direct it.

Jay Artis and J. Allan Beegle are studying the role of the rural professional in relation to migration, a study for which the United States Department of Agriculture has provided \$8,000.

University of Munich.—E. K. Francis, of Notre Dame University, Indiana, has been called to the chair of sociology in the Faculty of Political Science to replace Professor Alfred von Martin, who retired. Professor Francis, who took up his duties this fall, will also direct a new sociological institute.

National Council on Family Relations.—The first Ernest W. Burgess Award for the best research proposal of the year was made in August to Mildred B. Kantor and Howard S. Gall, of the St. Louis County Health Department and Washington University. The award of \$125 was made at the Twentieth Annual Conference of the National Council at Eugene, Oregon, for the proposed study of "Some Consequences of Physical and Social Mobility of Families for the Adjustment of Children."

National Science Foundation.—The Foundation will award individual grants to defray partial travel expenses for a limited number of American scientists participating in the International Sociological Association Congress, Milan and Stresa, September, 1959, and in the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Vienna, August-September, 1959.

An attempt will be made to have the grants approximate round-trip air-tourist fare between the scientist's home institution and the location of the meeting.

Application blanks may be obtained from the National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D.C. Completed application forms must be submitted by February 1, 1959.

New School for Social Research.—A Center of African Studies has been started, with Sanford Griffith as director. Courses of sociological interest are being given by S. and J. Comhaire on Black Africa's larger cities and by W. B. Schwab on Africa in transition.

Ohio State University.—Saad Z. Nagi has been appointed assistant professor of rural sociology. He will direct a research study of the sociological and sociopsychological variables related to heart disease among Ohio farmers. This brings the number of rural sociologists at Ohio State University to a total of nine.

Professor A. R. Mangus, who lectured this summer at the University of California (Berkeley), is jointly appointed in both the Department of Sociology and the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology.

Professor Merton Oyler is continuing his research on social changes among the Amish in Ohio and is also directing research studies of retired university professors and of family life in suburban housing developments.

Harold R. Capener is in India on a two-year assignment as part of the International Cooperation Administration-sponsored Ohio State-India team. He will be assigned to the development of rural sociology in northern India's agricultural colleges.

John B. Mitchell has joined the staff as associate professor of rural sociology. He comes from the University of Rhode Island.

Perley Ayer, of Berea College, has been appointed visiting fellow in the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology for the academic year.

Oklahoma State University.—Edward Manning Day (1872–1958), who, after many years as a teacher and an administrator in the public schools of Texas, taught sociology at Oklahoma State University from 1925 until his full retirement in 1949, died on September 19, 1958, following a prolonged period of failing health. Professor Day devoted his entire energy as a college teacher to activities in the classroom, where his contribution consisted primarily of introducing beginning and intermediate students to fundamental sociology. He was a meticulously careful teacher and critic who considered the supreme function of the instructor to be one of imparting knowledge to and of inculcating character in his students.

Paul H. Vossick, until recently instructor in sociology at the University of Texas, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology, replacing Robert H. Fosen, who has resigned.

Solomon Sutker, professor of sociology, was a visiting professor at Vanderbilt University during the summer session of 1958.

Otis Durant Duncan, head of the Department of Sociology and Rural Life, was a visiting professor of rural sociology in the Summer Rural Life Institute at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, June 24–July 25, 1958.

University of Oregon.—Joel V. Berreman has gone on half-time status with the Department for two years in order to serve as research associate on the Oregon Study of Rehabilitation of Mental Hospital Patients, a project financed by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the State of Oregon. He will direct research in the experimental county. Miriam Johnson is serving as a research assistant.

Robert Dubin has been appointed research professor of sociology. He is preparing for publication a number of studies of industrial work and formal organization following the current publication of *The World of Work* and *Working Union-Management Relations*. He has also initiated studies of theory-building as a substantive problem in methodology. Mr. Dubin was recently elected to a three-year term as associate editor of the *American Sociological Review*.

Herb Bisno has received a one-year extension of his leave of absence to go to Israel as a consultant to a new school of social work. This follows his year's service as director of the Undergraduate Curriculum Study for the Council on Social Work Education.

Ben Johnson has been retained a second year as replacement for Mr. Bisno.

John M. Foskett and Robert Agger, of the Political Science Department, are conducting an expanded community study program in a large metropolitan area, similar to previous Valley City studies.

Harry Alpert has been appointed professor of sociology and dean of the Graduate School. He was recently elected to the board of directors of the Population Association of America and is vice-president of the American Sociological Society.

Lionel S. Wishneff, who has joined the staff as assistant professor, will teach courses on political sociology, social stratification, and the logic and methodology of science. In collaboration with David J. Bordeua, he is completing a book, *Qualitative Analysis in Social Research: Scaling, Typologies, and Indices*.

James Rollins has been appointed instructor in the Department after serving an internship at the Oregon State Penitentiary last summer.

Robert Leonard and Sam Johnson are teaching assistants.

Oregon State College.—William A. Foster, Jr., a recent graduate in rural sociology at Cornell University, has joined the staff as assistant professor.

Hans H. Plambeck, chairman of the Department, is a member of a college-wide co-ordinating committee for a comprehensive two-year study of the human and natural resources of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation.

University of Pittsburgh.—Robert W. Hawkes has been appointed research associate in the Administrative Science Center and assistant professor in the Department of Psychology. Other members of the staff are Peter B. Hammond, Buford H. Junker, Arthur Tuden, and James D. Thompson, director. An eight-member board of visitors has been appointed for the Center to advise on long-range plans.

A Postdoctoral Fellowship in Administrative Science will be offered again for the 1959–60 academic year. Open to those trained in any of the social sciences or professional fields, it provides a year in residence at the Center for research of the Fellow's own choosing. A basic stipend of \$5,000 will be supplemented by travel and dependency allowances and incidental research costs.

Several graduate student assistantships in

the Center will be available in 1959-60 to students working toward the doctorate in one of the social sciences or professional schools. These carry stipends of \$2,000 and tuition.

Further information about the fellowship or assistantships may be obtained from the Director, Administrative Science Center, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania.

Southern Illinois University.—Field work has been completed on a study of the effect of migrant farm labor on the education of children, which was directed by Associate Professor Melvin S. Brooks. The study has been made possible by grants from the United States Office of Education.

In co-operation with the Jackson County Health Department, an extended study of the relationship between family stress and personality is now under way, involving intensive interviews with over five hundred mothers of infants born last year. Participating in the study, which is supported by grants of the United States Children's Bureau and the Division of Preventive Medicine and the Bureau of Maternal and Child Health, are Roger F. Sondag, M.D., of the Jackson County Health Department, Associate Professors Melvin S. Brooks and Herman R. Lantz, and Assistant Professor Douglas L. Rennie.

Donald R. Taft, professor emeritus of the University of Illinois, is a visiting professor during the winter and spring quarters. He will offer seminars in criminology and the sociology of war.

Associate Professor Herman R. Lantz and Assistant Professor Eloise C. Snyder are collaborating on a textbook on *Social Psychology of Dating, Courtship, and Marriage*, which is soon to be published.

Stanford University.—Takeyoshi Kawashima, professor of sociology at Tokyo University, has been appointed visiting professor of sociology for the coming academic year. Mr. Kawashima will offer courses on Japanese family and society, subjects on which he has published seven books.

Charles Drekmeier, who is receiving his Ph.D. from Harvard University, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. He will give courses on political sociology and social thought.

The Department has received a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation to plan, in collabora-

tion with the Stanford Medical School, a teaching and research program in medical sociology. Edmund H. Volkart, executive head of the Department of Sociology, and Thomas Gonda, executive head of the Department of Psychiatry, are directing the project.

Robert A. Ellis, assistant professor of sociology, has received a grant-in-aid from the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology to initiate a study of social differences in the academic performance of college undergraduates.

David Mechanic and Leslie C. Waldo have received Public Health Service Research Fellowships from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Alex Clarke has received a William Randolph and Dora Haynes Foundation Fellowship.

University of Tübingen.—Dr. F. Fürstenberg, of the Institute for Labor and Social Policy, is conducting a study of the changing role of the Protestant pastor in southern Germany.

Tulane University.—A lectureship in social psychiatry is being jointly sponsored by the Department of Psychiatry and Neurology and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and supported by the Mona Bronfman Shekman Foundation.

The guest lecturers will be alternately a social scientist and a psychiatrist. The lectures will be published as monographs. For further information contact the program co-chairmen, Harold I. Lief or Forrest LaViolette, Tulane University.

University of Washington.—Sanford M. Dornbusch has been awarded a Social Science Research Council Faculty Research Fellowship for the period 1958-61. As co-investigator, he also will participate in a study of categories of interpersonal perception under the auspices of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Warren E. Kalbach has accepted the directorship of the Oregon State Board of Census. He also will be affiliated with Portland State College as assistant professor of sociology.

Donald P. Hayes has been appointed instructor in sociology. He will divide his time between the departments of Psychiatry and Sociology.

Milton Yinger, of Oberlin College, will be a visiting professor of sociology during the 1959 summer session.

Calvin F. Schmid has been appointed to the Medical Advisory Committee of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education.

Western Reserve University.—Mrs. Robert Rautenstrauch and Mrs. Eleanor K. Caplan have joined the Department of Sociology as part-time lecturers.

Marvin B. Sussman and R. Clyde White, School of Applied Social Sciences, with the assistance of Eleanor Caplan, research associate in the Department, have completed a year-and-a-half study of a transitional community of Cleveland. A monograph, *The Hough Area: A Study of Social Life and Change*, will be published in February, 1959.

Newbell N. Puckett will be on sabbatical during the spring semester and will continue his research on Ohio superstitions.

Irving Rosow, formerly of Purdue University, is director of the Ford Foundation Study of Housing Needs for Older Persons. He has a joint appointment as associate professor of sociology in arts and sciences and the School of Applied Social Sciences.

William Green Human Relations Library.—The Library has opened for service at the Atran Center, 25 East 78th Street, New York 21, New York. Created by the Jewish Labor Committee with the aid of a grant from the William Green Memorial Fund, it will deal exclusively with the American trade-union movement in relation to civil rights, human rights, and American minorities. The services of the library and its collection are extended to scholars, students, and labor people throughout the country.

The collection includes material relevant to labor and human relations, emphasizing the labor movement in relation to civil rights in the community; attitudes of workers and trade-unionists on intergroup matters and related psychological factors; the labor movement's

handling of internal minority problems and civil rights questions in industry; the role of minorities and all immigrant groups in building the labor movement, and the use of minority issues by employers in industrial disputes.

University of Wisconsin.—The Department of Sociology and Anthropology has split into separate departments: William H. Sewell being chairman of the Department of Sociology and David A. Baerreis chairman of the Department of Anthropology.

Marshall B. Clinard was a visiting professor at Brigham Young University during the past summer and currently is spending a year in India helping to set up an urban community development program sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the Government of India.

Howard Becker, president-elect of the American Sociological Society, is inaugurating a televised introductory sociology course.

Norman B. Ryder has been promoted to associate professor and Hans H. Gerth to professor.

Robert McGinnis has returned from a year at the University of California in Berkeley where he was a Social Science Research Council postdoctoral fellow in the departments of Mathematics and Statistics. With Lyle W. Shannon, he is directing research on value assimilation among immigrant laborers to an industrial community. The project is supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Robert C. Davis has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and project associate on the immigrant laborer study.

Kiyoshi Ikeda and Irwin Goldberg have been appointed instructors in sociology.

The state legislature has allocated funds for a new social sciences building which will house the departments of Sociology, Anthropology and Economics.

At the time of going to press, the *Journal* has learned with regret of the death, in his eighty-seventh year, of Professor John Lewis Gillin, emeritus professor of sociology of the University of Wisconsin. Professor Gillin joined the faculty of the University in 1912 as head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and remained there the rest of his life. His investigations and recommendations, based on worldwide research, led to substantial reforms in the state's treatment of the criminal and the insane. The Blackmar and Gillin textbook on introductory sociology was one of the earliest publications of its sort in the United States.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Twice-born: A Study of a Community of High-Caste Hindus. By G. MORRIS CARSTAIRS. With a Preface by MARGARET MEAD. London: Hogarth Press, 1957. Pp. 343. 30s.

Morris Carstairs' study has avoided some of the shortcomings of many earlier national character studies, for which the sample of informants, the social statuses they represented, and the population to which findings might be generalized were all unspecified. The thirty-seven male informants who composed the sample of this study were all from the village in which the author and his wife resided for ten months of intensive interviewing. From the "twice-born" castes, the sample consisted of eleven Brahmins, thirteen Rajputs (or warriors) and thirteen Baniyas (or merchants). Carstairs tried to get the co-operation of men from each of three prestige levels and three age levels for each of the three castes. (He succeeded in filling all but three cells in this twenty-seven-cell design.)

Carstairs appears to be well qualified to study Hindu character in Rajasthan. Trained both as a psychiatrist and a British social anthropologist, he was born in India and had lived in Rajasthan, speaking Hindi as his mother tongue, until the age of nine. Thus here is a clearly localized study of caste character based on data from a specified set of informants, who were interviewed at length in a non-directive fashion by a trained researcher.

The book is divided into two equal parts. The first is a description and analysis of the Hindu upper-caste male social character; the second, three "self-portraits," one for each of the castes studied, to illustrate the type of data gathered. The descriptive chapters in Part I and the self-portraits of Part II provide content for our Western image of the "spiritual" Indian. One comes to understand what the spiritualistic life means for these informants, all of whom claim that it is spiritual Release that should be their goal in life. The interconnections between their ideas about religion, sex, caste, food, elimination, and untouchability are clear in these chapters, although the author does not explicitly point out the wholeness that the network of these ideas and atti-

tudes seem to form or their mutual reinforcement.

Carstairs stresses the distrustfulness of his villagers, their feeling that everything in the world is unstable and unpredictable, and their lack of sympathy and empathy for others. Many readers, however, will balk at his attempt to explain the genesis of these qualities in an oedipal conflict situation. He uses this not only to explain paranoid fears of the father, hostility projected upon the mother, and lack of empathy and a feeling of generalized distrust but also to explain the whole complex of "attitudes concerning women, sensuality, authority, power, asceticism and non-violence, the Hindu view of the material world, and of their fellow-men and the ultimate values of the Hindu religious outlook" (p. 169).

Although Carstairs relies on the oedipal conflict as a major explanation, he does not report a systematic program of observation of child-rearing practices, and the material on child-rearing in the three "self-portraits" is sparse. It would also seem that there are a number of factors in an Indian village which might induce realistic feelings that the world is unpredictable and unstable. There is, for example, the high morbidity and mortality rates—eighteen out of the thirty-seven informants in this study had lost one or both parents before the age of puberty. There is the violence associated with the measuring-out of justice by the strongest, the past history of conquest and pillage, the present deposition of the rulers of this princely state in Rajasthan, and such recurrent problems as the unpredictable monsoon.

The author says that he found that the multi-causal (Adolph Meyerian) theory, which was his initial orientation when he went to the field, proved unsatisfactory during his analysis of the data. Consequently, he turned to Melanie Klein's notion of nuclear fantasies and to Freudian ideas. Carstairs' uncritical use of these conceptual tools is rather disturbing, and in his analysis one feels that he is forcing the data to fit the theory.

This book gives us a very readable description of an idea complex which might well be

generalizable to other high-caste village Hindu males of northern India. However, readers may wish to set aside his single causal explanation.

P. M. MAHAR

Cornell University

Passive Resistance in South Africa. By LEO KUPER. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957. Pp. 256. \$3.50.

This is more than a blow-by-blow account of the campaign of passive resistance undertaken by non-whites against the enforcement of *apartheid*. It is indeed that. The account is detailed and vivid. The account of a huge crowd chanting for the return of Africa to the Africans belongs with classic accounts of large crowds: one thinks of some accounts of great religious revivals and of union meetings in the days when unions were not so strong and successful.

But the book is also a penetrating and sophisticated analysis in sociological, social-psychological, and political terms. The chapter on "The Sociological Nature of Passive Resistance" notes that passive resistance seeks to force change by reducing interaction. The author asks under what circumstances this brings a dominant group around to negotiation and, in so doing, compares African passive resistance with that of the Gandhi movement.

The choice and use of rallying symbols by both the apostles of *apartheid* and by the non-white underdogs, the actual course of the campaign of passive resistance, and reactions to it are all considered. In a concluding chapter Kuper notes that, in a way, white and black in Africa are reversing roles: "The non-whites are moving away from caste and tribalism, while the whites are moving toward these systems; the non-whites increasingly give their allegiance to a universal ethic, the whites proclaim an exclusive ethic" (p. 210).

South Africa has declared that anyone who proposes to change the racial system is by the very proposal a Communist. Kuper tells of this in a chapter entitled "Communism by Statute." The devil, it is said, was created in canonical courts. We can only hope that the definition will not be extended to include social scientists. Kuper is a courageous man as well as a first-rate social scientist.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Château-Gérard: The Life and Times of a Walloon Village. By H. H. TURNER-HIGH. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1953. Pp. xviii+207. \$5.50.

Village in the Vaucluse. By LAURENCE WYLIE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. xviii+345. \$5.50.

Turner-High is of the anthropological guild; Wylie, a professor of Romance languages. But both have done studies of modern western European villages in somewhat similar fashion. Each study combines some history (and Turner-High's book some prehistory) with geography, ethnography, philology, and an analysis of the present life, customs, and social structure of the community. Both of them went to the village in question, after having chosen it as representative in some way of the region or country, and spent some months as participant in the village life and as observer. Both of them tell of the problems of the role of observer. The two books are excellent both in organization and in style. Two monographs do not make a trend, but there are other signs of a revival of interest in studies which take a community as the unit of study.

Both villages are old, and the regional cultures are ancient. But both are involved in modern industry and trade. In America we let one person use historical documents, while another does demographic statistics; still another gathers by interview and observation the attitudes and activities of today. If there is prehistory or archeology to be done, it relates to communities long since gone and has no bearing on the culture of the present inhabitants. Both these authors adapted their methods to objects of their study, using folklore and linguistic origins to illuminate the institutions of today, turning to modern techniques for analysis of the clique and class structure.

In addition to their general usefulness and interest, such works are excellent material for those teachers of sociology who believe that the student cannot understand one culture unless he knows something of more than one.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Organized Business in France. By HENRY W. EHRLMANN. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957. Pp. xx+514. \$7.50.

French business—organized principally in its peak association, the Conseil National du Patronat Français (CNPF)—reflects in many ways the society of which it is a part. The practical impossibility of compromise and negotiation between employers and workers; the mutual distrust between business and the rest of the society; the secretiveness of employers with regard to economic data as well as in their exercise of political influence; and the fragmentation and heterogeneity of views within the CNPF itself—all are characteristic of a society that attains the heights of diversity at the expense of *immobilisme* and *incivisme*. The changes in the postwar role of the CNPF also reflect changes that have taken place in the French political atmosphere: from a hesitant partner of the Communists in the early post-Liberation years, business has become again an influential, though not universally respected, force in French politics. Moreover, the divisions within the CNPF itself reflect the economic dilemma and conflict between “static” and “dynamic” France.

The author develops these themes, and illuminates many other aspects of French business organization, in a historical and inductive approach. Tracing the development of employers' associations through the Popular Front and Vichy, he treats in greatest detail the structure and activities of the postwar CNPF. Although the organization contains a strong representation of large-scale industry, one of its most important affiliates is M. Gingembre's organization of small and middle-sized enterprises, the CGPME, which operates with considerable independence because of the public respect for everything “small.” Also connected with the CNPF are an organization of Catholic employers, a group of industrial managers, a small group of employers practicing co-operative arrangements between employees and workers, and a variety of others. But whether these “vanguard” groups can influence CNPF policies is problematical.

Political activity by the CNPF is conducted largely in private, so that the organization can avoid facing public opinion head-on and so that it will not divide its membership by public stands on matters of principle. For the most part the position of the CNPF has been a defensive one on questions such as those of gathering economic statistics, increasing productivity, promoting competition, and collective bargaining, as Ehrmann amply demonstrates.

In a concluding chapter the author draws together the strands of French economic and social history that have run through his descriptive presentation. Here his analysis makes clear the contribution of the book, not only as a valuable documentation of a little-studied aspect of France, but also as a comparatively oriented case study of a pressure group whose activities are vitally significant, for better or worse, to the future of France.

DUNCAN MACRAE, JR.

University of Chicago

A Study of Cultural Change: Rural-Urban Conflicts in Norway. By PETER A. MUNCH. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), 1956. Pp. 104. 20 Cr.

In this brochure (in English) an intercultural sociologist and anthropologist of scholarly heritage bridges gaps between theory and field study, rural and urban, in Norway and the United States, and between old and recent in his native land. He presents (1) a conceptual orientation worthy of serious attention; (2) a brief historical description of Norway's unusual three-cornered class differentiations and competitions, analyzed in terms of his ideal constructed typology or model; and (3) a valley-habitat study further illustrative of his theoretical frame of reference. The book's Norwegian locale unfortunately limits United States circulation and influence.

Munch's methodological remarks include an incisive, clear, temperate but critical résumé of relevant American methodologies in the social sciences, exposing (pp. 14–16) a barren generation of fine-spun “research” based on statistical dissection of human fragments, with pseudo-measurements or quantification of essentially qualitative value-phenomena and unpredictable human quanta. This trend culminated in a rigid astigmatic “naïve empiricism,” and cultural and social atomism (cf. Floyd Allport). It is still dominant in many quarters though already outgrown by philosophers of the “physical” sciences and increasingly grudging even by those who seek and win prestige thereby.

Group identifications and class competition and survival are seen as emerging through the selection of certain recognized cultural traits, norms, values, shared by or attributed to an in-group or an out-group. These are called “sociocultural symbols,” and their operations are

demonstrated by the specific descriptive data on reinforcement of class-consciousness, solidarity, continuity, and behavior norms through language, land, history, occupation, value-system, etc. This is reminiscent of certain patterns of Durkheimian "collective representations" (symbolic emblems, *participation mystique*). Munch's treatment of "social norms" is in their actual operations in the cultural-societal context, in contrast to the fine-spun abstract notation and intricate elaborations of Ragnar Rommetveit (*Social Norms and Social Pressures* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955]). Munch communicates comprehensible and possibly usable ideas about societal changes.

THOMAS DAWES ELIOT

Fontana, Wisconsin

Chinese Thought and Institutions. Edited by JOHN K. FAIRBANK. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. Pp. xiii+438. \$8.50.

It is a pleasure to "review" this volume for a journal of sociology, quite apart from its great merit in general. *Chinese Thought and Institutions* contains fourteen essays, each by a scholar of highly professional competence on different aspects and periods of Chinese history. Except for the first two essays, which are introductory in the very best and most useful sense of that word, each contribution has extensive resort to original and secondary materials in languages beyond the reach of any but professional scholars in this field. This is no superficial set of musings by amateurs whose only qualification is that they have "been there." This is the second publication by the Committee on Chinese Thought of the Association for Asian Studies under the genial directorship of Professor Arthur Wright of Stanford University. It carries on the high standards set by the first volume.

In general, the contributors, with the exception of Professor W. Eberhard, are probably best classified as historians. Certainly, they would not be termed sociologists. It is just this that shows how irrelevant disciplinary distinctions can be. With the exception of Eberhard, there are very few if any sociologists interested in or competent to handle the materials with which these men essay. They, on the other hand, have sufficient interest in the analytic aspects of other disciplines to seek for their seminars the critical aid of a scholar with a more general interest, in this case, Dr. Herbert

Goldhamer. The basic preoccupation of the group is with the Confucian tradition, but in these essays they have brought their material to focus on the political aspects of Chinese society. The subjects treated vary from the political function of astronomy (Eberhard), through class structure and its ideology of the Chou (Ch'u) Dynasty, to the relevance of the amateur tradition in Ming and Ch'ing Dynasty painting for political insight (Levenson). Sounds esoteric? Well, it is, but it makes its case well.

For the readers of this journal I have only space to stress one factor. This volume and its predecessor are fascinating testimony of the rich mine of high-grade materials which almost weep for application as a source of data and insight for modern social analysis. China furnishes for us the longest, largest run of such materials of this sort of any vast social system in the history of the world. The work produced here also indicates that we are now possessed of an increasing body of high-level professionals who are prepared to co-operate with us even if we do not gain the linguistic proficiency which should be a *sine qua non* for our participation. Social analysts in general and sociologists in particular have seldom had such a pure gift dangled before them.

MARION J. LEVY, JR.

Princeton University

Ansatz und Wirksamkeit der Erwachsenenbildung: Eine Untersuchung im Grenzgebiet zwischen Pädagogik und Soziologie ("Applicability and Effectiveness of Adult Education: An Investigation in the Border Area between Education and Sociology"). By WOLFGANG SCHULENBERG. ("Göttinger Abhandlungen zur Soziologie," Vol. I.) Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1957. Pp. xii+211. DM. 19.50.

This book is the second of German works employing a new method of public opinion research: the qualitative analysis of group discussion. The method was first developed by Friedrich Pollock for the study of latent political ideologies in present-day Germany (*Gruppenexperiment* ["Frankfurter Beiträge zur Soziologie," Vol. II (1955)]). The present work investigates attitudes toward adult education within the broader setting of popular attitudes toward mass culture, "high" culture, and the ideals of personal development, in order to help

explain why the efforts of adult educators meet with so little response.

The study makes use of sixty-three discussion groups, each meeting for approximately two hours, under the guidance of a group leader. The groups were drawn from a fairly representative range of existing industrial, political, youth, religious, and social organizations in the middle-sized town of Hildesheim. The content of the discussions was subsequently analyzed in order to ascertain characteristic lines of reasoning and typical images and attitudes.

The analysis showed an almost universally shared opinion that cultural life is degenerating under the impact of mass culture: films, radio, spectator sports, and cheap popular literature. But, although most participants recognized the poor quality of popular entertainment, the majority admitted their own day-to-day preference for it. They explained this by pointing out that most of their constructive energy went into their jobs. Leisure time is used to recover from the exhaustion of work. The "popular" entertainments are best suited for this because they encourage relaxation and passivity, whereas the development of intellectual or cultural interests is viewed as demanding and exhausting.

The image of the "cultured man" is wholly positive. He is seen as confident, well rounded, and able to deal with a confusing world. Culture is not seen as synonymous with knowledge; it includes personal and moral qualities. But its major component is knowledge in great quantity. The participants generally voiced a desire to attain such an ideal in order to overcome feelings of social inferiority and helplessness, in order to "get ahead" both on the job and socially, and in order to widen their horizons and enrich their lives. However, there is always a spoken or implied "but" behind these good intentions: "But I lack the energy—I really despair of getting anywhere because of the overwhelming complexity of the world and my own poor preparation"; "But the courses I have attended are too vague, badly organized, and poorly taught."

From this general picture, the author draws a number of conclusions for the policy of adult educators. They should not try to popularize courses through sensationalist appeals borrowed from popular culture. They should plan courses to cover a limited, manageable area and give participants continual proof that they can succeed in mastering it and that this mastery will give them immediate rewards in terms of great-

er confidence in dealing with some aspect of the confusing totality of modern life. Finally, they should lay greater stress on the qualification of the teacher in his subject instead of the prevalent emphasis on personality and maturity.

Certain important advantages and drawbacks of the group-discussion method are exemplified in the study. Its advantage over the commonly used interview is that it allows the respondents to structure the problem freely, within the comparatively realistic setting of informal conversation with a small group of trusted and familiar persons. It holds to a minimum both the biasing effects of research tools, like the interview schedule, and the distortions created by the artificial situation of a formal interview. It does not, of course, permit reliable quantification or exact prediction to a larger universe. A more serious drawback revealed in the present study is the tendency of group discussions to produce group consensus, so that characteristic differences of opinion associated with various socioeconomic attributes may be obscured. The author's conclusion—that the attitudes investigated do not vary significantly with age, sex, religion, or education—may well be an error arising from this weakness. A second difficulty inherent in the method is that it encourages an overly passive attitude in the investigator. He tends to take the arguments, opinions, and rationalizations of the respondents at face value. Yet it would seem to be a wholly questionable procedure to assume that reasons for behavior are completely conscious and rational, that is, that the respondent himself can explain adequately the reason for his own actions. Before really valid interpretations and policy recommendations can be made, it would seem necessary to go beyond the mere study of expressed opinion, however intelligently carried out.

INGE B. POWELL

University of Chicago

A History of Chicago: The Rise of a Modern City, 1871-1893. By BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957. Pp. xii + 575. \$8.50.

This well-planned and meticulously scholarly volume, a worthy successor to the two preceding volumes by Miss Pierce, provides a mine of information about the development of Chicago between the Great Fire of 1871 and the Great Fair of 1893. Understandably, and rightly, Miss

Pierce focuses attention upon group life and activity rather than upon the record of particular individuals in the community. Although she finds a niche for pork barons like Philip Armour and politicians like Carter Harrison—Harrison, indeed, was unique—she devotes most of her attention to the fabric of society, the modes of economic growth, the quest of organized labor for “security,” the increase of knowledge, and the influence of religion and humanitarianism. She has a chapter on “patterns of urban living” in which she traces the cultural consequences of the transformation of Chicago from a bustling center of population which still retained some of the features of small-town society into a “community of strangers,” where, as the *Chicago Tribune* put it, “no one expects to know half the audience at the church or theatre, and, as to knowing one’s neighbors, that has become a lost art.” Miss Pierce frequently uses the word “urban maturity” to describe the stage that the new city was reaching, but she does not minimize the growing pains or take all the proud local boasts of cultural supremacy uncritically. She quotes a remark of Price Collier in 1897 that “pork, not Plato, has made Chicago, and Chicago people have not arrived at a stage of civilization yet where they can with propriety or advantage change their allegiance.”

Sociologists will be interested in Miss Pierce’s volume not only for its method and approach—it is influenced in its arrangement by sociological discussions of cities, makes good use of unpublished Chicago sociological theses, and is dedicated to the late Professors Merriam and Louis Wirth—but for its content. It throws light on the complex of forces making for the “individuality” of a city, it directs attention to the dual role of the city as a center of pride and a center of problems, and it explores the background of Chicago life out of which modern American urban sociology emerged. Chicago was hailed as a “concentrated essence of Americanism,” but, in fact, there were enormous differences between it and the older cities of the East. Its problems were soon to be investigated with a thoroughness copied nowhere else in the world, but its pride—what one contemporary writer called “supervoluminous civicism”—was as outstanding as its competing and conflicting prejudices. Its place as a city to study, as well as a city to live in, was already being prepared before the Fair of 1893 ushered in a new period in its history and strongly in-

fluenced American urban history as a whole. Miss Pierce’s concluding sentence remarks on the way in which the White City of the Fair opened many people’s eyes to the possibilities of “transforming some of the ugliness and unsightliness of their own cities . . . into a more lasting beauty.” It will be interesting to turn to her next volume to see what happened to the balance between pride and problems after 1893, and how the image of Chicago was further recast both by inhabitants and outsiders.

ASA BRIGGS

University of Leeds
England

The City in Mid-Century. Edited by H. WARREN DUNHAM. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957. Pp. ix+198. \$4.00.

Sociology of Urbanization: A Study in Rurban Society. By T. EARL SULLINGER. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Braun-Brumfield, Inc., 1956. Pp. iv+269.

Each of these modest-sized volumes, as the titles indicate, proposes to give a picture of contemporary American urbanism. It is very doubtful that a comprehensive picture of so complex a phenomenon would be possible in the space included in either of these books.

The City in Mid-Century consists of the 1956 Franklin Memorial Lectures in Human Relations of Wayne State University. Since this series of lectures was planned by Dunham, the key to the series is found in his own concluding lecture. That key, so far as sociologists are concerned, holds that the Chicago school of human ecology operated on a “laissez-faire model of classical economics on the one hand and on a physiological model of biological evaluation on the other” (p. 155). This meant the creation of a fatalistic theory that whatever is going to happen is going to happen. Thus the job of the researcher was to study these natural forces, what resulted, and what changes were under way; but only for the purpose of understanding, never for the purpose of doing anything about them. Among other things related to this point of view, Dunham rejects the assumption that the human community has a built-in homeostasis, “an internal mechanism which enables it to constantly strike a balance between the forces making for disintegration and those forces making for integration” (p. 151). In essence he holds that much of the

ecological point of view is untenable or obsolete, that things *can* be done about urban conditions, and that, if the most serious urban pathologies are to be ameliorated, things will have to be done. Since Dunham was trained at Chicago, his point of view deserves the careful consideration of all sociologists. In the opinion of the reviewer, this essay may become as well known to sociologists as Louis Wirth's "The City as a Way of Life."

In keeping with this point of view, the other lecturers in the series are in most cases related to some kind of action program connected with the modern city. All have some kind of academic connection as well. The fields covered are architecture, city government, atoms and automation (more a look in the future than the present), and urban development. All the lectures are well done, and, combined with Dunham's paper, they constitute a volume very worthy of the attention of anyone interested in modern urbanism.

The Sullinger volume can be regarded, perhaps, as a sociological portrait of Omaha, Nebraska. It is an effort to integrate the essence of "thirty-three years of teaching urban sociology and conducting research projects in all phases of urban life" (p. iii). During this time Sullinger and his students conducted more than two hundred research projects, mostly on Omaha. It is a commendable enterprise to publish in one volume the cream of such long and extensive research on one city. These various research findings are woven together with statements, citations, and quotations of theory designed to give them broader meaning. The basic theory is traditional: "Since social change is an automatic process to the extent that it is conditioned by massive impersonal forces, man can alter its course only by learning more about these forces and their mode of operation. The purpose of this book is to carry out this objective" (p. iii).

While a volume summarizing extensive research on one city serves a useful purpose in sociological literature, this one falls short of what one would hope for. There is very little, if anything, in the way of concepts or findings about cities which would be new to anyone who has read any of several current textbooks in urban sociology. Nevertheless, research materials on one city are always a welcome addition to the accumulation of research findings, and some of these may be of value to other research students.

The book is simply enough written to be of

value for supplementary reading in urban sociology and other courses. Its possible use for this purpose, however, is ruined by extremely poor editing. The reviewer does not recall having seen another manuscript in print with so many grammatical errors. A teacher simply could not afford to ask undergraduate students to read it.

HARLAN W. GILMORE

Tulane University

Standort und Wohnort ("Industrial and Residential Locality Patterns"). By GUNTHER IPSEN and COLLEAGUES. (Ministry of Economics and Transport of North-Rhein Westphalia, Research Report No. 365.) Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1957. Pp. 338. DM. 99.

This research report rests, first of all, on a clear-cut distinction between industrial location and residential location and consists largely of an attempt to bring the two into relationship, one with the other, on a firm statistical basis. By "location" the authors meant, however, not chiefly points in space or on a map, the distance between them and its bridging by transport and communication, but primarily residential local-community structure and the locality pattern of "jobs" or employment positions (*Raumordnung der Arbeitsstaetten*) and functional relations between them. This involves not only matters of transport, the media, time and money cost, etc., of *Berufsverkehr* or to-and-from-work fluidity, but also the differential distribution of primary and secondary economic activities, large-scale and small-size industrial and mercantile units in and outside primarily residential areas, etc.

While a theoretical orientation is clearly in evidence, it is kept much in the background; the report takes on the form chiefly of commentary and interpretation of the tables, maps, and graphs that form its core. These, in turn, are, with two exceptions to be indicated, based chiefly on official statistics of population, the labor force, and "jobs" or *Arbeitsstaetten*, most of them also permitting measurement of change over various periods of time. A more systematic treatment of the same and related materials, with a conceptual orientation more in the foreground, is promised us in a forthcoming volume, "The Industrial Metropolis."

There is a brief chapter of definition and theoretical orientation, followed by one on "industrial agglomeration," and another on the

social structure and spatial patterning of the industrial metropolis, which immediately calls for a further one on *Berufsverkehr* in its intra-community aspects and the problems this presents. A chapter on commuting ("Pendeln, Pendelgaenger") and one on the optimal size of communities are followed by a brief summary chapter on salient aspects of problems of the interrelationship between residential and industrial location.

The two studies, based chiefly on questionnaires and interviews, the one on the problem of the commuter, and the other on optimal size of communities, were conducted chiefly in the Darmstadt area, where the so-called "Middle-town studies" were also made. The other studies involve chiefly the Ruhr industrial area, with considerable concentration on Dortmund, where the research center is located.

Four aspects of this study should appeal particularly to the American student who reads German. First, the strictly empirical character which is coupled with a sound theoretical orientation. Second, the availability and fruitful utilization not only of occupational and labor-force statistics, such as our own federal Census provides, but of "job" or employment-position statistics, as described above, broken down into a rich variety of industrial, mercantile, service, and other categories and reported by small areas. Third, the marked difference in ecological patterning of German, or at least Ruhr Valley, industrial communities from anything we know in this country. And, fourth, considerable evidence is presented pointing to changes in process in the whole spatial and functional patterning of the industrial metropolitan community: city center, non-central city areas, peripheral, suburban, and rural-farm and non-farm areas. The industrial metropolis is decreasingly a function of the needs and possibilities of a basically agrarian region and increasingly an independent entity, not, of course, without an extractive base, but one creating its own region only secondarily agrarian.

WILLIAM C. LEHMANN
Emeritus

Syracuse University

Soziale Klassen und Klassenkonflikt in der Industriellen Gesellschaft ("Social Classes and Class Conflict in an Industrial Society"). By RALF DAHRENDORF. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1957. Pp. xiii+270. DM. 21.

Also Stanford, Calif.: University Press (revised edition in English [forthcoming]).

For the sociologist "to ignore Marx is easy but naïve and foolhardy." Dahrendorf considers it all too simple to refute Marx on obvious empirical grounds and irrelevant to argue against his metaphysics. What needs to be done is to overcome (*überwinden*) his sociological theory as distinct from his philosophical "betrayal of sociology," or, rather, to go beyond him without throwing overboard what he did achieve. The author, to our knowledge neither politically nor philosophically a Marxist, is almost haunted by the notion that there is a kernel of truth in Marx without the recognition of which certain fundamental problems of sociology cannot be tackled. As a matter of fact, he finds that for a dynamic sociology or theory of social change no other starting point is even in sight. In particular, he takes issue with current functionalism which accounts for change within a social system primarily in terms of its adaption to the (exogeneous) conditions of the environment. It neglects the fact that a social system, unlike an organism, contains not only integrative but also disruptive elements which point to its eventual replacement. Thus the procedure of biology, where structural analysis precedes that of evolution, is unsuitable here.

The problem is reflected in the conceptualization of class. Class structure in the sense of stratification refers to a system of social rewards (prestige, income); and class in the sense of stratum signifies a category of persons occupying an approximately equal position within a hierarchically arranged structure (status category). In the classical sense, however, the concept receives its full meaning only within a theory of social conflict and change. Dahrendorf advocates a theoretical dualism similar to the quantum and wave theories in physics. The structural-functional or integrative theory is suitable for the study of a stable order tending toward equilibrium. Here roles are conceived as expectations of behavior that are derived from values underlying a social system and oriented toward its functioning. The other theory, which turns out to be essentially a power theory, concerns itself with society as an explosive mixture held together by force. Here roles are expected orientations of conflicting interests which may have disruptive consequences and tend toward changing the structure as a whole.

Although supporting Marx against Parsons (and a host of others) on this count, the author subjects Marxian sociology to a relentless examination (chaps. i-iv); it does not pass either on empirical grounds (chap. ii) or with regard to the rational argument, both of which are carefully kept separate. By way of the dialectic method (in its proper—i.e., intellectual—meaning) Dahrendorf draws freely yet critically upon a long line of predecessors who have shared his concern, from Weber to Geiger, and from Burnham to Mayo (chap. iii). Marx, he concludes, had described fairly adequately the structure of an industrial society in its earlier capitalistic stages. His inclusive theory, however, which was allied to this analysis, was partly vitiated by faulty reasoning, partly handicapped by lack of evidence which we do possess now (chap. iv). As it stands, it has proved of limited predictive value, even if its scope is narrowed down to industrial (both capitalist and socialist) societies. The fundamental error lies in the proposition that all power is derived from legal property title, instead of recognizing that effective control of the means of production is but one form of the exercise of power. Thus the assertion that there can be no classes in a socialist society because the means of production are nationalized or communalized rests on a “trick of definition.”

In his attempt to save the fertile germinal idea in Marx, the author replaces his definition of class in terms of property by one in terms of power; at the same time he rejects the “one-class” power theories of Pareto or Mosca without, however, mentioning Lasswell’s divergent concept of the elite. Accordingly, classes are defined as conflicting social groupings whose specific difference from other conflict groups (such as ethnic or religious groups) consists in the participation in or exclusion from legitimate authority and “imperial control” (this is Parsons’ rather specious translation of *Herrschaft*). Any power structure is objectively divided in two categories of people, each of them holding equal positions with regard to authority. We see that Dahrendorf still hews close to the line of Marx, whose activated classes are, indeed, conceived as primarily economic interest groups either having or aspiring to political power (parties).

This original and brilliant re-study of an otherwise well-worn theme is significant for its both remarkable success and almost shocking failure. While the author proceeds with

extreme methodological self-consciousness and caution in the critical part, he gets involved in audacious speculations when he develops his own theory (chap. v) or applies it to the interpretation of advanced industrial societies (chap. vi).

Dahrendorf distinguishes two meanings of “class,” after having eliminated a third—that of stratum. On the one hand, the term signifies “quasi-groups” or aggregates having similar latent role interests concerning the maintenance of the status quo or its change. These are potential recruiting grounds for “real” groups (systems of interaction) with common *manifest* interests, whose actual goal is either to defend or to attack the existing power structure. The author applies much ingenuity to determining the conditions which further or hinder the emergence of classes in the second sense from classes in the first sense, increase or mitigate overt conflict, and lead to evolutionary or revolutionary change (chap. v). But what was with Marx only in part intentional now becomes a terminological trick when the same expression is consciously retained to refer to a hypothetically, or more often normatively, postulated community of “latent” interests and also to signify an observable social entity with common interests actually felt by its participants. In the end the device backfires by weakening the logical consistency of the whole argument.

Furthermore, the author distinguishes politically organized society, which may well serve as a prototype, from power structures in other dimensions of social life (religion, economy, etc.) each with its own (latent or manifest) power conflicts between those exercising authority and those who do not. He specifically opposes the assumption that classes are always economic groupings or that they necessarily parallel social strata. Although he thinks he observes a certain nexus between the distribution of power and of social rewards such as income or prestige, he maintains that classes may coincide with strata, combine several strata, or combine parts of several strata. Yet such a pluralism of power structures and the corresponding plurality of social positions which one individual may obtain relative to power tend to render his theory rather useless as an instrument for the causal explanation of historical change involving total societies as a whole or for its prediction on the basis of general laws.

Thus it seems still a long way to a valid theory of class, power, and social change. Albert Salomon once characterized German sociology as a dialogue with the ghosts of Hegel and particularly Marx. Dahrendorf, who holds both a German and an English Doctor's degree, continues the tradition, though we may venture the suggestion that he owes more to the Lipset and Bendix article tucked away in the *British Journal of Sociology* of 1951 than to any other single source. Whether we like it or not, as long as half the world piously invokes Marx, the prophet, American scholars will have to come to closer grips with Marx, the sociologist, than is indicated, for instance, in the recent surveys by Kahl or Barber. Dahrendorf's valiant attempt should prove most welcome to silence some rattling skeletons.

E. K. FRANCIS

University of Notre Dame

Decisions about People in Need. By ALAN KEITH-LUCAS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957. Pp.+318. \$6.00.

The American people, through their representatives, must make up their mind whether they want a "rights" program, as far as this can be managed in the framework of a means test, or whether they want a program which attempts to ensure a certain standard of care for children, or is concerned with rehabilitating people socially. While it may be obvious that Americans might want both, they cannot have both in the framework of the same program [p. 256].

Decisions about People in Need represents Dr. Keith-Lucas' attempt to validate this thesis. He believes that recipients of public assistance who depend for their livelihood on the government should in no way have their privileges or their responsibilities as citizens modified. He believes that the furnishing of services along with or by the same agency which administers the money payment must carry with it an infringement of their basic rights. Infringement occurs because the recipient who receives money from an agency can never be in a position to choose freely whether or not he wishes the service. In other words, if a worker in a public assistance agency attempts to help a recipient with a personal or social problem, that is, if he helps the person to adjust to a personal or social situation, it follows that the person's rights to determine his own actions

must be modified. He believes that, since government is "essentially a generalizing activity," government cannot individualize people or meet individually determined needs.

The kind of program examination that is undertaken here—the examination of the process of making decisions about people's needs and the ventilation of the legal, philosophical, moral, and financial factors conditioning that process—is long overdue.

Keith-Lucas belongs to a small group in social work, self-designated as "functionalists," deriving their formulations from the teachings of the late Otto Rank. The key formulation, relevant to this book, is that responsibility lies entirely with the client for what happens; the agency administering the program eschews responsibility for results.

With substantial experience in public assistance, I recognize the danger which concerns the author, but I think he overstates the problem. In the last twenty-five years we have developed knowledge and skill in furnishing both assistance and service under the same auspices. Further, the giving of money, particularly in public assistance, is not an act unrelated to a series of other needs and acts. People seeking public assistance need and must be given a range of services. In the absence of such services the moneys are not well spent and the people are poorly helped, and, indeed, the crying need is for more and better services. The public assistance client, in the main, is able to accept or to reject proffered services, and the agency has a responsibility to the client and to the community that is broader than "process." We have substantial difficulty in getting legislative and community support for our existing public assistance agencies; the establishment and support of a second agency by the public seems so remote as to warrant little consideration.

This book is difficult to follow and probably will appeal to a small audience concerned with one of the more intricate problems of public policy as it relates to public welfare.

THOMAS FRED LEWIN

*New York School of Social Work
Columbia University*

The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900.
By RICHARD D. ALTICK. Chicago: Univer-

sity of Chicago Press, 1957. Pp. vii+430. \$6.00.

This is not a study of English counterparts of the McGuffey Readers, as one might conclude who did not read the fine print of the subtitle, but of the growth of literacy and of the habit of reading—two quite different things—among Britain's humbler classes. It is a good book and uncommonly well written.

The author consistently holds his subject to be "the growth of democracy in print" and so gives a dignity and importance to what might be thought insignificant circumstances, such as the price of candlelight and lamplight. To depict the ability and inclination to read in the nineteenth century, he begins with a survey of what went before. The poor and humble of early Hanoverian days had retreated from a fair degree of literacy into darkness from which they were rescued chiefly by the forces of Evangelicalism. Reasoning that man is greatly assisted in the following of God's Word by reading it for himself, the Evangelicals set up schools for the masses. But they by no means intended to encourage discontent with one's lot or worldliness and inappropriate ambition and took care to bring instruction to an end just as soon as the phrases of Holy Writ, long familiar to the ear, were recognized by the eye; and well before the innocent reader had mastered enough to be tempted by secular print.

There were other forces: Sabbatarianism, which defined reading as the only Sunday pastime of the godly; Methodism, which extinguished the theater and the street play that had cheered the scanty leisure of the masses since Tudor times; the development of the railroads that gave travelers a chance to read, which the jolting stagecoach had not permitted; and, eventually, the penny post, which, from 1840 onward, provided easy transport of books, newspapers, and letters. Finally, utilitarianism, the movement to self-improvement by useful knowledge, brought acceptable excuses for exploring beyond the Bible and pious exhortations. However, the Mechanics' Institutes, like many another well-intentioned attempt to elevate the lowly, turned out to be serving the ambitious middle class, not the deserving poor for whom they were planned.

There is an interesting description of the interplay between price and outlet. In the 1820's, when Scott's novels cost a standard 31s. 6d., the purchasers were the lending li-

braries. But by 1860, when paper was cheaper, printing at least in part mechanized, incomes higher, and the durable W. H. Smith had been inspired to exploit the almost-captive public of the railroad stations with his convenient kiosks and his popular editions, the classics of fiction could be had in glossy yellow paperbacks at 3d. and eventually as premiums with a pound of tea. We have just lived through a latter-day revolution of much the same sort. As reading matter grows cheaper, its circulation is determined more and more by simple interest, a fact that the newspapers of the late nineteenth century were the first to recognize.

The author may have given to the chanted news ballads something less than their just due as an attractive inducement to reading. Their rhyme and tune helped the halting reader to complete the line; they cost a penny a sheet when newspapers cost a shilling and could be had by subscription only; and the spell of their tales, usually sensational accounts of the day's murders, hangings, or, most popular of all, "last dying confessions," was irresistible. For from 1850 onward, when the mass was ready to read, the only question was *what*—and the rest of the story is the unequal competition of high-priced, highbrow, or dull and improving literature with highly colored, cheap vehicles of human interest. Everybody knows which won.

Altick's scholarly work makes a good background for the study of the present and is, apart from its intrinsic interest, a fine companion piece to Hoggart's recent book on the English working class (*The Uses of Literacy: Changing Patterns in English Mass Culture* [Essential Books, Inc., 1957]) and to F. Zweig's descriptions of the dockworkers.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

University of Chicago

Applications of Demography: The Population Situation in the United States in 1975. Edited by DONALD J. BOGUE. ("Studies in Population Distribution," No. 13.) Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Miami University, jointly with Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago, 1957. Pp. vi+96. \$2.10. (Multigraphed.)

This collection of papers, which were read before the 1957 meeting of the Population As-

sociation of America, probably will not get the attention it deserves. It is written in technical prose, it is full of statistical tables, and it is multigraphed and bound in paper. It may attract demographers and statisticians, yet it brings together a series of statements about the American future that should interest sociologists and the lay public too. How large will the population of the United States be in 1975? How will our cities grow? Will more or fewer wives work? Is commuting to become an even greater chore than we find it today? These are just a few of the important questions considered in one section of this book.

The questions are thorny ones for modern sociologists, tutored as we are in methodology and fully aware of the distinction between a prediction and a projection. Most of the authors do not allow their sophistication to inhibit them, except for the Census Bureau's demographers, but, then, they are more often held accountable for their projections than are university professors. The paper by Cuzzort, dealing with standard metropolitan areas, and one by Schnore, on the journey to work, seem models of how to discuss our society's future with intelligence and responsibility.

Another section of the book reviews the uses of demographic data in economic studies, public administration and business, and regional analysis. Apart from the contributions of Stolnitz and Bogue, these papers do not compare in intellectual merit or significance with the companion section. Stolnitz considers a number of accepted ideas about the relations between economic development and population trends. The ideas are not elaborated, but several provocative and suggestive criticisms are made, including a very appropriate set of qualifications addressed to the theory of demographic transition. Bogue illustrates the way in which studies of small ecological units could be employed to solve some classical demographic issues which, traditionally, have been investigated in terms of national and regional population.

ROBERT GUTMAN

Rutgers University

Industrial Sociology: The Social Relations of Industry and the Community. By EUGENE V. SCHNEIDER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1957. Pp. ix+559. \$6.75.

This book is designed for use as a text in industrial sociology. It will serve that purpose well. It is, in general, clearly written, well organized, and has a good topical bibliography.

However, Schneider has done something more. He has attempted, with considerable success, to organize the field of industrial sociology into an explicit conceptual framework which allows for more systematic treatment of the subject than is generally current.

The book is divided into four major parts. Part I, "Social Theory and Productive Systems," begins with a brief and clear discussion of the application of sociological theory to the study of industry, with the Parsonian "social system" used—quite unobtrusively—as the point of departure. Enough general material is presented in this chapter to place the subject in perspective for the sociology major and to provide useful background for the student who may have had no previous sociology. Following this are two chapters on the development of industrialism, in general, and with particular reference to the United States. Part II, "The Social Structure of Industry," contains five chapters dealing with the major features of industrial bureaucracy and the roles of executive, specialist, office worker, foreman, and worker. Considerable emphasis is placed on Weber and Barnard in developing the material. Part III deals with "The Social Structure of Trade Unionism." There are two historical-descriptive chapters on American trade unionism, two more analytical chapters on the functions of unions, and a concluding chapter on theories of the labor movement. It is notable that union structure is here given equal weight with firm organization. Part IV, "Industry and Society," systematically completes the original conceptual framework, with five chapters on the relationships between industry and the community, social stratification, minority groups, the family, and the government. The material is largely descriptive and refers generally to the American scene. A concluding chapter deals with social change.

In our opinion the great merit of this book lies in its comprehensive, "institutional" approach and systematic treatment of the subject matter. The "industrial bureaucracy" is described, explicitly placed in a broader societal setting, and its relationships to this setting systematically explored. It is significant, too, that Schneider does not overplay his hand in this respect. The conceptual framework is quietly

employed in such a way that the instructor can build as much or as little theory into the course as he desires. Within this framework most of the discussion in the book is substantive.

The weaknesses of this book are minor. For this reviewer the least satisfactory section is Part II. The treatment is too brief, with insufficient analysis of administrative structure per se and insufficient references to empirical studies. Also there is no chapter dealing specifically with demography and the labor force.

These criticisms, however, are minor ones and in part are certainly reducible to personal taste. In general, this is an excellent textbook for those desiring a comprehensive view of the field.

STANLEY UDY, JR.

Yale University

The Human Sum. Edited by C. H. ROLPH.
New York: Macmillan Co., 1957. Pp. vi+232. \$3.75.

This little volume was sponsored by the Family Planning Association of Great Britain in celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary. Now operating two hundred clinics, the Association helps families with problems of birth control, sterility, fertility, and sex adjustment.

The book is about equally divided between articles focused on family planning in England and world-wide population problems. There are also a few chapters on the analysis of family life in modern England—such as “Changing Attitudes within the Family” by J. M. Mackintosh.

Like many books of its kind, this one seems to assume that the most serious problem in the modern world is that of overpopulation. War, poverty, nationalism—all are traced to the failure of man to limit his biological productivity. Birth control (or family planning) emerges as a sort of panacea for all human ills.

It seems unfortunate to the writer that family planning has to be linked ideologically with neo-Malthusianism. The movement thus suffers from the same sort of problem as the mental hygiene movement in the United States: it claims too much.

With this reservation the volume can be recommended to those interested in family-planning and/or population problems.

E. E. LEMASTERS

Beloit College

Man and Wife: A Source Book of Family Attitudes, Sexual Behavior and Marriage Counseling. Edited by EMILY HARTSHORNE MUDD and ARON KRICK. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1957. Pp. xxvi+291. \$4.95.

Senior medical students at the University of Pennsylvania listened to the lectures collected in this book; they can hardly have failed to profit from them, for the material is interesting, varied, and timely. The contributors cover the whole field of marriage and family attitudes as they may appear to the clinician. Some chapters use a psychoanalytical frame of reference, some approach the problems philosophically, and one or two are frankly empirical. Part I includes interesting essays on love and on infidelity, some considerations of the social consequences of divorce, and an absorbing account of the limits laid down for the Pennsylvanian lawyer to use when thinking about marriage breakdowns. In the second part three clergymen discuss the moral climate of marriage as seen from the standpoint of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish faiths. Sexual behavior, both normal and aberrant, is the topic of the four chapters of Part III, and a final part gives a brief and interesting introduction to the art of marriage counseling. Throughout this the concept of competence in social relations is assumed.

Although, strictly speaking, this book belongs to the nation-wide campaign now under way in the United States to convince doctors that their patients are social as well as biological creations, *Man and Wife* will be valuable to any student or teacher who participates in a course of education for family living at graduate level.

JOHN MOGEY

University of Oxford
England

Mate-Selection: A Study of Complementary Needs. By ROBERT F. WINCH. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. Pp. xix+349. \$5.00.

This is an outstanding book because it deals with a highly significant topic in a thoroughly competent manner.

Essentially, the book tests the central hypothesis that mates select each other on the basis of the complementarity of their respective emotional needs. The idea is not new; indeed, it is very old. But Winch is the first person to prove that it is true.

Winch sets up a number of hypotheses to test: that a very dominant person will tend to mate with a submissive person, a very maternal person will tend to choose a dependent mate, etc. Actually, 388 correlations were calculated in testing the general hypothesis. A random and representative sample of twenty-five young married couples was studied (one of whom was an undergraduate at Northwestern University), white, middle class, native-born, married less than two years, and childless. They were interviewed with respect to their emotional needs and their life-histories, and they took a projective test (eight cards of the TAT). The methods of analysis of these materials are too technical for review here. Suffice it to say that they yielded data that made possible the formal test of the general hypothesis, which was sustained.

Winch next proceeds to develop and refine the concept of complementary needs. Using "informal cluster analysis," he concludes that "assertive" persons, regardless of gender, tend to marry "receptive" persons, and vice versa.

Finally, Winch undertakes a qualitative review of his cases, with a view to developing a typology of complementariness. He proposes four types: Mothers and Sons, Ibsenian Complementariness, Masters and Servant Girls, and Thurberian Complementariness.

Winch himself disarms his potential critics by recognizing the limitations of his study. He recognizes that needs and complementariness may exist at various levels of consciousness, complicating the analysis. A further difficulty is introduced by the factor of changing needs.

This book brings together the researches of Winch and his associates on mate selection in the United States, where love is an important criterion. Chapter ii, written by Linton C. Freeman, presents other systems of mate selection in non-Western societies, where the theory of complementariness is not applicable. There are additional chapters by Winch on the nature of love, on the cultural conditions under which varying conceptions of mate selection are appropriate, and on the extent of love and complementariness in Italy, Germany, France, and England. The latter are, however, based on impressions of only a few informants in the respective countries. There is also a chapter written by the author's wife, a social worker, on some implications of the theory for marital counseling.

M. F. NIMKOFF

Florida State University

Modern Marriage and Family Living. Edited by MORRIS FISHBEIN and RUBY JO REEVES KENNEDY. With the assistance of ERNEST W. BURGESS and CHARLES H. PAGE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xvii+545. \$5.00.

Although this book contains thirty-eight different contributors, it is more than a book of readings, for it is based on the 1947 Fishbein-Burgess *Successful Marriage*. For the most part the contributors are recognized authorities, and they include eleven sociologists, eight medical men, four psychologists, four marriage counselors, three educators, and one or two psychiatrists, biologists, economists, social workers, anthropologists, and demographers. Half the chapters can be classified as analytical; the other half, as descriptive.

The book is divided into five general parts: social aspects of marriage and the family; preparation for marriage; the marriage; conception, pregnancy, and children; and the child in the family. This book is directed toward college students interested in preparing for marriage and family relationships. It will also have value for those interested in the institutional aspects of marriage and the family.

A book selecting miscellaneous materials from many different disciplines might be expected to lack unity and to vary greatly in the quality of the chapters. Nevertheless, *Modern Marriage and Family Living* is fairly unified, and almost all the chapters summarize basic scientific knowledge.

HARVEY J. LOCKE

University of Southern California

The Social Psychology of Music. By PAUL R. FARNSWORTH. New York: Dryden Press, 1958. Pp. xiv+304. \$4.50.

Most of the generalizations of natural science are independent of the observer, for we must assume that essentially the natural processes go on even when man is not looking and were going on before he started. In that sense they are independent of the man who consumes them. This is not true of the music that he consumes. It is a segment of the super-organic or cultural existence. Hence, to the sociologists, aesthetic relativism seems inescapable.

Although this book was written by a psy-

chologist, he has arrived at similar conclusions by his own route and clothed in his own professional concepts. He is primarily interested in the type of data and findings manipulable and attainable by test procedures. The author has assembled and interpreted a veritable mass of materials in several languages and a variety of cultures, primitive and modern.

Although the musical process rests on the composer-performer-consumer axis, he concentrates his analysis on the perceptions of the consumer and on the cultural context that conditions these perceptions. Thus the major and minor modes may be perceived differently by members of different cultures and do not always evoke the feeling tones elicited from the Western mind. Musical taste is a culture pattern, not an idealized model; greatness in music is frequently an inherited stereotype, like that of Socrates and Homer, and does not rely on directly experienced judgments. He aptly advises that tests should be conducted in less atomic fashion and should be co-ordinated with the larger social context.

JOHN H. MUELLER

Indiana University

Automation: A Study of Its Economic and Social Consequences. By FREDERICK POLLOCK. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1957. Pp. 276. \$5.00.

Toward the Automatic Factory: A Case Study of Men and Machines. By CHARLES R. WALKER. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957. Pp. xv+232. \$5.00.

These two additions to the growing collection of works dealing with the social and economic aspects of automation represent two distinct approaches to this subject. *Automation* by Frederick Pollock is one of a series of studies sponsored by the Institute of Social Research, Frankfurt, Germany. Pollock devotes most of his effort to his avowed purpose—a consideration of the social and economic consequences of automation—rather than to detailed descriptions of hardware development. Although this book originally appeared in a German edition, the development of automation in the United States, the threat of unemployment, and the potential concentration of economic power are his prime concerns. He has assembled both the optimistic and the pessimistic statements and predictions. While his bibliography is

extensive, his major sources were the hearings before the Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report of the Eighty-fourth Congress, 1955, and the Margate Conference of the English Institute of Production Engineers, 1955.

Pollock's book is a refreshing contrast to so many of the recent publications which purport a primary concern for the social and economic impact of automation. Most of these publications, however, demonstrate a major concern with the "hard" technological details and but a superficial concern for the more allusive social and economic implications of these developments. Nevertheless, during this period of rapid technological developments, a balance between the two is needed. A survey of the available written materials (including claims appearing in magazine advertisements) on the current status of automation and the rapidity of its development, which is essential as a basis for estimating the social impact, can be most inaccurate. It becomes apparent that a breadth of firsthand observation and experience are necessary if this material is to be evaluated and overgeneralizations are to be avoided.

Charles R. Walker's *Toward the Automatic Factory* is a rare book in this area by virtue of the fact that it is based upon data actually collected in the work environment. It is an intensive case study which covers some three years in the initial operation and transition period of a new, continuous-flow, seamless pipe mill. As in the other studies published by Walker, what is lacking in terms of a well-worked out theoretical framework is compensated for by solid observations and data. Empirical investigation into the meaning of the introduction of centralized and automatic controls and integrated continuous-flow process for both management and labor, such as Walker attempts, is a first and essential step toward an understanding of the consequences of automation.

BENJAMIN TREGOE

The Rand Corporation

Factory and Manager in the USSR. By JOSEPH S. BERLINER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. xv+386. \$7.50.

This is a very important and skilfully executed contribution to our understanding of

industrial organization in the Soviet Union. The book is based primarily upon extensive interviews with forty-one former Soviet citizens who had held a variety of important managerial positions in Soviet industry and who were used as expert informants on various aspects of Soviet managerial practice. Where possible, published materials were used to supplement the information obtained by the interviews and to show that this information was both reliable and representative. The period covered by the book extends from about 1938 to the outbreak of the war, that is, the interval between the great purges of the 1930's and the militarization of the Russian economy.

The author shows first that among several goals of management the maximization of premiums appears to be most important. After discussing the various implications of this goal for managerial practice, he then devotes the following seven chapters to a detailed analysis of the principles which guide everyday managerial practice in the Soviet Union. He sees three major principles in operation. Since the manager's major obligation consists in fulfilling and "overfulfilling" the plan, the first principle consists in various devices of underreporting productive capacity or overstocking material so that, in case of need, the management can fall back on hidden reserves. The second principle consists in deceptive manipulations, by which the successful performance of the enterprise with reference to the assortment and quality of production can be simulated, including the falsification of reports. The third principle consists in strategies of personal influence used by enterprises to attain their goals, and the author gives a vivid description of the Soviet expeditor and influence-peddler (the *tolkach*) who keeps things moving on behalf of his enterprise. In the four chapters which follow, Berliner then seeks to answer the question how this wide range of illegal practices is possible in view of the well-known network of controls which surrounds the Soviet manager at every step and which is backed up by penal sanctions and the threat of secret-police intervention. His conclusion is that the agencies of control frequently have an interest in the successful performance of the enterprise and hence will condone illegal actions as long as that success is insured. And he points out that at the enterprise level the agents of control (with the exception of the secret police) must connive in these actions for the sake of their own

record, because without illegal practices success cannot be attained under Soviet conditions.

This bare summary of major topics gives no idea of the wealth of documentation and insight contained in this volume. As a substantive study of industrial sociology, Soviet style, and as a demonstration of the methodological value of using expert informants the work is equally impressive. As an antidote against that conception of totalitarian regimes which sees the subject population manipulated as so many puppets by an all-powerful dictator, the book is an indispensable corrective. And yet this reviewer wonders whether the author in his legitimate enthusiasm for an essential aspect of his problem has not somewhat overstated his case. This very full account of evasive practices by managers could perhaps better explain the failure than the manifest success of Soviet industrialization. Berliner shows that the system of mutual support for illegal practices breaks down when there is incipient evidence of failure; it is then that the control agents initiate action and hasten the downfall of the "culprit." But is "incipient failure" so simply assessed and is tension and conflict of interest quite so absent even from the successful enterprise? Does not the falsification of reporting also deceive the deceivers and introduce into their mutual relations a higher degree of uncertainty and risk of failure and hence reluctance to condone illegal practices than these forty-one Soviet managers would have us believe? These and related questions are suggested by this excellent study. But no book can answer all questions, and the author deserves our appreciation for what he has accomplished.

REINHARD BENDIX

University of California, Berkeley

The Collective Dream in Art: A Psycho-historical Theory of Culture Based on Relations between the Arts, Psychology, and the Social Sciences. By WALTER ABELL. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. xiv+378+39. \$7.50.

Abell's book promises much and accomplishes little. The "synthesis" of the social sciences contains no reference to Dilthey, Simmel, or Weber. Americans such as Boas, Dewey, and Whorf are not used. The great synthetic constructs and the methodological tools fashioned

by Kenneth Burke are neglected. Even the theoretical and methodological problems in the psychoanalysis of art as discussed by Sachs and Kris are passed by.

Abell's use of myths, like all analogies, becomes highly irrelevant when he confuses analogy with hypothesis. To say that "psychic effects . . . seek symbolical expression in various forms of mental imagery" (p. 51), or "according to our theory, forms of art are but the expression of collective tensions generated by existent historical circumstances" (p. 344) and later to repeat over and over again what needs to be proved or at least made clear may be divination, but it is not rigorous thinking. The social scientist or psychologist dealing with art must deal with art *as form*. If he does not, we cannot be sure he is dealing with art at all. Whatever social or psychological elements we find in art must be shown to exist in the artwork proper. All other uses of art are illustrative, not demonstrative.

The author tells us that he has been trying to "establish contact" with "history, economics, and other social sciences" so he can correct the psychoanalytic concern with "subjective states." He offers no evidence of such contact.

HUGH DALZIEL DUNCAN

Homewood, Illinois

The War Blind in American Social Structure.

By ALAN G. GOWMAN. New York: American Foundation for the Blind, 1957. Pp. xv+237. \$4.00.

This is another of a growing series of monographs, written by students of Talcott Parsons, which apply his theoretical concepts in the field investigation of social behavior. The author, in this case, begins by constructing an ideal type: the social role of the blind. Using this type as a point of reference, he outlines a detailed role analysis, drawing for illustration from a broad variety of publications, including scientific articles and autobiographical or fictional representations of the experience of the blind. Interwoven with the role analysis is a description of the war blind in a veterans hospital ward, based on the author's experience as a participant in such a ward.

In a separate section the attitudes of high-school respondents are described. For this purpose a questionnaire was composed, based on the role analysis, and administered to 104 high-school Seniors in suburban New York.

Further data were gathered by means of focused interviews with blinded veterans of World War II and in an experiment which examined the behavior of retail clerks toward both blinded and sighted purchasers.

Gowman's constructed type describes the blind person as a marginal man "placed outside the game of life" (p. 103). Dependence is the central attribute of his role. His "privileged sanctuary" is on a status level below that of the sighted whose manifest deference is "more akin to condescension." The society at large, having granted unique privileges and support to the "poor blind man," has difficulty tolerating the more active blind. The latter "find themselves in constant opposition to these social definitions, and [often] . . . forced to submit" (p. 107).

On the whole, the author offers to his reader a careful scholarly detachment. In part, the result is a convincing application of role theory and an ingenious exploration of the use of questionnaire and experimental methods for studying the attitudes of the sighted toward the blind. For this reviewer, however, the most impressive aspect of the book was a pamphleteer-like eloquence which regularly broke through with an anguished cry in behalf of the independence of the "active" blind.

S. W. BLOOM

Baylor University

Disturbed Communication: The Clinical Assessment of Normal and Pathological Communicative Behavior. By JURGEN RUESCH, M.D. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1957. Pp. viii+357. \$6.00.

The problem of systematically analyzing psychiatric data is an ancient one in clinical practice. Techniques of classification have usually followed prevailing theoretical positions regarding psychic functioning. In the early years of the present century, when psychiatric thought was heavily influenced by the tradition of organic medicine and Wundtian psychology, the psychological examination was described as a "mental status." The patient was described in terms of rather static faculties such as perception, conation, volition, and affectivity. Freudian psychiatry enlarged this often stultifying descriptive approach by introducing developmental categories and a nosology based on shifts in libidinal forces in interaction with dynamic counterforces organized within an

intrapsychic homeostatic system. The change permitted a keener understanding of the individual but reduced to secondary importance the significance of his interactions with society.

The present book is an attempt to rectify this approach by making the unit of study a product of an interactional system, namely, the process of communication. As Ruesch states, "one might go so far as to say that the psychiatrist who is interested in communication takes up where the psychoanalyst leaves off" (p. 18).

In an era of psychiatric thought in which productive work concerns itself primarily with consolidation and elaboration, Jurgen Ruesch is unique: he is a system-builder with a panoramic rather than a fractional point of view. The present book was written "to prepare the clinician to make concrete observations and to scan these against a background of possible alternatives, as well as help him make on-the-spot conceptualizations which can be acted on in reply to the patient" (p. 5). As such, the book is a further attempt on his part to apply communication theory to the here and now of clinical practice. This by no means implies a handbook of therapeutic techniques; rather the author is interested in describing clinical phenomena in a language far removed from that usually used in texts of psychiatry or abnormal psychology. The theoretical ground rules for this approach have already been described in two previous books by Ruesch.

The book undertakes to describe types of communication which are both gratifying and frustrating and the origins of disturbed communication in a developmental sense in early childhood and in adult life. A section deals with disturbances in the communication of groups and difficulties in the interaction of individuals within groups.

The most valuable section of the book consists of a guide to clinical observation of communicative behavior which permits a close integration of societal networks with individual response on the basis of quantitative and qualitative descriptions of pathological changes.

It is the practitioner who must validate the conceptual scheme. The usefulness of the approach will depend on its efficacy in evaluating and understanding the clinical phenomenon. A most stimulating result of investigation based on similar communication analysis is offered by G. Bateson, D. Jackson, *et al.* ("Toward a Theory of Schizophrenia," *Behavioral*

Science, I [1956], 251-64), who described a "double bind" situation which develops in the early interaction between a schizophrenogenic family and child. In this situation communication is seen to be pathological, since the family structures the child's response as to always be completely dyssynchronous with any possibility for gratification or approval. It is this and similar types of concern with communication networks which may allow the clinician to come to grips more actively with interactional variables.

HARRY TROSMAN, M.D.

University of Chicago Clinics

The Growth of a Science: A Half-Century of Rural Sociological Research in the United States. By EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1957. Pp. xii+171. \$3.00.

Neglect among new generations of students of the historical roots of their discipline accounts for much of the faddish discontinuity in topics and methods of sociological research. The abundant contributions of rural sociologists receive little attention because of a widespread condescension toward the rural field.

As Brunner makes quite clear, the groundbreaking studies for several of the present sociological specialties were carried out by rural sociologists. The chronicling of these developments and the singling-out of the best examples of such research are the major services of this small volume. While many of these earlier reports are quite outdated, a large proportion of them could add time perspective to studies of trends and throw light on developments of techniques. This is true particularly for such topics as the community or voluntary groups.

The major criticism of Brunner's inventory is his unimaginative set of rubrics and the inadequate indexing of contents in the more useful reports.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

University of Kentucky

System and Process in International Politics. By MORTON A. KAPLAN. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957. Pp. xxvi+283. \$6.50.

Here is a product of the new "behavioral science," in which several established disciplines

are joined by others of as yet unconfirmed academic rank. Kaplan was exposed to other Fellows of diverse interests at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, but integration of the social sciences was not a new problem to him.

In the four parts of this book Kaplan writes on systems of action and on processes, values, and strategy; the concluding chapter, "Unified Theory," in which Kaplan attempts to relate the four parts, should be read first, since it clarifies the author's intentions.

Kaplan's concept of an "international system" owes something to Parsons and to W. Ross Ashby, among others. The "actors" in this system are nations and supranational organizations, each with a role defined by a list of behavioral rules. A system is in equilibrium if its essential rules are not changed. The theoretical statements about equilibrium in Part I are presumably deducible from the descriptions of processes in Part II. The "national interests" of the actors are discussed in terms of value theory in Part III.

Game theory is introduced in the fourth part; Kaplan raises, but does not solve, the familiar problem of how static, normative game theory is to be integrated with dynamic, descriptive behavioral science. Until this problem is solved, discussion of game theory is sterile for the behavioral scientist.

This book suffers, as Kaplan admits in his Preface, from the common faults of contemporary theories in the social sciences: it is not systematically complete, its logical consistency is unproved, and its empirical interpretation ambiguous.

DAVID G. HAYS

The Rand Corporation

Components of Population Change, 1940-50.

By DONALD J. BOGUE. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1957. Pp. v+145. \$3.75.

Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40, Vol. I.

By D. J. BOGUE, H. S. SHRYOCK, and S. A. HOERMANN. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1957. Pp. vi+333. \$5.25.

These volumes contain data in both raw and summary form which should be of considerable interest to scholars in the fields of demography and human ecology. The basic data in the mi-

gration volume are collected into three tables giving information on the number of migrants between each pair of subregions (Table 1), selected characteristics of in-migrants to each subregion (Table 2), and selected characteristics of each subregion (Table 3). The subregions of the 1940 census are similar but not identical to the state economic areas of the 1950 census. Table 1 is the only published source for data on the volume of migration between pairs of small areas in the United States. The publication of this table alone makes this monograph a worthwhile contribution to sociology.

The remainder of the migration publication and the entire volume devoted to population change present data which have been analyzed in one way or another to facilitate interpretation. The population-change volume first describes a procedure for estimating the change in population size for small areas, by each source of change (primarily net migration and natural increase or net reproductive change). The rest contains the results of applying this procedure to standard metropolitan and state economic areas. The remainder of the migration volume consists of a series of multiple regression equations, each relating selected characteristics of subregions to a measure of the migration process (such as the rate of net migration). The basic correlation matrices used here form Appendix B of the volume.

Most of the analyses in both volumes appears to be sensible, given the basic objective to make information available to a wider public (rather than to defend a deep theory). In the population-change volume great care was exercised to eliminate bias in the estimates from such diverse sources as underregistration of births, annexations, and the change in policy relative to the residence of college students. In general, variations of the ratio method of estimation were used. The resulting figures appear to this reviewer to be free from serious bias. The volume contains some discussion of the likely extent of random error.

The analysis in the migration volume is more experimental. The success of any multiple regression analysis depends upon the skill with which the researchers have selected the independent variables. This particular analysis seems to suffer in two related ways, though much useful information is presented. First, the selection of the independent variables appears to have been affected primarily by ideas

generated in studies bearing on rural to urban migration. To demonstrate this point, it is only necessary to note that the authors' independent variables explain 92 per cent of the variance in the net migration of non-metropolitan subregions relative to metropolitan subregions. On the other hand, these same variables explain only 49 per cent of the variance of net migration between metropolitan subregions. Further, *two rural* levels of living indexes and *no* such urban index were included, even when the problem was to explain intermetropolitan migration.

A second difficulty results from the authors' apparent failure to make use of any variable bearing on the spatial position of one subregion relative to other subregions. A large research literature in migration points strongly to the importance of such variables in explaining patterns of migration. Despite these shortcomings, however, the regression analysis as presented is well worth the serious consideration of students of migration and population change.

THEODORE R. ANDERSON

Yale University

The Social System of the High School: A Study in the Sociology of Adolescence. By C. WAYNE GORDON. With a Foreword by STUART A. QUEEN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957. Pp. xi+184. \$4.00.

This book should provide several hours of stimulating reading for anyone interested in learning a great deal in a short time about the formal and informal organization of one type of American high school. The school under study is located on the fringe of a large mid-western metropolitan center in a town of some 14,000 persons. The entire student body (576) of the upper four grades are included.

Gordon wants to explore the notion that "the dominant motivation of the high school student is to achieve and maintain a general social status within the organization of the school" (p. 1). This "organization" is seen to exist on three levels: the formal organization of the teacher and administration, the semiformal organization of the extracurricular activities, and the informal organization of the students into groupings defined by friendship choices.

For each student an index score is obtained to show his status position (within his own

grade-sex group) in each of the three "systems." In presenting the data, the author uses the students' scores on each of these indexes to break each grade-sex group into quintiles. Comparisons based on these three indexes and additional data are made between boys and girls and among the four grades. The chapter on formal organization, for example, includes tables on tardiness, days absent, drop-outs, and average grades achieved for each of the eight grade-sex groups. One notices, however, that there are no tables that attempt to test the *relation* of these indicators of adjustment to the demands of the formal organization with the student's position in the informal or semiformal systems.

It would be of considerable interest to have some comprehensible analysis (rather than the obscure "social status sociographs") which would get at the relation between the variables in the several systems. One wonders about the 25 per cent of the student body who were unchosen—how do they compare with those who are included in the "informal organization"? What relation, if any, does a person's position in the informal organization have on his position in the formal or semiformal organization? One would assume that a student's position on the extracurricular index would be related to his position on the sociometric index. A quick check on the raw scores of ninth-grade boys (given in full in Appendix D) shows a product moment correlation of only .19 between these two sets of scores for this group.

Gordon's ten years' teaching experience in the school have, nonetheless, provided him with a wealth of insights into his data which are presented in a straightforward manner. An additional service performed by the author is the inclusion of much of the raw data that went into the tables, the questionnaires used, and a detailed discussion, in a forty-page appendix, of how each index was obtained.

PHILLIPS CUTRIGHT

University of Chicago

Logic without Metaphysics and Other Essays in the Philosophy of Science. By ERNEST NAGEL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957. Pp. xviii+433. \$6.00.

This collection of essays and reviews by a distinguished contemporary philosopher of science contains much of interest to social scientists. Part I consists of ten essays. One of

these, "A Formalization of Functionalism," is a close verbal and mathematical analysis, based on biological science, of the meanings of function and functional explanation. Nagel then applies this analysis to the various items in Merton's "paradigm," bringing out clearly the special problems sociology raises for functional analysis. No more thorough and enlightening analysis of functionalism is available. Sociologists will study it to their advantage. The targets of the twenty book reviews in Part II range from Marxists to mystics: The antiscientific social scientists—Hayek, MacIver, and Morgenau—fall, perhaps, somewhere in between.

Most of the essays in Part I are on the nature of truth and of logic. For a long time the term "metaphysics" has been applied pejoratively to certain kinds of speculative views about what and how we know. The term "ontology," for the study of the basic, categorical features of the world, carries less emotional tone. It is also virtually synonymous with "metaphysics" in the classical sense of first philosophy. "Logic without Ontology" is one of the major papers from which the book takes its title. A logic without ontology does not sound quite so good as one without metaphysics. Both common sense and science make certain distinctions, like those between mind and body, reason and experience, appearance and reality, subjective and objective, or knower and known. A philosopher's metaphysics, in the non-pejorative, classical sense of that term, is reflected in his views about the nature of these dualisms—which, if any, are held to be fundamental and which specious? A pluralistic philosophy insists that many of these dualisms, most fundamentally, perhaps, those between knower and known, mind and body, fact and value, are ultimate. Monistic idealisms take the contrary view. Nagel stands precariously on the fence, leaning now one way, now the other. In the instrumentalist philosophy of John Dewey, the classical dualisms are all mere artifacts of the process of inquiry that will all disappear when, if that were not impossible, this process has run its course. The Deweyan biosocial process of inquiry is thus a naturalistic counterpart of the Hegelian transcendental Absolute, in which all dualisms and distinctions are ultimately overcome or absorbed. When Nagel confronts protagonists who baldly make truth a mere matter of convention or scientific laws or rules of procedure, in reaction he leans toward the

pluralistic side. But, when it comes to his own analyses of the nature of logical truth, his own basic instrumentalism takes over. How do formal or logical truths, like the law of the excluded middle, differ from factual assertions? For Nagel, the difference between the formal and the factual lies in the *method* by which we know rather than in *what* we know by this method. Logical truths are merely "regulative principles," norms, or prescriptive instruments that at a particular stage of scientific method happen to be useful but might change with that method. A logic without ontology is a logic in which, it turns out, not only the distinction between the formal and the factual but also that between the normative and the descriptive becomes absorbed into the method of inquiry. Thus absorbed, these distinctions reflect no categorical features of the world. In his ringing reaffirmations of a naturalistic world view, Nagel stresses the plurality of kinds of experienced things in the world. But his more technical analyses displace this experienced diversity from the world's substance to us, to the method by which we know things rather than in the things themselves. Would it not seem, therefore, that once again All is One?

MAY BRODBECK

University of Minnesota

Machine Age Maya: The Industrialization of a Guatemala Community. By MANNING NASH. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. vi+118. \$5.00.

This short monograph, simply and clearly written and well organized, is a model combination of descriptive analysis and problem-oriented research. It gives the reader an excellent summary of culture and personality in the Guatemalan highland *municipio* of Cantel (population 8,277 in 1950), about 200 kilometers southwest of Guatemala City.

Nash presents the local culture within the broader context of the changing national scene, particularly in relation to the Guatemalan revolution of 1944 and the hectic events which culminated in the overthrow of the Arbenz regime. On the theoretical level the work contributes to the increasing number of recent anthropological field studies in which some of the sociological generalizations concerning the destructive and disorganizing force of industrialization and urbanization are questioned. It may be significant that the author did not resort

to the folk-urban continuum as a frame of reference. Whereas an earlier generation of anthropologists warn of the inherent dangers and high costs of cultural change, the younger generation seems much more optimistic and tells us, as in the present study, that "the human tolls of industrialization are not built into the process itself" (p. 116).

Nash examines the history and consequences of the introduction of a cotton mill into the predominantly Indian *municipio* of Cantel in 1876. At first the villagers were suspicious and hostile. For the first forty-five years, discontent, absenteeism, and extensive labor turnover were chronic. However, since the late thirties, the factory has been operating smoothly, maintaining good relations with the community, thanks to a more liberal management. In 1956 the factory employed about a thousand workers, of whom 60 per cent were men and 40 per cent women, which constitutes about one-fourth of the economically active local population.

The factory brought benefits to the community which included electricity, a school, a health clinic and doctors, higher wages, steady employment, and a somewhat higher standard of living. It absorbed some of the rural unemployed and underemployed and thereby helped solve the problem of land shortage. It also provided new opportunities for leadership, especially through the union. However, the author makes a convincing case for the essential stability of the local culture, which is a mixture of pre-Hispanic, Spanish colonial, and modern elements. His comparison of a sample of farm and factory families, structure, level of living, food, clothing, religion, and general world view revealed relatively few and minor differences. Even in the sixty-four cases where husband and wife both worked in the factory there was no significant departure from the village patterns of male dominance (p. 53).

However, some changes have occurred. The greater income of the factory families promoted "the integration of nuclear family life by resolving some of the tensions associated with . . . very limited means": the factory worker took on the support of parents at an earlier age; there were less drunkenness and brawling at social gatherings of factory workers as compared to those of farmers; and "the friendship patterns and organized social play learned by workers on the job, in the union, and on sport teams served to give a different tone and quality to recreational gatherings" (p. 84). Perhaps the major institutional changes were

brought about through the union by its entrance into *municipio* politics: the control of elections, the weakening of the old civil-religious hierarchy, the development of political factions, and the overriding of age and public service as criteria for high office and the basis of public respect. Comparable changes have occurred in villages *without* factories in Guatemala and Mexico as the result of improved means of communication, schools, literacy campaigns, and the like.

To explain the eventual smooth adaptation of the factory to the local community, the author suggests that the peasant values of hard work, discipline, thrift, and accumulation of wealth were lent support by factory work. Perhaps more stress should be put on the fact that only about a fourth of the economically active population was employed in the factory, while a considerable portion of these individuals lived with families that followed the traditional occupations of peasant, artisan, and merchant. Indeed, it is not entirely accurate to speak of the "industrialization" of the Cantel community; rather, Cantel has remained a peasant society which has successfully absorbed a factory.

OSCAR LEWIS

University of Illinois

Untersuchungen zur Lage der deutschen Hochschullehrer ("Inquiries into the State of the German Teachers in Institutions of Higher Learning"). Edited by HELMUTH PLESSNER. 3 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956. Vol. I: *Nachwuchsfragen im Spiegel einer Erhebung, 1953-1955* ("Problems of Replacement in the Light of a Survey, 1953-1955"). Pp. 328. Vol. II: *Stellenplan und Lehrkörperstruktur der Universitäten und Hochschulen in der Bundesrepublik und in Berlin (West), 1953/54* ("The Formal Plan and Actual Structure of the Teaching Corps of Universities and Other Higher Schools in the Federal Republic and West Berlin, 1953/54"). By ALEXANDER BUSCH. Pp. 238. Vol. III: *Die Entwicklung des Lehrkörpers der deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen, 1864-1919* ("The Development of the Teaching Staff of the German Universities and Other Higher Schools, 1864-1919"). By CHRISTIAN VON FERBER. Pp. 244.

Plessner introduces the first of these volumes with his article, "The Sociology of Modern Research and Its Organization in the German

University," first published in 1924. It is a systematic analysis, comparable in importance to Max Weber's *The Academic Profession* (*Wissenschaft als Beruf*). In a sense, the whole investigation reported grows out of Plessner's statement that "the academic specialties tend to become professions" and Weber's that learning is becoming big enterprise (*Grossbetrieb*). A second chapter sets the problems of the present state of the academic profession in Germany; a third describes the scope and methods of the study. These are an appropriate preface to chapters, written by various of Plessner's co-workers, on various disciplines: theology, law, humanities, natural sciences, medicine, agriculture and forestry, and economics. The data are taken from 543 interviews with academic people, well but not randomly distributed among faculties, disciplines, academic ranks, and geographic regions. The interviews dealt with the problems of recruitment, the crises of the academic career, the relation of academic to alternative employment, trends inside various fields, the position and the attitudes of people in junior positions, and selection and promotion.

The second volume is devoted largely to presentation of statistics concerning the staffs of the universities, comparing in elaborate tables the numbers of places provided for in organizational plans and budgets with the actual numbers of people engaged. The third makes such comparisons of earlier situations with the present as are possible and discusses them. The whole is an investigation of the academic profession of a whole country at once broader and more detailed than any which has come to my notice. Attention has been paid to previous work, with the result that one could assemble from the footnotes a considerable bibliography of work on the academic world of modern times.

German universities resemble one another in their basic organization much more than do American colleges and universities. Their essential feature is the *Ordinariat*. A quite small group of *Ordinarien* (full professors), who have arrived at this pinnacle of academic glory after long years of uncertainty and hefty "politicking," either on their part or that of others, have the whole power of the university in their hands. No one else has any say whatsoever about curriculum, appointments, examinations, research practice, or policy. Nearly every professor, by virtue of being such, is also a director of an institute or seminar, with assistants, perhaps a secretary or two, a library or laboratory over which he has complete control, and often a semi-

nar room to which he has the key and in which the university cannot schedule classes without his specific permission. The assistants, who are generally already Doctors and who may be *Dozenten*, are completely dependent upon the professor and may be fired by him at will. It is a little like the Irish family, described by Arensberg and Kimball (*Family and Land in Ireland*), where a man of fifty is still a boy, because papa still owns the farm. It is not uncommon for a new professor to clean out all assistants and other personnel engaged by his predecessor. This practice is appropriately known as "widow-burning."

There is little circulation of assistants from one university or even from one man to another in the same university. The opportunity to become known and appreciated by moving around when one is young—so important a part of American academic structure—is almost completely lacking. One must hang on where he is and hope that his professor will move on to the ranks of the emeriti, neither too soon nor too late. If it is too soon, one will not be far enough along to be regarded as a possible successor; if too late, one has been a "boy" too long and likewise will not be considered.

In the early, dependent and highly uncertain part of the academic career there often occurs what one might call a "career fault." It can be illustrated by the problem of people in *Germanistic* (German language and literature). The alternative to the university career in this field is the public school system. One cannot enter the school system after his thirty-second year, but at that age it is by no means yet certain that one will ever get a secure footing in the university career. It is certain that if he leaves an assistantship in the university to enter the public school service he will never have an academic career. Such faults occur in other fields. The age, stage, and the fatefulness vary. In engineering, law, and some branches of science alternative opportunities are great; in archeology, for instance, not only are there none but the number of chairs is very small. The authors have worked out in good deal of detail the relations between such factors as these within each line of academic work.

Attention is also paid to certain other circumstances. Some fields lost a large proportion of staff under the Nazis—above all, the social sciences, except that called *Betriebswirtschaft* ("business management"). Some fields have shown much greater expansion in number of students than others; again *Betriebswirt-*

schaft not only had few losses of staff under the Nazis but has also enjoyed a phenomenal expansion since the war. Thus the amount of interruption by totalitarianism and war varied greatly.

I have attempted not so much a systematic review of the findings of the study reported as an indication of their nature. I can well imagine that the studies might have been done with more technical finish, especially in the tabular presentation. But the material is rich, and the authors have dealt with the fundamental problems in terms which will facilitate comparison with other countries. The data for comparison are there: on the basic structure of the university, the contingencies from outside the university which influence what goes on inside it, and the differences in the problems of the various fields due both to inner development of the subject and to their varying sensitivity to events outside.

If I have presented one aspect of German university organization in lines of exaggerated boldness, it is in the cause of comparison. For, as many studies of American colleges and universities amply show, we have our share of rigidity and tyranny. But they occur at different points in the operating structure and result in different kinds of career contingencies. Presidents, deans, boards, and our own timidity before the likes of the late Senator McCarthy are our problems; we also share, with our German colleagues, the tendency to complain of administrative burdens while buckling them on our own backs.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Sociology of Deviant Behavior. By MARSHALL B. CLINARD. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957. Pp. xxi+599. \$6.50.

This text can be gauged more appropriately when viewed against the background of the present state of the field of social disorganization. One broad, pedagogical approach merely arranges social problems by topical affinity without theoretical framework. By contrast, there have been several efforts to synthesize the empirical data on social pathology within a consistent theoretical framework. These approaches include the social change view, which attributes social disorganization to attitudinal and institutional lags (Bloch); the functional

orientation, which considers societal dysfunction as the locus of pathology (Faris); the value-conflicts perspective to social problems, which accentuates the effects of conflicting norms in a heterogeneous society (Fuller, Myers, Cuber); the action approach, which stresses the inability of society to solve its problems (Weinberg); and the social deviation approach, which points to the departures from societal norms in a highly differentiated urban society (Clinard, Lemert).

By this plausible approach, Clinard aims to show that the varied forms of deviant behavior are aspects of the social process and of social learning. Thus he deals with the varied forms of deviant behavior and discusses the rapidly increasing pertinent findings and fertile programs aspiring to control and reduce it. A final but seemingly unnecessary chapter characterizes the effects of war on deviant behavior.

In this commendable exposition the author first describes the meaning of deviant behavior as a form of human learning within the context of urbanism and influenced by complicated technology and economic status, especially poverty. He then presents the limits of three nominalistic approaches to deviant behavior, including the influence of (1) the constitution or body type; (2) mental deficiency; and (3) unconscious motivation and early life as expounded by psychoanalysis. These approaches try to locate the source of pathology within the individual rather than the social process and, the reviewer infers, commit the fallacy of reductionism. Nonetheless, within the workings of the social process, it is necessary to emphasize that social deviants have personality differences which contribute to their deviant activity.

The treatment of delinquency and crime is excellent both in scope and in the integration of theory with pertinent facts. Indeed, for every specific form of deviation generalizations are substantiated by facts and frequently enriched by illustrative cases which are not only anecdotal but depict the dynamics of the social process as it leads to a given form of deviance.

In general, this text goes beyond many efforts in this field which are chiefly topical in character. It shows a concern for the specialist as well as the undergraduate and is designed to impress both. It presents a synthesis of the empirical work in the field and in this sense represents a theoretical consolidation which the researcher can use as a base for further empirical inquiry. As a pedagogical medium, it is

written clearly and interestingly and hence should please the student.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Roosevelt University

The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding. By IAN WATT. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957. Pp. 320. \$4.50.

This book is an outstanding contribution to the field of historical sociology and the sociology of knowledge. Professor Watt, who teaches English literature at the University of California, has demonstrated that an interdisciplinary orientation among the social sciences and the humanities need not be mere lip service. In three hundred well-written and carefully documented pages the author has set the "rise of the novel" as a new literary genre in the social context of eighteenth-century England, with emphasis on the predominant middle-class features of the period. Without obtrusive jargon he makes use of literary, sociological, and psychological categories to discover the specific "literary and social situation" of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding.

Sociologists will be interested in his treatment of the relationship between the first realistic novels and their reading public. In analyzing "the connections between changes in the nature and organization of the reading public and the emergence of the novel," Watt shows the influence of social change on the broadening strata of consumers of literature. The main social groups, replacing as a commercial market the previous system of patronage, consisted of the "intermediate" classes of "shopkeepers, independent tradesmen, and administrative and clerical employees"—to which were joined a great increase in the number of female readers. These, in turn, consisted partly of middle-class wives who no longer had to spend their time in spinning and weaving and in making their own bread, beer, candles, and soap and partly of waiting-maids, "the largest single occupational group in the country" at the time. Watt characterizes Pamela "as the culture-heroine of a very powerful sisterhood of literate and leisured waiting-maids." Richardson, himself a true exponent of middle-class morality, created a work that combined the "attractions of the sermon and a strip-tease."

For the sociologist, Watt's discussion of the

novel as an expression of individual alienation in modern urban society is perhaps the most fascinating part of his book. The novel, concentrating on the total of the modern individual's experience, from stock-market speculation to daydream, permits the reader a successful search for "emotional security and understanding which only the shared intimacies of personal relationships can supply," since "a larger communion with nature or society is no longer available." *Robinson Crusoe* reflects a breakdown of a traditional and enduring web of social ties and points to the opportunity and the need of setting up new and conscious modes of personal relationships.

The book's many sociologically relevant discussions include those on the monopolization of the channels of public opinion by booksellers and printers and the facilitation of book distribution by a more efficient postal system. Of particular interest are Watt's observations on the way print becomes increasingly the main vehicle of social communication, usurping the predominant role of the stage since the Elizabethan era. Watt's chapter on "Private Experience and the Novel" was particularly rewarding because of its methodological contribution to the difficult problem of analyzing the sociological relevance of intimate personal worlds—"inside their minds as well as inside their houses."

LEO LOWENTHAL

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Industrial Society and Social Welfare: The Impact of Industrialization on the Supply and Organization of Social Welfare Services in the United States. By HAROLD L. WILENSKY and CHARLES N. LEBEAUX. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958. Pp. 401. \$5.00.

In this book the authors draw upon sociology and social work to depict the impact of industrialization on American social welfare services. Professor Wilensky shoulders the immense task of outlining in five competent chapters the development of industrialism and urbanism and the consequent social problems. There is an especially good chapter on juvenile delinquency. Professor Lebeaux discusses the definition of social work in this country and its sources of funds. The two authors join, finally, in a discussion of the effect of industrialization on the or-

ganization of agencies and on social work as a profession.

The authors distinguish two phases of industrial-urban development, each with its own peculiar influence on the problems with which social work deals. In the "earlier" phase industrialism and urbanism create the "classical" social problems with which social workers have typically dealt in the past: poverty and financial insecurity, the nuclear family, divorce and desertion, new roles for women and adolescents, the isolated aged, and class hostility. In its later phase industrialism has been marked above all by high energy and production, the vast development of technology, and the leveling of income differences. These, in turn, have led to great changes in the social structure of industry and the community and, most important, to the reduction of financial insecurity and class hostility. As a result, in place of charity, relief, and economic deprivation, social work is now concerned with relationships within the family and with social adjustment in metropolis and suburb. Thus, from problems of the "lower classes," social work is now turning to those of the "middle class"—except in certain cases, such as juvenile delinquency, which remains largely a "lower-class" phenomenon.

In the "later phase" of industrialism agencies tend to become bureaucratic at the same time that social work seeks to attain professional standing. In a particularly good section the authors show the impact of the power structure

of society on the financial sources, aims, and internal organization of social work.

The work adds to our knowledge of the relations of industry and other social institutions in the community; it demonstrates, too, the fruitfulness of close co-operation between sociology and certain professions dealing with society or human relations. Thus it takes its place beside works on the connections of sociology and psychiatry, medicine, industrial management, etc. Yet it is not without faults. For one, the hypothesis of "income equalization"—based largely on the work of Simon Kuznets—is debatable, perhaps dubious. Yet much of the work must stand or fall with it. But even more deserving of criticism is the attempt to show that the "social problems" with which social work deals are inherent in industrialism and will be found wherever industrialism develops. For certain social problems may indeed arise out of our forms of industrialism and urbanism; others are specific to capitalistic, fascistic, or communistic industrialism; but those this book deals with are specific to the American form of capitalist industrialism and society at *this* particular phase of its development. Indeed, what the authors have written is not so much a book on industrial society and social welfare as one on the present "establishment" of American society and its impact on social welfare.

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BOOK NOTES

A Classified Bibliography of Gerontology and Geriatrics: Supplement One, 1949-1955. By NATHAN W. SHOCK. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957. Pp. xxvii+525. \$15.00.

Like its predecessor volume, which appeared early in the decade, this bibliography compiled by Nathan W. Shock is indispensable to all interested in gerontology. Its coverage, like its field of interest, is exceedingly broad. Yet this bibliography is also selective, since items were included only if their subject matters were especially pertinent to the study of aging. The growing interest in gerontology is reflected in the number of items in this bibliography, almost as many as appeared in the earlier volume for the time period 1900-1948. Sociologists interested in aging, like other investigators in this field, are indebted to Shock, to the Forest Park Foundation, which has assisted in the

financing of this work, and to the publishers of this handsome volume.

The New Frontiers of Aging. Edited by WILMA DONAHUE and CLARK TIBBITTS. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957. Pp x+209. \$5.00.

The New Frontiers of Aging is another in the useful series of books which report papers given at the annual University of Michigan conferences on aging. The present volume is composed of certain contributions to the 1955 conference.

A number of the papers in this volume will be of special interest to sociologists. These include the paper by Henry D. Sheldon on trends in the older population, that by Ernest W. Burgess on the older generation and the family,

and that by Robert J. Havighurst on personal and social adjustment in old age. In addition, three papers on the income of older people, the length of working life, and a report of research on retirement, by Peter O. Steiner, Seymour L. Wolfbein, and Gordon F. Streib and Wayne E. Thompson, respectively, are especially worth reading, both for the factual information presented and for the manner in which these facts are marshaled to contradict some of the common stereotypes about older people. The Streib-Thompson paper, for example, reporting on the Cornell studies of adjustment and retirement, indicates that there is reason to believe that "the adverse effects of retirement have been . . . overestimated."

While not all the papers in *The New Frontiers of Aging* are of equal merit, in general this book is a worthwhile contribution to the growing literature in gerontology.

Community Organization for Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal. By WILLIAM C. LORING, JR., FRANK L. SWEETSER, and CHARLES F. ERNST. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge Press, Inc., 1957. Pp. 238.

This report of how administrators and volunteer leaders in citizen participation in urban renewal projects ply their special arts of group education and organization has value for sociologists because it includes about thirty concretely factual narratives of citizen "action" in renewal efforts in Greater Boston. These "cases" contain unexplored hypotheses about the place of the grass roots in any conceptual scheme of urban change or community power relations. The authors' own ambitious efforts to interpret citizen action sociologically seem both unsystematic and unimaginative, although their concluding chapter provides a richer empirical summary of the dynamics of citizen action than previous organization handbooks.

Social Perspectives on Behavior: A Reader in Social Science for Social Work and Related

Professions. By HERMAN D. STEIN and RICHARD A. CLOWARD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. 666. \$7.50.

The authors, professional social workers, have collected essays which are hard to find, such as Parsons' "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," Linton's "Status and Role," and Whyte's "A Slum Sex Code" into a single volume designed to orient social workers to sociological theory and research findings on family structure, ethnic groups, role theory, values, stratification, deviance, and bureaucracy. The sociologist who accepts the idea that there is a need for a reader to collect in one volume works which are scattered in a number of other Free Press volumes will find the fifty-one selections in this one outstanding if not unfamiliar.

The Highfields Story: An Experimental Treatment Project for Youthful Offenders. By LLOYD W. MCCORKLE, ALBERT ELIAS, and F. LOVELL BIXBY. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958. Pp. x+182. \$2.60.

In 1950, using funds provided by private philanthropies, the state of New Jersey set up an experimental program for the treatment of juvenile offenders, using group therapy techniques developed in military correctional institutions during World War II. This volume describes in non-technical language the operations of "Highfields" and the basic ideas of "Guided Group Interaction," a sociological, rather than psychoanalytic, approach to group therapy. Although, as in most practical programs, no experimental test of the program could be made, statistical comparisons of post-treatment arrests for Highfields boys and boys meeting Highfields' criteria of selection who had been sent to the state reformatory before the establishment of the project suggest that the program was effective.

CURRENT BOOKS

- ABEGGLEN, JAMES G. *The Japanese Factory: Aspects of Its Social Organization*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press (for the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology), 1958. Pp. xiii+142. \$3.50. Study of cultural patterns in Japanese industries.
- AHMAYAARA, YRJÖ, and MARKKANEN, TOUKO. *The Unified Factor Model: Its Position in Psychometric Theory and Application to Sociological Alcohol Study*. ("Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies," No. 7.) Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958. Pp. 187. Swedish Kr. 18. Critique of the measurement theories of Lazarsfeld and Guttman and a defense of factor analysis.
- BABOW, IRVING, and HOWDEN, EDWARD. *A Civil Rights Inventory of San Francisco, Part I: Employment*. San Francisco: Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco, 1958. Pp. xvii+352. Survey of local hiring and employment practices.
- BALANDIER, GEORGES, et al. *Social, Economic and Technological Change: A Theoretical Approach*. Paris: International Social Science Council, 1958. Pp. ix+355. Seven theoretical papers by ten American and European social scientists, some in English, some in French.
- BANFIELD, EDWARD C. *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. With the assistance of LAURA FASANO BANFIELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. 204. Study of a village in southern Italy.
- BAUM, WARREN C. *The French Economy and the State*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xvi+391. \$7.50. Analysis of the consequences of governmental actions on the postwar French economy; Rand Corporation research.
- BAUMHOFF, MARTIN A. *California Athabaskan Groups*. ("Anthropological Records," Vol. XVI, No. 5.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958. Pp. v+80. \$1.50. Compilation of ethnographic materials originally collected by C. Hart Merriam.
- BAY, CHRISTIAN. *The Structure of Freedom*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958. Pp. xii+419. \$7.50. Application of contemporary psychology to problems of "human freedom in the modern world."
- BRADEN, ANNE. *The Wall Between*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1958. Pp. xiii+306. Autobiographical account of the "Louisville Incident" in 1954.
- BRIM, ORVILLE G., JR. *Sociology and the Field of Education*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958. Pp. 93. \$1.00. Review of the field.
- BROOM, LEONARD, and SELZNICK, PHILIP. *Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings*. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1958. Pp. xvii+661. \$6.50. Second edition of an introductory text.
- BROWNE, C. G., and COHN, THOMAS S. (eds.). *The Study of Leadership*. Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers & Publishers, Inc., 1958. Pp. x+487. \$5.75. Collected readings on formal and informal leadership.
- CALDERONE, MARY STEICHEN (ed.). *Abortion in the United States: Report of a Conference Sponsored by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., at Arden House and the New York Academy of Medicine*. New York: Harper & Bros. and Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1958. Pp. 224. \$5.50. Summary of a 1955 Arden House conference.
- CANADIAN CORRECTIONS ASSOCIATION. *Proceedings of the Canadian Congress of Corrections, Montreal, May 26-27, 1957*. Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council, 1958. Pp. vi+297. \$2.00.
- CANTREL, HADLEY. *The Politics of Despair*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958. Pp. xv+269. \$5.00. Study of non-Communist voters in France and Italy who vote Communist, based on survey data.
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- CLEMMER, DONALD. *The Prison Community*. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1958. Pp. xvii+341. \$3.00. Paperback reprint of an influential study which first appeared in 1940.
- COELHO, GEORGE V. *Changing Images of America: A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press (for the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology), 1958. Pp. xxii+145. Comparison of newly arrived and long-time Indian students in America.
- CULIN, STEWART. *Games of the Orient: Korea, China, Japan*. Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1958. Pp. xxxvi+177. \$3.75. Encyclopedia of adult and children's games in China, Korea, and Japan.
- CUVILLIER, ARMAND. *Où va la sociologie française? Avec une étude d'Émile Durkheim sur la sociologie formaliste*. Paris: Librairie Marcel Rivière et Cie, 1953. Pp. vii+208. Review and criticism of trends in French sociology, with particular reference to Durkheim.

- CUVILLIER, ARMAND. *Sociologie et problèmes actuels*. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1958. Pp. 198. Collected essays on social science theory.
- DAUGHERTY, WILLIAM E. *A Psychological Warfare Casebook*. With the collaboration of MORRIS JANOWITZ. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. Pp. xxiii+880. \$12.50. Seventy-three collected readings on psychological warfare, largely case descriptions of specific events.
- DEMPSEY, BERNARD W., S.J. *The Functional Economy: The Bases of Economic Organization*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958. Pp. xi+515. \$6.00. Analysis of economic questions from a Roman Catholic point of view.
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- DURKHEIM, ÉMILE. *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*. Trans. CORNELIA BROOKFIELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. xiv+228. Reconstruction from Durkheim's notes of a lecture course.
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- EMERY, F. E., and OESER, O. A. *Information, Decision and Action: A Study of the Psychological Determinants of Changes in Farming Techniques*. With the assistance of JOAN TULLY. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. xiii+132. \$3.75. Study of the influence of mass media and interpersonal relations on farming in Australia.
- FIRTH, RAYMOND. *Human Types: An Introduction to Social Anthropology*. New York: New American Library, 1958. Pp. 176. \$0.50. Paperback introductory anthropology text.
- GEBHARD, PAUL H., POMEROY, WARDELL B., MARTIN, CLYDE E., and CHRISTENSON, CORNELIA V. *Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion*. New York: Harper & Bros. and Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1958. Pp. xiii+282. \$6.00. Third volume of the "Kinsey research."
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- GÖRRES-GESELLSCHAFT. *Staatslexikon: Recht, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft*, Vol. II: *Beziehungslehre bis Erbrecht*. New York: Herder & Herder, Inc., 1958. Pp. 1,232. \$21.50. Sixth edition, revised, of an encyclopedia of the social and political sciences.
- GORDON, MILTON M. *Social Class in American Sociology*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1958. Pp. xiii+281. \$6.00. History and analysis of American research.
- GRABILL, WILSON H., KISER, CLYDE V., and WHELP-
TON, PASCAL K. *The Fertility of American Women*. New York: John Wiley & Sons (for the Social Science Research Council in co-operation with the United States Bureau of the Census), 1958. Pp. xvi+448. \$9.50. Historical study based on the United States census.
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- HAGGARD, ERNEST A. *Intraclass Correlation and the Analysis of Variance*. With an appendix by HARI C. GUPTA. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (Dryden Press), 1958. Pp. xx+171. \$2.90. Generalization of the intraclass correlation coefficient to analysis of variance.
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- MACRAE, DUNCAN, JR. *Dimensions of Congressional Voting: A Statistical Study of the House of Representatives in the Eighty-first Congress*. With the collaboration of FRED H. GOLDNER. ("University of California Publications in Sociology and Social Institutions," Vol. I, No. 3.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958. Pp. v+188. \$3.50. Guttman scale analysis of roll-call votes in the House of Representatives.
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- ville: University of Florida Press, 1958. Pp. xxiii + 341. \$7.50. Sociological history.
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- REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, MINISTRY FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS, POPULATION CENSUS OFFICE. *First Population Census of Sudan, 1955/56: Last (Ninth) Interim Report*. Khartoum: Population Census Office, 1958. Pp. 67. 8s. 3d.
- ROSS, EVA J. *Basic Sociology*. Rev. ed. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1958. Pp. viii + 488. \$4.75. Introductory text.
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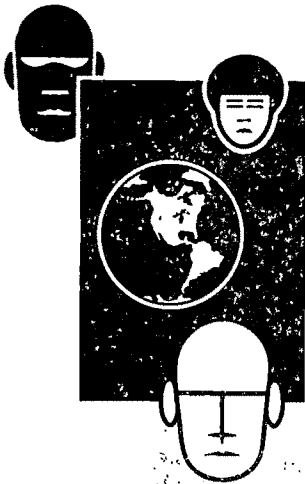
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IN THIS ISSUE

William F. Ogburn, professor emeritus of the University of Chicago and now on the faculty of Florida State University, contributes to this issue an account of his investigation of the myth of the "wolf child" of Agra. With the help of Nirmal Bose, of the University of Calcutta, he has already established the fact of the lack of evidence of wolf foster-parents for the celebrated "wolf children" of Midnapore. A fuller report of their undertaking is to appear in *Genetic Psychology Monographs* in the current year.

The animal-like traits and behavior reported by Ogburn of the "wolf child" are attributed to autistic children in America by **Bruno Bettelheim**, of the University of Chicago's Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School. Professor Bettelheim, an authority on emotionally disturbed children, thus provides an explanation of feral children whose history precludes the possibility of a non-human foster-parent—which, of course, supports Ogburn's argument.

When the only clue is a photograph, Jews are correctly identified as such to an extent considerably greater than could be explained by chance, and identification based on physiognomy alone is more often right than judgment drawn from physiognomy, speech, and gesture taken together. These findings, which to some extent challenge Fishberg's historic propositions, are reported by **Leonard D. Savitz**, of the University of Pennsylvania, and **Richard F. Tomasson**, of Butler University.

In the hope of its general applicability, **Amitai Etzioni** expounds a theory of the development, specialization, and integration of elites as he saw them in the *kibbutzim* of Israel. The author is an instructor in sociology at Columbia University.

The distribution of power among members of a triad and their possible coalitions are discussed in three situations by **Theodore Caplow**, professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota. This is his second article analyzing power in the triad. Last year, with **Reece McGee**, he published *The Academic Marketplace*.

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equal pace at which they, the movement's hierarchy, and its adherents are passing from sectarianism to denominationalism and in part to the fact that in the world at large they rate high as members of the clergy but low as Pentacostalists. This is the thesis of **Bryan R. Wilson**, lecturer in sociology at the University of Leeds.

The number of social classes which local residents believe exist in their town and the criteria on which they assign their fellows to them vary according to the size of the community. **Thomas Ely Lasswell**, professor of sociology at Grinnell College, documents this proposition with data drawn from a hundred and fifty communities whose populations range from 300 to over 250,000.

Ernest Q. Campbell, of the University of North Carolina, and **Thomas F. Pettigrew**, of Harvard, collaborate in an account of the behavior of the ministers of Little Rock, Arkansas, during the continuing crisis in race relations. They explain differences in moral position as a function of personal, professional, and institutional variables.

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THE WOLF BOY OF AGRA

WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN

ABSTRACT

A report in the press of a child near Agra, India, having been reared by wolves was investigated, and the claim was found to be false. The investigation throws light on how myths originate.

The following story was recently printed in the Delhi edition of the *Times of India*:

A six year old boy has been returned to his parents after being in the company of wolves for four and a half years, it is learned.

According to information reaching here (Agra) from a small village under the police station Khandauli an eighteen months old baby was carried away by wolves four and a half years ago from the house of Kanchan Jatav and all trace of the boy disappeared.

The other day, a hunting party surprised a pair of wolves at the village tank. When chased the party saw a human looking wolf accompanying the pair.

The hunting party succeeded in capturing this "wolf" and brought it to the village where he was recognized by his parents as their long lost son.

It is believed the child was reared by wolves during the period of his captivity.

The story was amplified and, no doubt, embellished in subsequent dispatches. Psychologists were reported as studying the boy. The physician who examined him at the hospital received five hundred letters of inquiry about the wolf child, which he said he had been unable to answer, since he had no secretarial help.

Being behind in my schedule, with only two articles and one chapter to write, I decided to take a few days off, go to Agra, and

see what I could find out about the wolf child. Besides, the temperature was only 104 degrees, and the dust storms were just beginning.

Even before Romulus and Remus, myths of human children being reared by wild animals fascinated primitive peoples. Such stories are common in India, where the climate is mild enough in winter for a child to live unclothed and where it is warm enough at night for the children to sleep outside where wolves may find them. None of these stories, however, is well authenticated, and it is not known how much is legend.

We do know that mothers of one species will suckle the young of another species. Several photographs of such adoptions were published a few years ago in *Life* magazine. One was of a scottie dog in St. Petersburg, Florida, nursing young racoons. When separated from her litter of ten pups, she went into the woods and returned with three little raccoons. Another photograph was of a dog in Roanoke, Virginia, feeding a six-month-old kitten a year after her last litter. She still was producing milk.

Might not a she-wolf pick up an infant left on the edge of the field while the mother was cultivating the grain and suckle it, particularly if the wolf had recently lost her young and if her mammary glands were swelling with milk or if there were some

abnormal variation in her endocrine system? We know from laboratory experiments on animals that mothers lose interest in their young offspring when manganese is removed from their diets. Perhaps mother love may likewise be accentuated chemically.

Despite popular appeal, there is little of interest to science in whether or not a carnivorous wild animal will rear a helpless human baby. We know that animals who live by killing other animals are not hungry all the time and have their playful moods. Science has had opportunities to study the rearing of raccoons or kittens by dogs or of ducklings by chickens. But the endocrinologists and the neurologists do not seem to find much worthwhile in these phenomena.

Science, though, is greatly interested in children reared by wolves, for the light the study of them may throw on the new formulation of the old problem of heredity versus environment, which is concerned with the role of culture and of the learning process in shaping personality. Would such a child show any human traits, or would he behave like a wolf? Would the heredity of *Homo sapiens* mean that a child so reared would walk erect, talk, invent? Would he have a sense of modesty? Of shame? Would he have a soul? Or would he have no other habits than those of wolves as regards locomotion, hunting, howling, sleeping, and dwelling? Or would he do these things better than wolves? Scientists would like to know how much one's personality is shaped by hereditary factors and how much by the learning process. It seemed to me worthwhile to take a look at this wolf boy. It was an opportunity.

So I took the ancient road which goes to Benares, the holy city of India, and passes through Agra, on which may yet be seen camels and an occasional elephant. Women in bright saris gather at roadside wells to gossip and fill their pottery vessels with water which they carry home on their heads. On this much-traveled highway, the 200-horse-powered automobiles must go off the road to pass the 2-horse-powered bullock carts, whose speed is about two miles per hour.

Arriving at Agra, I learned that the psychologist who had studied this wolf-reared youngster was on his vacation at Nainital, where one sleeps in summer under three blankets at night and wears a winter suit during the day. The physician who examined the boy was busy and could not see me until that night.

So I decided to drive the thirty miles to Ferozabad, where the soldiers are said to have delivered their find to the excellent new hospital there. But I was authoritatively told no such child had ever been admitted to the hospital.

Since there were still a few hours of hot sunshine, I drove forty miles to Khandauli, which was near the village of Nagla-jar-ka, from where the baby was lifted by the wolf. The police at the station in Khandauli told me that the baby who had been lost four and a half years had been recovered from wolves by some soldiers on a shikari and returned to its parents. They offered to send along an officer with me to the village where the boy now lived.

The villagers in Nagla-jar-ka were to celebrate a wedding; no outsiders were there. All the males, elders and children, and the little girls surrounded us as we talked, with the help of an interpreter, in the courtyard of the child's home. The women were secluded, though no doubt they listened and looked from near-by houses. It was a small village with probably not more than twenty dwellings.

Yes, the boy, when eighteen months old, was stolen four and a half years ago about ten o'clock at night as the mother and babe slept outside, on about the same spot where I was standing. The mother awoke and saw the wolf running away and the child gone. It was darkish, and the aroused family and neighbors could not find the wolf. I remarked that the wolf came rather close to the house, but I was told that sometimes a wolf actually comes inside a house. I also thought that, if the wolf went that close to a house, it might have been driven more by hunger than by pressures on the mammalian glands.

That wolves do carry away children seems to be a fact. The week I was in Agra there was a story in the newspapers about a hyena stealing a child from a village near Ahmedabad. The villagers were in a state of great fright. Another incident was told me by an Indian scientist. The child of his mother's brother was stolen by a wolf, and the theft was witnessed by the father and others. The father went in pursuit. He knew the tracks of wolves. He had seen these tracks in his morning walks to the defecating area. Their path formed a large semicircle. He took the diameter route and lay in ambush for the wolf. As the wolf came by, he speared it, even though it had the baby in its mouth. In killing the wolf, he hurled the spear with such vigor that he fell on the spear handle and broke it. Part of it stuck in his chest. He never recovered and died shortly after. The baby was unharmed.

To my question, "How do you know this boy, Parasram, is your lost child?" his father pointed to a bare spot on the top of the child's head a little to the left, elliptical in shape, one and a quarter inches long by one-half an inch wide. Their baby before he was lost had a boil on his head which burst and left a scar. The scar was quite smooth, with the thick hair growing right up to the curving border of the scar. He showed me also a slightly elongated and narrow scar on the neck of the child. On this spot also their baby had had a boil.

My first sight of Parasram was as he ran to a chair, set for me, and beat on its seat with his bare hands. The noise was a bit like that of a drum. He then ran to different persons standing around in a circle and looked at them or pushed at their legs or feet. Then he went to another chair and beat on its bottom. He came to my leg and plucked at my trousers. I took him in my arms without any resistance or fear on his part, and he pulled on my nose and poked at my mouth. He soon became restless, so I sat him down. He then jumped upon the charpai, lay down, pulled up his one garment, and played with his genitals. He was up again, going from one person to another.

Then he laid himself on the ground and began sucking his thumb.

His mouth was open a good deal of the time. His two upper incisors were missing, but the second teeth on each side had come in, somewhat irregularly. He seemed to me small for six years. I asked my driver, who has nine children, how old he thought the child was. He guessed he was between five and six years of age and said that he was a little small for six years. The child's movements were well co-ordinated. Indeed, he seemed rather lithe in his arms and nimble on his two feet. At no time did he crawl or try to walk on all fours. The expression on his face did not appear to be dull; rather the contrary. I doubt if he smiled, yet, with his lips only partly closed, one might have thought he was smiling.

His behavior was quite different from that described of the wolf girl Kamala, who lived in the orphanage at Midnapore, Orissa. Kamala is reported to have lain quiet, huddled in a dark corner, face to the wall. She took no interest in people or objects. At dusk she tried to run away. At night she howled. Both Kamala and Parasram ate raw meat without using their hands, and there are pictures of each eating that way.

My first impression of Parasram was that of an exhibitionistic, spoiled child whose parents have had him do his stunt before visitors who are supposed to admire him. But this child seemed not interested in the glances of the adults and appeared not to seek approval or praise. Indeed, one might think that the child was oblivious of the opinions of others. He seemed interested in people only as objects, much as one might be curious about animals in a farm yard.

The child showed no shyness while I was with him. Shyness is supposed to be related to the child's concern with himself and the reaction of others to that self. Did the child have a conception of self? I could not say. He did not talk, and knew only a few words, such as *roti*, for bread.

This boy has been moved about a good deal recently. He had been in his home with his "parents" about a week, having come

from the hospital where he was observed for a few days. He had been taken from the hospital to the home of the psychologist. A few weeks before the child had been at the house of a domestic servant, and previously he had lived four months in the family of a Brahmin. Such moving about seems not to have affected his sense of security.

The child was not afraid of a crowd. I once knew a wild American Indian who had never seen a crowd, and on seeing his first crowd he trembled, terrified.

This excessive activity of Parasram was noted by the Brahmin and at the hospital. It was interpreted as evidence of wildness. On the wildness of wild animals, I once read a book on wild wolves in Alaska, as observed by a naturalist from a distance using powerful magnifying glasses. In the day the cubs and grown wolves were not especially active. They lay around, slept, woke up, and stretched. The cubs would occasionally play, much as puppies of domesticated dogs.

What the glandular balance of this hyperactive child was is not known. Of the feeble-minded I have seen in institutions, I do not now recall such excited activity.

To my question as to where they found their lost child, I was told that he was given them by a man in Ferozabad named Rajendra Prasad Sharma, but they did not know where he lived or what he did.

In Agra a journalist who had undertaken some investigation of the capture told this story: Some soldiers, who were hunting for game, found the child in company with wolves at a stream, drinking water. The rescued child was taken to a doctor who, in turn, gave him to the police. A Brahmin named Indraj Sharma, who kept a bicycle shop in Ferozabad, having no son, then took the child and kept him for several months. He then gave him to a domestic servant of the Dharmuk caste whose home was in the village of Dadampur, four miles from Ferozabad, and whose neighbor, who was a relative of the Babulal Jatavs, told them about the boy's rescue. They came, recognized him as their lost son, and took him home with them to Nagla-jar-ka.

The journalist had seen and talked with all these persons except the soldiers who rescued him and the doctor to whom the soldiers gave the child. The doctor had moved to Lucknow, where it would be difficult to find him, since he was not a trained licensed physician. He had worked in a chemist's shop in Agra. I suggested to the journalist that the soldiers who captured the boy were probably from the cantonment in Agra and that a unique experience such as this would be known to other soldiers and that the rescuer might thus be found.

The physician at the hospital, an Indian, was trained in London and was a competent observer. He said that the head of the child seemed to be a little smaller than the average and that a possible microcephaly suggested mental deficiency. In the hospital he had been restless and active. He had to be watched.

When drinking water, the child put his head down close to the water, shook his head from side to side, looking at the water before drinking. The physician said that such is the manner of the drinking of wolves that try to see that the water is clear of surface material before drinking.

The physician also brought in an Alsatian dog, a little larger than the Indian wolf. The owner stayed near, to keep the dog from biting the child should it try to do so. The child went up at once to the dog, nestled close to it, and then put his hands on the dog's jaws, much as he put his hands on my nose. He even put his face up against the dog's mouth.

I suggested that this behavior may not have indicated experience with wolves but only a manipulatory tendency common with children. The original nature of a baby is to have only two fears: of a loud noise and of falling. It has to learn to fear dogs, fur, and snakes.

I next inquired if the psychologist had made a report. But the hospital authorities knew nothing of it. I wrote him, and he replied that he had not made a report but planned to do so later.

The child had lived with Indraj Sharma,

the Brahmin who operated a bicycle-repair shop, for nearly four months. The next step was to talk with him if he was still in Ferozabad and if he had not gone away for a holiday.

Sharma was an athletic-looking man who had been a soldier for a decade but was now operating a bicycle shop. He was forthright, direct, and apparently accustomed to giving orders, for he twice dispersed the crowd surrounding us. He got a chair for me and a charpai for himself. We sat near his shop, and he gave me a big pink drink with ice in it, the taste of which I did not recognize. He could not speak English.

The results of this interview were crucial. They gave me what I went to Agra to find out. The gist is recorded in the form of questions and answers:

Q. Shri Sharma, I would like to have you tell me who gave you the child whose parents live near Khandauli.

A. I found the child myself.

Q. I was told that some soldiers found the child.

A. No, I found him myself. I was a soldier at one time.

Q. Was anyone with you when you found him.

A. I was alone.

Q. Was he with wolves?

A. No, there were no animals of any kind near him.

Q. Was there a wolf den near him?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. I was told that a party of soldiers captured and gave him to a doctor who in turn gave him to the police.

A. He was not found by a party of soldiers. I found him myself. The child was thin, seemed not to be well. So I called in this doctor and paid him for his services.

Q. Where is the doctor now?

A. He left about two months ago for Lucknow. I don't know what he is doing or what his address is.

Q. Do you have children?

A. Yes.

Q. Did this child and your children play together?

A. No, they never did.

Q. Did the child talk?

A. No, he never talked.

Q. I heard that you gave the child to a domestic servant.

A. Well, my wife was "fasting" and could not care for the child, so I got this woman to take care of it. I paid her two rupees.

Q. I was told the child was so wild this servant had to keep him chained.

A. She did not chain him. But sometimes I tied him with a rope, not a chain, to keep him from running away.

Q. Did he ever show affection?

A. I suppose so.

Q. How did the Babulal Jatavs learn about the child?

A. I announced over a loud speaker in Ferozabad that I had found a lost child, that I would like to know to whom he belonged, and that I would return him to his parents. The child's parents heard about it and thought perhaps he was their lost child. They came and said that he was their child and took him away with them.

Q. Where did you recover this boy?

A. About two miles from Tundla.

Tundla is a railway junction about twenty-four miles by road from Nagla-jarka, where the child was stolen by the wolf—rather far for the wolf to carry the child or for the child to walk.

Such, then, is the account of the recovery of the child by the man who found him. His account appears to be reliable. Cross-questioning did not cause him to change. If his story is true, then the child was not captured from wolves. Indeed, the child lived with a family in Ferozabad for four months without any association with wolves being mentioned; there was no newspaper story for these four months about his being a wolf-reared boy.

The linking of this child to a wolf was made by the Babulal Jatavs when they acquired him. The Babulal Jatavs did have a child of one and a half years of age stolen by a wolf. At least, the whole community of Nagla-jar-ka, where the Babulal Jatavs lives, think so. And there is good evidence that wolves do steal infants.

The false identification of the child by the Babulal Jatavs is natural. First, the child could not talk. His habits did suggest

wildness. There were scars on the scalp of the child, and the lost infant had had boils on its scalp, so the parents claimed. Shrimati Babulal had had three children, the boy stolen by a wolf and two girls. The parents, like all Indian parents, craved a son. But at the time the mother had no son living, and she probably still mourned for her lost child.

The reputed father, Shri Babulal, has refused a test that might have disproved his parentage. This was the test of blood types. The physician at the hospital knows the blood type of the child, Parasram, and of the mother, Shrimati Babulal. If he could have obtained a sample of the blood of the father, he might have been able to disprove their parentage, though this test would not have proved their parentage. Why did Shri Babulal refuse? Did he have some doubt that the child was not his? Not necessarily. He would have given a sample of his blood for analysis by the physician, if the physician had paid him a large sum of money, which the doctor said was exorbitant. The father is, like Indian peasants, very poor. He expects gifts of money for those who come to see the child. At least, he is not averse to accepting money from visitors.

The child, Parasram, if not reared by wolves, was a lost child who could not talk at five or six years of age.

Children, I suppose, do get lost in India; and on the border of jungles they may not find their way home. In the nineteenth century, when famines were frequent in India and many lives were lost, the orphans were called "famine" children and became wanderers. Not all were taken to orphanages or to relatives. It is said that village prostitutes in India abandon their unwelcome children. It may be that difficult or feeble-minded children would sometimes be abandoned, though Indians have the reputation of being devoted parents.

How long such waifs live is a question. It would have been interesting if Sharma, instead of capturing the boy, had watched

him a while to see what he did and where he went. The winters in the Agra area have a temperature as low as, say, 40 degrees, which would be trying for a child to live in. Peasants in Nepal, though, go barefooted when the temperature is below the freezing point and when the ponds are frozen over. But they wear shawls, however, around their necks and over their heads. The monsoons of the summer would be difficult for an Indian child to live through alone in the forests. Parasram may have been in the wilds only a short time.

Then there is the problem of what such a child would eat. Berries, fruit, insects, small animals, and dead ones are possibilities. It is conceivable that in some cases a stray child might live with some other animal.

Even if Parasram, "the wolf boy," was not reared by wolves, there is still much strangeness about the child's past. If he had lived in the wilds only a short time, how did it happen that he could not talk? He was not deaf and dumb, for he learned a few words, such as terms for bread and water. If such a lost child was not by heredity feeble-minded, then a study of his personality might shed light on the roles of culture and heredity in the development of personality. It was not possible for me to remain longer to study Parasram, as my tickets for an early departure from India were already bought. One wonders if a child psychologist, observing a waif like Parasram without knowing his past history, could reconstruct the early sociopsychological experiences that so shaped his personality.

While my hunt for a wolf boy was not successful, as a little journey into a land where myths originate, it was successful in showing how a myth began.

It is not to be inferred from this account that children may not have been reared by wolves. They may have been. But I found no evidence that this "wolf boy" ever saw a wolf.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FERAL CHILDREN AND AUTISTIC CHILDREN¹

BRUNO BETTELHEIM

ABSTRACT

Belief in the truth of the occasional reports of children having been reared by wolves and behaving like animals may in part be accounted for by a narcissistic unwillingness to acknowledge the human nature of the so-called feral children. However, Ogburn has successfully proved that in a recent instance there is no sound evidence of animal foster-parents. Moreover, the behavior of the children strongly resembled that of severe cases of infantile autism with seemingly animal-like traits and habits being treated at the Orthogenic School of the University of Chicago. These are for the most part children of intelligent, educated parents, reared in middle-class homes, and there is no question of intervention by non-humans. As far as the etiology of such behavior is established, it seems to lie in extreme emotional deprivation, which may be equated with the traumatic experiences of wolf children reported from India.

In science, more than in other fields of human endeavor, the correction of a widely held error often contributes more to the solution of a thorny problem than some new discovery or theory. Often, too, erroneous ideas can prevent the valid knowledge we already have from making its influence fully felt. This is amply demonstrated by Professor Ogburn's "The Wolf Boy of Agra." For years, on the basis of much experience with severely autistic children, I have been convinced that most of the so-called feral children were actually children suffering from the severest form of infantile autism, while some of them were feeble-minded, as was possibly the Wild Boy of Aveyron.²

Children suffering from early infantile autism typically are unable to relate themselves in the ordinary way to people and situations from the beginning of life. Extreme aloneness shuts out anything that comes to them from the outside. Some acquire the ability to speak, while others remain mute. But language is not used to convey meaning to others. The over-all behavior is governed by an anxiously obsessive desire to maintain sameness. The term "feral child," in contrast, is not a definite diagnostic category but vaguely denotes very wild children and those supposedly reared by animals.

¹ The study of autistic children which forms an essential part of this paper was made possible by a grant of the Ford Foundation supporting research on childhood schizophrenia.

² J. M. C. Itard, *The Wild Boy of Aveyron* (New York: Century Co., 1932).

From historical accounts of most of the feral children, diagnosis cannot be established. But, the more detailed the accounts, the more definitely do they seem to signalize autistic children. Fortunately, in the case of the two famous wolf girls of Midnapore,³ Amala and Kamala, a fairly accurate description of the behavior of the older girl and of the steps in her partial recovery has been published. This story closely parallels our experiences with autistic children at the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School—a laboratory school of the University of Chicago devoted to the education and treatment of severely disturbed children. These children have never lived in the company of wolves and were reared by none but human beings. The similarities were so great and so unmistakable that no other conclusion seemed possible but that the two wolf girls also had suffered from severe infantile autism, accountable without a history of being reared by animals. Yet I could not doubt the veracity of the Reverend Singh's description of this kind of behavior and development, so familiar to all of us. In fact, I was probably more ready than most to believe in the accuracy of his account, and therefore I fell into the error of also giving credence to his report of how he found them.

But, as I read Ogburn's story, suddenly the blinders fell from my eyes. Now it became all too clear: Singh's account of his

³ J. A. L. Singh and R. M. Zingg, *Wolf Children and Feral Man* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1940), and A. Gesell, *Wolf Child and Human Child* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1940).

close association with the girls could be, and, I believe, was, entirely correct; his *interpretation* of the origin of their behavior—their having been reared by wolves—was false. He was carried away by his imagination about that one single event which makes or breaks his interpretation, namely, the way in which the children were found. He flushed three grown wolves out of the hollow of a "white-ant mound as high as a two-storied building" and found "two cubs and the other two hideous beings there in one corner, all four clutching together."⁴

Hindsight is always easy. I can now also see the parallel between Singh's story of finding the girls and the wild fantasies we spun about the pasts of our autistic children when we first met them—speculation originating in our efforts to find emotionally acceptable explanations for this nearly inexplicable and wholly unacceptable behavior.

Later we came to recognize that this speculation originated mainly in two different psychological needs: first, in our narcissistic unwillingness to admit that these animal-like creatures could have had pasts at all similar to ours (the same narcissism which revolted against the theory of evolution) and, second, in our need to understand and to explain (the more unusual, the less acceptable a phenomenon, the greater our narcissistic need of an explanation). Perhaps, too, the more revolting the behavior, the less we wish to devote much thought to it, explaining it by an emotional reaction or in such simple form as to require no further thought.⁵

Throughout the story of Amala and Kamala, the strangeness of the children's behavior and that Singh had proved truthfulness in his account of it were taken as evi-

dence that he must also have told the truth in all else: in his story of the way he found them and in his interpretations of how their correctly observed behavior was due to, and could only be explained by, their having lived with wolves. The mechanism at work here seems to be that the rational mind, which at first rejected the story of Kamala's behavior, turned out to be an unreliable instrument. Therefore its critical voice was silenced, as far as these stories were concerned, and henceforth everything was believed as told.

This is not surprising to us. Many times when we have described the behavior of some of our extremely autistic children—how they urinated and defecated without so much as knowing it as they walked or ran about; how they could not bear clothes but would run about naked; how they did not talk but could only scream and howl; how they ate only raw food; how they would bite us so often and so severely as to require frequent medical treatments—even persons quite familiar with disturbed children would react with polite or not so polite disbelief. But later, when they met these children, their doubts changed to complete belief, so that they would have been willing to believe almost anything told them about the children or their pasts.

Thanks to Ogburn's investigation, we now know that Parasram was not found in the company of wolves. We have, therefore, good reason to doubt that Amala and Kamala were found living with wolves. But, just as it was true that Parasram was found wild, there seems no reason to doubt that Amala and Kamala were found living wild in the forest.

But how did these children survive all alone in the wilderness? How did they get lost in the first place? I believe from our experience with autistic children that the wild children could not have survived for very long by themselves, even allowing for the clemency of the Indian weather. Neither their haggard look nor the absence of clothing nor the "hideous ball of matted hair"⁶

⁴ Asked "How often do wolves den in deserted ant mounds?" Singh replied that "this was the only white-ant mound known to be lived in by the wolves" (Singh and Zingg, *op. cit.*, chap. i).

⁵ For a few years during World War II the Nationalist Socialists of Germany, since they behaved so inhumanly, were viewed as subhuman, and theories that all Nazis were insane found ready acceptance and were defended by psychiatrists.

⁶ Singh and Zingg, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

prove that they had been lost for long: some of our autistic children keep their wild looks for months. They can and do tear off all their clothes in minutes. Even after years with us the well-groomed hair of one of our autistic girls could, within hours, turn into a "hideous ball of matted hair," glued into a mass by saliva, remnants of food, dirt, and what-not. One of our autistic girls kept her face well hidden for months behind a curtain of hair.

Ogburn speculated that the Indian children might be lost, feeble-minded, or the abandoned offspring of prostitutes—these offer as accurate explanations as any other. My guess would be that they were simply emotionally, and perhaps also physically, abandoned. In the report on the two children of Midnapore we are told by Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh: "The very primitive people who inhabit the parts where these children were found, who are not Bengalis, do fairly frequently expose baby children."⁷ If these people are ready to expose normal babies, is it so far-fetched to believe that they may also expose older children who act like babies (as autistic children do) or children who seem extremely abnormal to them? Also, how old are "baby children"? How old are the children before people normally stop exposing them? All these questions remain unanswered in the account of Amala and Kamala.⁸

Our own experience suggests the explanation that the girls in question were probably utterly unacceptable to their parents for one reason or another. This is characteristic of all autistic children, no matter of what age; the parents manage to disengage themselves from them by placing them in an institution (as is the usual case in the United States today), or by setting them out to fend for themselves in the wilderness, or, the most

likely explanation, by not pursuing when they run away.

Our experience with the parents of autistic children, many of whom are well educated, good, middle-class people, leaves little doubt that in their deepest emotions they wished to be rid of them and for very good reasons. They could not afford to become conscious of such wishes or to act upon them, because of the demands of conscience, the behavior expected of parents in the United States, and the near-impossibility of a child's getting permanently lost in our cities. But there is hardly one such parent, living in twentieth-century America and conscientiously on the watch, whose autistic child has not managed to get lost several times after the age of about three or four.

It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that it must be quite easy for such children to get separated from their parents under more primitive conditions of life. If one can draw any conclusions from our experiences with some of the parents of autistic children, it is reasonable to assume that their efforts to find their lost children have been more than lax. So much for how feral children may get lost.

But what promotes the belief that there are feral children in general or wolf children in particular? First, such children are not dumb but do not talk; and speech, almost more than anything, separates humans from animals. Animals cannot talk; hence these children must have something in common with animals. Second, all normal children, even if feeble-minded, need humans to take care of them and will reach out to them; but these children shun human company. Third, some of these children are ferocious in their attacks on others, using claws and teeth, like animals. Beyond that, I can offer only speculation. Thus, for example, if the people of the region where the two girls of Midnapore were found believed in the transmigration of souls and were confronted with the behavior of the girls, is it not possible that they thought of them as having been wolves in a previous incarnation or of now representing an incarnation that was part

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

⁸ While Pakenham-Walsh, who knew the area, spoke only of "baby children," R. R. Gates, in his introductory remarks to the report on the wolf girls, mentions that in the jungle areas of India "female children are still occasionally exposed" (*ibid.*, p. xiii).

wolf, part human? Such beliefs were unacceptable to the Reverend Singh, but perhaps they were part of his ingrained thinking before he became a student of Bishop's College in Calcutta.

I have already suggested the role that human narcissism may have played in making credible the stories of feral children. As long as we could believe that insane persons were possessed by ghosts or devils, their "wildness" was less of a shock to our self-image as human beings. But the origins of the subhuman, animal-like behavior of these children are, in our enlightened age, no longer sought in the world of spirits. In this day of reason, we think, of course, of childhood environment as the source of their behavior. But on first encounter with their wildness, and, thereafter, when their total withdrawal, their "contrariness," their violence, or other types of inhuman, animal-like behavior have overpowered us and made it harder for us to deal rationally with their onslaught, then, and despite all our knowledge, we too are thrown back for moments to feel that they are possessed—that they are "animals." To quote a typical response after a rather mild example of such behavior shown by Anna, one of our wild children: "As I watched her continual application of saliva to all parts of her body, her biting and chewing of her toes, I thought to myself, 'She is an animal, destructively washing herself.'" So the easiest solution to the problem of their behavior is to believe it the result of an animal up-bringing.

There are other and more specific reasons to suggest comparing these children with animals. During one year a single staff member had to have medical help more than a dozen times for bites she suffered from Anna, and the children regularly bare their teeth when annoyed or angry. Different, and again reminiscent of animals, is their prowling around at night, in marked contrast to their quiet withdrawal into a corner during the day. One of these girls could finally be reached and brought to accept human closeness only when her favorite counselor roamed through the building with her for

many hours during the night. And only then would she accept food from us. Then there is their great preference for raw food, particularly raw vegetables. Some will go to almost any length to get raw onions and lettuce and similar food, and go into violent temper tantrums if they do not get them immediately. Others lick salt for hours, but only from their own hands. Others, again, build themselves dens in dark corners or closets, sleep nowhere else, and prefer spending all day and all night there. Some build caves out of blankets, mattresses, or other suitable objects. They do not permit us to touch either them or their abodes, and at least two of them would eat only if they could first carry their food into their self-created caves or dens, where they would then eat without using utensils.

Some of these children, on seeing animals, respond as though they had found a dear, long-lost friend. One girl, for example, became extremely excited on seeing a dog; she showed a strong desire to run toward it and cried or howled like an animal, particularly like a wolf. She fell on all fours, jumped like a dog with her head down, and made biting gestures. Now, had we believed in the feral origin of this girl—whose total life-history, incidentally, is well known to us—we would probably have been convinced that, on seeing that wolflike creature, she was filled with memories of her happy times among wolves and was reverting to what she had learned from them.

And yet, despite such similarities between the behavior of some of our autistic children and that of the wild children described in the literature, could it not be that this is all due to chance—that the similarities are only superficial and that closer inspection would reveal important differences? To decide whether Amala and Kamala were autistic children, we have to ask whether they showed all characteristics typical of the disturbance. Does what was viewed as the characteristic behavior of these two girls resemble the characteristic behavior of our autistic children and of infantile autism, as reported in the literature?

Singh, in describing the children's behavior, states as most typical of the two wolf girls, first, what he calls their aloofness and, second, their shyness or fright.

The presence of others in the room prevented them from doing anything, even moving the head from one direction to the other, or moving about a little, changing sides, or turning about. Even a look towards them was objectionable. They wanted to be all by themselves, and they shunned human society altogether. If we approached them, they made faces and sometimes showed their teeth, as if unwilling to permit our touch or company. This was noticed at all times, even at night. . . . For nearly three months . . . there was a complete disassociation and dislike, not only for us, but for their abode among us, for movement and play—in short for everything human. [*Sic.*]⁹

A child psychoanalyst described as what he considered most characteristic of one of our ten-year-old autistic girls: "Her most pervasive behavior trait is her overwhelming panic reaction to the slightest interference from the outside, often occurring without visible external motivation."

This is behavior typical for all autistic children. But how do the authors explain it? According to them, withdrawal from the surrounding world was related to the following:

After their rescue and subsequent capture they were looking for the cubs and the wolves. It was noticeable that they wanted their company and association, but finding that they could not get them here, they refused to mix with the children or with anybody.

They could not find their mates in the jungle; they could not prowl about with the wolves; they missed their cozy den, and could not get to feed on meat or milk. Consequently, the thought of their old environment preyed heavily on their mind, and their thought was to regain their former habitation and company. This fact made them meditative and morose.¹⁰

But how could it have been "noticeable that they wanted" the company of wolves, or how could it have been deduced that "the

thought of their old environment preyed heavily on their mind" and that "they missed their cosy den"? Formerly autistic children whom we have succeeded in rehabilitating to the point where they could tell us about their autistic past have had only the dimmest notion of the vague fantasies which occupied their minds in a state of total withdrawal. We can say with certainty that those who were mute for long periods and were later able to reflect upon it recalled only having been in vague states of terror, interrupted by equally vague fantasies of a bliss without content which, in the literature, has been discussed as oral reunion fantasies. But the latter gives a much too specific content to what are either vague and basically empty states of withdrawal from content and relations to environment or intervals of relative comfort and discomfort.

Singh's descriptions—trustworthy as they are—are so flavored by his convictions about the girls' feral past that I would like, before comparing them with our own experience and with the literature, to quote the only other eyewitness account of Kamala's behavior because it is more concise and less adumbrated by speculations. We owe an excellent description of Kamala's behavior when she was estimated to be fourteen years old (some six years after she had been found) to Bishop Pakenham-Walsh. He was, apparently, if not also the most intelligent, certainly the most highly educated person who saw her. He reports:

When I saw Kamala, she could speak, quite clearly and distinctly, about thirty words; when told to say what a certain object was, she would name it, but she never used her words in a spontaneous way. She would never, for instance, ask for anything she wanted by naming it, but would quietly wait till Mrs. Singh asked her, one by one, whether it was so and so she wanted, and when the right thing was named she would nod. She had a very sweet smile when spoken to, but immediately afterwards her face resumed an appearance of unintelligence; and if she were left alone, she would retire to the darkest corner, crouch down, and remain with her face to the wall absolutely list-

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15–17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 15 and 17.

less and with a perfectly blank expression on her face. She had an affection for Mrs. Singh, and was most amenable to her directions during the time I saw her. She was not interested in anything, nor afraid of anything, and cared nothing for the other children, nor for their games. She walked upright, but could not run.

I saw her again two years later, (when her age would have been about sixteen) and except that she had learned a good many more words, I did not notice any mental change.¹¹

During the past years we have cared for at least nineteen children at the Orthogenic School whose diagnosis was definitely infantile autism. We have lived with each for at least one year, and with most of them for several. If an intelligent and interested layman such as Pakenham-Walsh had observed most of them during their first year with us (and a few even during their second or third year) for a period of time comparable to that he spent with Kamala, his description might have been exactly like that he gave of this wolf girl. At present, we have twelve such children, ten of whom, for a year or two, showed the same behavior, though most have since advanced much further intellectually. Three who have been with us for less than two years are now at the stage of behavior described by Pakenham-Walsh as seen in Kamala at about fourteen; a fourth has not yet reached it, since he has not yet said a single word. He has been with us for about a year.

Interestingly enough, two of the children began to say their first words after about a year with us, which closely resembles what was reported of Kamala—that she said her first words after thirteen months, when she began to “prattle like a baby.”¹² From our experience, as well as from Pakenham-Walsh’s description, I doubt that she prattled like a baby, for that is the result of a voluntary reaching-out and an enjoyment first of vocalization and later on of verbalization. These autistic children, even after they have acquired the ability to say a few words—or perhaps, I should say, have overcome their

reluctance enough to venture a few words—prefer not to use them but to let us do the talking for them, as was noted in Kamala after six years. The soft, hesitating, often echolalia-like saying of preferably only short single words which characterizes their speech is very different from what develops out of the usual happy prattling of babies. It is also in stark contrast to their wild, ear-piercing screaming, which makes their barely audible and unclear (or overclear) strained enunciation of single words appear, by contrast, to be even more minimally invested with the positive wish to talk than might otherwise seem true.

Kamala’s behavior, as described, is also typical of the behavior of children suffering from infantile autism as reported in the literature. In their classical descriptions of this disease, Kanner and Mahler¹³ state the most characteristic feature of infantile autism to be a profound withdrawal from contact with people, an obsessive desire for the preservation of sameness that none but the child himself may disrupt on rare occasions, and this while retaining an intelligent and pensive physiognomy. Equally characteristic is either mutism or the kind of language apparently not intended as communication. The children are unable to relate themselves to people and situations from the beginning of life, are referred to as self-sufficient, act as though people are not there, and give the impression of silent wisdom.

Kanner’s first case, Donald, at the age of five displayed “an abstraction of mind which made him perfectly oblivious to everything about him. He appears to be always thinking and thinking, and to get his attention almost

¹³ L. Kanner, “Autistic Disturbances of Affective Contact,” *Nervous Child*, II (1942-43), 217-50; “Early Infantile Autism,” *Journal of Pediatrics*, XXV (1944), 211-17; *Child Psychiatry* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1948), pp. 716-29; and “Early Infantile Autism,” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIX (1949), 416-26; M. Mahler, “On Child Psychosis and Schizophrenia,” *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, VII (1952), 286-303; and M. Mahler and G. Gosliner, “On Symbiotic Child Psychosis,” *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, X (1955), 195-211.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

requires one to break down a mental barrier between his inner consciousness and the outside world."¹⁴ This sounds like Kamala's crouching in a corner for hours, as if meditating on some great problem, so indifferent to all that was going on that her attention could not be drawn to anything.¹⁵

Of Kanner's "Case 9" we are told that "the most impressive thing is his detachment and his inaccessibility. He walks as if he is in a shadow, lives in a world of his own where he cannot be reached. No sense of relationship to persons. He went through a period of quoting another person; never offers anything himself. His entire conversation is a replica of whatever has been said to him."¹⁶ The similarity to the wolf girls' aloofness and shyness is striking, and this boy's never talking spontaneously approximates the Pakenham-Walsh description of Kamala.

And yet, perhaps, some of the specifics of Kamala's behavior (Amala was so much younger, and died so early, that very little of Singh's account deals specifically with her) are so different from the behavior of autistic children as to justify Singh's belief in its feral etiology. To find out whether this is so, I have tried to make a content analysis of the wolf children's behavior. Now, among Singh's descriptions, only one item stands out as very strange, and it is the one repeatedly referred to as explicable only by feral experience. It is also the only one for which we have no parallel among our autistic children. This is Amala's and Kamala's inability to walk erect when they were first found. While several of our autistic children have preferred to crawl on all fours for some time, and others for a long time would walk only bent over, none was actually unable to walk erect when we first met them.

Nevertheless, some facts in Singh's account of the children's lives might suffice to

explain this phenomenon. On their capture the girls were immediately placed in "a barricade made of long poles, not permitting the inmates to come out. The area of the barricade was eight feet by eight feet." Singh left them there in that narrow confine and returned five days later to find them deserted by their keepers and left without food or drink. "The situation [was] very grave, . . . the children lying in their own mess, panting for breath through hunger, thirst and fright. . . . The feeding was a problem. They would not receive anything into their mouths." Finally, he got them to suck some tea from a wick, like babies. Before the girls had time to recover, a journey of seventy-five miles was undertaken, lasting for seven days, during which they were transported in a jolting bullock cart. There they spent another seven or eight days in narrow confinement. When they arrived at Midnapore, "they were so weak and emaciated that they could not move about."

If this had happened to some of our autistic children, we would assume that complete and prolonged deprivation of food, drink, and a chance to move about are sufficient to explain total regression to infantilism, such as not walking and being able only to suck. Most of the descriptions we have of the Indian girls' way of walking refer to the time after their arrival at Midnapore. In an entry dated twenty days after (i.e., November 24, 1920), Singh mentions "extensive corns on the knee and on the palm of the hand near the wrist which had developed from walking on all fours." The sores healed, but, he adds, only "on the nineteenth of December we found them able to move about a little, crawling on feet and hands."¹⁷

Thus no moving-about was actually observed in Amala and Kamala after their capture, and probably none took place from the day of their capture until some sixty-two days later when they began to crawl like normal infants: a type of behavior which can be fully explained by the deep regression they had experienced in all other ways.

¹⁴ Kanner, "Autistic Disturbances . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 218.

¹⁵ Singh and Zingg, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Kanner, "Autistic Disturbances . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 236.

¹⁷ Singh and Zingg, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-12.

The belief that their walking on all fours was due to their living with the wolves is pure conjecture.¹⁸ I believe that it is much more reasonable to assume that their walking on all fours was part of a regression to the crawling stage such as we see frequently in some of our autistic children.

A characteristic of the children attributed to the feral past is that their eyes were wide open at night, like those of a cat or a dog. We are also told that they could see better by night than by day, though no objective tests support the assertion. This unusual acuity of vision is reported as of December 20, the day after they first began to crawl, when they were barely emerging from their deepest immobility and debility.¹⁹ How Singh could be sure that they could see better at night than during the day, at a time when they could hardly move or do anything else, is beyond me.

Another capacity linked with their feral past is their ability to smell meat or anything else from a great distance, like animals. Hardly anyone who has worked with psychotic children and has reported on them in any detail has failed to remark on their strange hypersensitivity to sensations of smell and touch in stark contrast to prolonged periods of unresponsiveness to those of sight. Hearing often takes a middle position, being sometimes blocked out and at other times or in other cases increased. In general, the senses of closeness (touch and smell) and distance (hearing and seeing) are invested in psychotic children inversely to what is usual in normal persons. Elsewhere I have reported on the extremely acute sensitivity to smell of schizophrenic children, who could smell what we could not.²⁰

Kamala's ability to find her way about in the darkness is reported as unusual and

likewise due to her feral experiences. But this is not unusual for many of our autistic children, who, in general, rely very little on sight for getting about.

Amala and Kamala are reported to have eaten and drunk "like dogs from the plate, lowering their mouths down to the plate," to which statement a footnote is attached, saying: "Their methods of eating were conditioned reflexes learned from the wolves."²⁰ Joe (whose history is given below) has never to our knowledge eaten any other way and still eats only thus, after more than a year with us. Other autistic children eat only by shoveling food into their mouths with a paw-like motion, while again others feed only from their own skins.²²

We are told that "the perception of cold or heat was unknown to them," to which, in a footnote, is added that this was "another conditioned reflex from their experience with wolves."²³ But some of our autistic children have sometimes tried to run out into the street stark naked even in Chicago's winter weather, when the temperature is quite different from that of Midnapore. We always caught them quickly, yet they seemed totally insensitive to such experiences and never had so much as a cold in consequence. Schizophrenic children often behave as though they were totally insensitive to heat and cold, as did Amala and Kamala, whose attitude to temperature is therefore hardly unique and proves nothing about a feral past.²⁴

²⁰ *Truants from Life* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), p. 222. For example, one of our autistic, non-speaking girls at one period kept her eyes shut tight for days. This in no way impaired her ability to find her way about, even when we tentatively put some obstacles in her normal course in the hope of inducing her to open her eyes. This she did not do but sensed exactly the place where the obstruction was put and circumnavigated it.

²¹ Singh and Zingg, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²² For this and similar strange eating behavior see my "Childhood Schizophrenia as a Reaction to Extreme Situations," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XXVI (1956), 515.

²³ Singh and Zingg, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²⁴ Cf. my *Love Is Not Enough* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), p. 300.

¹⁸ R. R. Gates, in a footnote to the description of the children's crawling, mentions that A. Hrdlicka in his book *Children Who Run on All Fours*, published in 1931, collected 387 such cases, mostly of white children of civilized parents. This suggests that crawling is neither unique nor necessarily due to feral rearing (cf. Singh and Zingg, *op. cit.*, p. 13).

¹⁹ Singh and Zingg, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Sensitivity to pain in psychotic children is, in the same way, unlike that of normal children and has to do with the nature of the disturbance and not with a feral past.²⁵

This leaves only one inhuman characteristic in my catalogue—their inability to laugh. This, too, is quite characteristic for most, if not all, autistic children. As far as my recollection goes, our autistic children have never laughed until such time as we believed they had definitely moved from infantile autism toward severe neurosis, a much more benign degree of emotional disturbance.

Actually, the catalogue of animal-like behavior is slight. Comparing it with what animal psychologists, such as Lorenz, can tell us about the wide variety of an animal's behavior, not to mention the incredible variety of human behavior, it appears that even our most autistic children show only a few characteristics that lend themselves to comparisons with animals. But the few characteristics or types of behavior are so shocking to us that they assume importance and proportion entirely out of line with their actual frequency or significance in the child's total life. If we were to catalogue the behavior of even wildly acting-out autistic children, two things would stand out: first, that most of the time they do nothing and avoid any contact with the world (cf. the aloofness of the wolf children) and, second, that, if they cease to be aloof for short periods, even then they do very few things in comparison with normal children of their age. When they occasionally engage in animal-like behavior, we tend to be so overimpressed by it that we lose sight of the rest.

What was the actual nature of the children's past? If feral experiences do not explain their behavior, what experiences do? I can say nothing about the past of the two

wolf girls, but perhaps the past of our autistic children may suggest what their actual, as opposed to their imagined, past may have been. I would like to stress here that, while we continue to study these children intensively, as of the moment we reserve judgment about what *causes* infantile autism. By now we are pretty sure of the important role of certain contributing factors, but whether they are causative or only contributory only further work will tell.

It should be stressed again that only a small minority of known autistic children are "wild." For example, only a few of Kanner's cases showed some of the traits which characterized Kamala and possibly also Amala; most of his cases were much more like Parasram. We have worked with both those similar to Parasram and those more like Kamala; both groups have all the essential features in common, with the one exception of the animal-like wildness of the latter.

What causes this difference in behavior? For a time we thought it might originate in the difference in home backgrounds. All Kanner's cases are children of highly intelligent parents, and that is also true of a majority of our nineteen autistic children. Some of our wildest children had unusual experiences in infancy, as will be seen from the life-history of Anna. Her parents would hardly be described as highly intellectual. Two other very wild autistic children come from highly intellectual homes. On the other hand, at least five of our quieter autistic children who are very like those described by Kanner come from non-intellectual homes, and four more from lower-middle-class backgrounds, the parents having had little, or at best modest, education.

On the quiet autistic children, more similar to Parasram, ample material is available, particularly in the case studies published by Kanner. I shall give the life-history of Anna, a wild child with animal-like traits, of whom I have already spoken:

Anna came to us at the age of about ten. For years, before she entered the Orthogenic School, her uncontrollable wild behavior had made life unbearable for her family. Her broth-

²⁵ Mahler describes how one of her psychotic patients deliberately scorched her own lips with a cigarette lighter and showed no reaction, and she goes on to say that this child's sensitivity seemed grossly below normal and to explain this as an "indication of the lack or deficiency of peripheral cathexis in autistic child patients" (Mahler, "On Child Psychosis and Schizophrenia," *op. cit.*, p. 291).

er, six years younger than she, had been in constant danger of his life and had to be protected at all times from her violence. Neighbors had had to call the police because Anna was so dangerous to their children. Several efforts at placing her in treatment institutions failed. In a very well-known institution for disturbed children she lasted barely half a day; in those few hours she managed to throw the institution into such a turmoil, and did so much damage, that she could not be kept. Even in a psychiatric hospital she could remain only a month because it, too, was not equipped to handle such a wild child. There she had to be in a maximum-security room, that is, a room without any furniture, where she spent her days naked because she tore off all clothes that were put on her. Most of the time she crouched in a corner in total withdrawal; from this she emerged for short periods of wild screaming, running, jumping, and pounding on walls and door. Since this made it impossible to keep her in the children's ward, the hospital had to place her in the adult maximum-security quarters, an arrangement too unsuitable to be continued.

Anna's life began in a dugout under a farmer's house in Poland, where her Jewish parents were hiding from the Germans, who were trying to exterminate all Jews. Her parents were ill mated. The mother, who found the father utterly unattractive, had rejected him for years while he courted her hopelessly. Both felt that they were of unlike temperaments and background. By the time World War II broke out, the father had given up hope of winning the mother, but the German invasion of Poland soon changed the situation. He foresaw what would happen after Germany occupied Poland, and so he collected a large amount of wool and made arrangements with a gentile peasant friend to staple it in a dugout under his farmhouse, where he had set up a loom. When the Germans began to exterminate the Jews, Anna's father took permanent refuge in his small earthen cellar. But first he tried once more to persuade the woman he loved to join him. This proposal she again rejected without hesitation. She had no use for him, she said, and would rather be killed by the Germans than live with him. Soon things grew much worse; most of her family was killed. At that time the father, who could no longer leave his hiding place, again sent word to her through his gentile friend, asking her to join him. By then she had been left all alone and had no place in which to hide from the Germans. Very much

against her will she took refuge with the father in his hole under the ground; his peasant friend was willing to let them both hide there. But her condition for accepting was that they would have no sexual relations.

The father managed to support them, and in part also the peasant who hid them all during the German occupation, by weaving in his underground hole. The peasant sold the sweaters he wove, and on what he got for them (clothing being at a premium) he and the two in hiding were able to live. But the dugout was so small that there was not enough space for the parents to so much as stretch out at night unless the loom was taken down. Then they could bed themselves down for the night, the wool serving as bed and cover. So every night the loom was taken apart, and every morning it was reassembled. Several times the Germans searched the farmhouse but did not find the two in their cellar; its trap door was covered with stamped earth, like the rest of the farmhouse floor.

At least once (according to other stories they told us, it was *several* times) the Germans shot into the farmhouse. With the passing of time, life under such conditions became ever more difficult, the two being forced on each other without respite. Nevertheless, for over a year Anna's mother refused to live with her husband as man and wife. She rejected him because she felt him to be beneath her, culturally and socially, and repulsive physically. According to Anna's father, though incensed at the continued rejection, he respected her wishes and did not force himself upon her.

About what happened then, the parents' stories disagree. According to the father, they trembled for their lives every day, but he at least had his work to keep him going, while Anna's mother was beginning to lose all will to live. In desperation he decided that, if she had a child, it would restore her wish to live and maybe even make her accept him. So he convinced her to have a child, and she agreed to have sexual relations just for that purpose. Only because of these circumstances did she become pregnant.

According to the mother, the father pursued her sexually all along. After a year, no longer willing or able to stand the presence of a woman whom he loved so much and who rejected him, he threatened to kick her out of their refuge: she must either surrender or leave—which was tantamount to being killed by the Germans. Only under such duress did she finally give in.

When, in the spring of 1943, Anna, the child of this relation, was born, she did, it is true, occupy the mother and give her some interest in life, but it made existence even more difficult in their narrow confinement. When Anna tried to cry, as infants do, one of the parents had to hold a hand over her mouth, since any noise, particularly a baby's crying, would have given them all away. Also the peasant, who with reason feared for his life if it should be learned that he was hiding Jews, became more and more fearful and angry when the infant made any noise or otherwise complicated matters. So the parents and the farmer, each afraid of the Germans, did their best to see to it that the infant was totally quiet at all times and as little of a bother in all other respects.

As long as the mother could nurse her, Anna had at least enough food. But her milk gave out before Anna was a year and a half old. Then all she could feed her was raw vegetables or such like, since they could not cook. Not until 1945, when the Russian occupation replaced that of the Germans, did things improve, but by then Anna had become unmanageable. Nightly she would run, jump up and down, and scream, sometimes for hours, sometimes all night. She never fell asleep before two or three in the morning. When she was not screaming or being violent, she was doing nothing, "thinking, thinking, sitting by herself and thinking her own life."

Eventually, the parents managed to reach Germany and entered first one, then another, and finally a third DP camp. But, once in Germany and relative freedom, the mother began illicit relations. When her husband learned of it, new and violent fights broke out between the two. The mother wanted to leave him once and for all, but Anna stood in the way. The mother wanted to keep the child, but her lover did not want Anna. The mother was ready to give Anna up because she wanted to live with her lover but was unwilling to surrender Anna to the father. So she suggested that Anna should stay with her own mother. To this the father would not agree—he wished to emigrate to the United States, where he had relatives, and to take Anna there.

During the years in Germany the parents frequently contemplated divorce, but at the last moment the father could never consent to it, fearing that Anna would probably be given into the custody of the mother, who had no use either for Anna or for him. There were violent out-

bursts in front of Anna. As one of them put it: "We screamed and fought all the time over the child." The father's feelings about his wife can best be expressed by his lament: "I so often gave my life for her, and she only betrayed me."

Long before Anna came to this country, even before her brother was born, she was examined by an American physician in one of the German DP camps and immediately recognized as an autistic child who needed treatment in an institution. Since we are here concerned with the background of so-called feral children, and since Anna was recognizably both wild and autistic when about five or six years old, nothing more needs to be said here of her story.

We can say with conviction that it is simply due to chance that our two wildest girls were foreign-born and first saw the world in time of war. Thousands of children were born in DP camps and developed normally, and most of our autistic children were reared in what seemed like good middle-class homes. Even more than the deep inner rejection, total emotional isolation makes for autistic withdrawal, though, as said before, we reserve final judgment until we know more. In general, they seem potentially very bright and very sensitive children. Perhaps this is why they react so strongly to emotions in their parents which they somehow comprehend as a threat to their existence. To protect their lives, they stop existing as human beings, or so it would seem. Thus to give the story of one of our wild, autistic children from a middle-class family:

Joe was the native-born son of native-born, highly intelligent and ambitious parents, exactly what Kanner describes as typical of all autistic children. He was nine when we first met his parents. By then, what they recalled of their attitudes toward him as an infant were highly colored by feelings of guilt, but clearly this was a case of extreme neglect and isolation.

The earliest investigation of Joe's past took place when he was not yet three years old. Several more psychiatric studies preceded his coming to the Orthogenic School and our interview with the parents. From each emerged the same picture of Joe's early life. Both parents began psychotherapy a few years after Joe's

birth, and they gave us permission to confer with their therapists, who stated that they each gave us a truthful account of their early handling of Joe—accounts which also tallied with their personalities and with their past and present attitudes as these were made plain during treatment.

Joe was born within ten months of the parents' marriage, a time when both parents were overburdened and physically and emotionally exhausted. The father, a junior in medical school, held two jobs, one being night work, to support himself and his family. Understandably, he was always on edge. The task of taking care of a baby frightened both parents. As was typical of the father all his life, when in fright, he attacked. The mother's reaction to having a baby was one of fear and panic, which only increased the father's anger. What the father called his anger and fighting back at the baby are described by the mother as violent rages, which kept her in constant fear. Finally, as she said, after living "in fright and trembling," she suddenly turned and started a "counteroffensive"; her husband appeared simply as an enemy to be vanquished.

While the mother stated that she was "thrilled at the idea of having a child," the father reports that her attitude changed immediately after Joe's birth. She became depressed and developed great fear, if not panic, at nursing him. Indeed, she became afraid of everything about Joe, particularly about whether he would get enough to eat. At the same time she was worried by sore nipples and confused about how often she should feed him.

Joe was obviously not a happy baby. He rocked a great deal, scratched his face severely, and cried a lot. He was colicky, and by the end of his first month of life both parents were "fed up with him." They accepted a pediatrician's advice to leave him strictly alone, particularly when he cried. The mother, who had previously felt that Joe's demands on her were monstrous in their excess, was glad to follow this advice rigidly. After a few weeks his prolonged daily crying spells stopped, but he was still left alone most of the time. His mother related, for example, that, when Joe was about six months old, "we again had a violent quarrel one day. We screamed and physically fought each other for half an hour, or longer. Before the fight started, I had just put Joe on the potty, and it all took place within his hearing. He just sat

there on the potty without moving or any reaction."

When he was not yet a year and a half old, the mother went to the hospital to avoid a miscarriage, and, since the father was a physician, it seemed simplest to place Joe in the pediatric ward. This precipitated a regressive episode in which he resumed persistent thumb-sucking and rocking and ceased to speak the few words he had already learned. Some weeks later the mother aborted and had to be hospitalized for a time; yet, despite the bad effect they knew it had on Joe, they put him again in the pediatric ward for the sake of convenience. By then both parents had lost interest in him. The father withdrew entirely into his work, the mother became engrossed in a new pregnancy, and Joe spent most of his time alone, either in the yard or at a nearby beach. He had nobody to play with; he did not move about; he spent all his waking day simply clinging to one toy or another, such as a ball.

The parents first became aware of the seriousness of his difficulties when he was two and a half, at which time the birth of a brother intensified his symptoms: twirling, rocking, thumb-sucking, and lack of speech. When they tried sending him to a nursery school, his total withdrawal became even more apparent. Treatment was attempted but failed.

The parents wished to believe his difficulties were organic, but complete physical examinations at three outstanding medical centers revealed no supporting evidence: each time the conclusion was that his difficulties were emotional in origin. The findings agreed on Joe's extreme intellectual retardation and the severity of his emotional disturbance, as evidenced by his total withdrawal and self-preoccupation, his inability to relate himself emotionally to others or to make any meaningful contacts at all, despite attempts at physical contact made by others. He was and remained withdrawn in his own autistic world, and there was no tangible evidence of fantasy content to his solitary infantile play or to his primitive hand and mouth activity. The low affect responses and the emptiness of his emotional and intellectual life indicated a primary psychotic disorder in which at no time was there any but the earliest and most primitive ego development.

The diagnostic impression was, once, of psychosis of childhood; twice, of infantile autism. Treatment away from home was recommended, and Joe, not yet four, was placed in an institu-

tion where he remained without much change until he was about nine and entered the Orthogenic School. By then he had never made any articulate sounds, though he understood simple commands. He tore his food with his hands, licked the plate like a dog, attacked others in all ways, including clawing and biting—in short, behaved like a “feral” child.

To sum up: Study of the so-called feral children, and comparison of them with known and well-observed wild autistic children, suggests strongly that their behavior is due in large part, if not entirely, to extreme emotional isolation combined with experiences which they interpreted as threat-

ening them with utter destruction. It seems to be the result of some persons’—usually their parents’—inhumanity and not the result, as was assumed, of animals’—particularly, wolves’—humanity. To put it differently, feral children seem to be produced not when wolves behave like mothers but when mothers behave like non-humans. The conclusion tentatively forced on us is that, while there are no feral children, there are some very rare examples of feral mothers, of human beings who become feral to one of their children.

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THE IDENTIFIABILITY OF JEWS¹

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ABSTRACT

Six judges attempted to identify 91 students as Jewish or non-Jewish under three experimental conditions: on physiognomy alone; on physiognomy, speech, and gesture; and on physiognomy, speech, gesture, and name. Among the general findings are these: the Jewish students were correctly identified by physiognomy above chance expectation, 30 per cent of them being identified correctly by all six judges; Jews were taken for non-Jews more frequently than the reverse on all three tests; and physiognomy, speech, and gesture together were less valid clues than physiognomy alone.

This is a study to determine the extent to which Jews may be accurately identified and the clues by which this identification is made.

Herskovits² mentions a study on the identifiability of racial or national origin instituted by Franz Boaz some thirty years ago, of which the findings were never published. Freshmen entering various universities were asked during their first week of school, before they had become acquainted with one another, to complete questionnaires reporting their place of birth, that of their parents and grandparents, language spoken at home, "race," and the characteristics of this "race." Each was then individually observed by his classmates, who then indicated, without knowing his name, what they thought to be his origins, their degree of certainty in judging, and their reasons for so classifying him. Herskovits mentions that Boaz told him that at one of the New York colleges 40 per cent of the Italians were taken for Jews and that a similar percentage of Jews were taken for Italians.

Lund and Berg³ asked eighteen judges—twelve college students and six high-school

and college instructors—to identify 2,875 elementary, high-school, and college students as to "nationality origin and European background" and religious affiliation as "Jew" or "Christian." The judges made two judgments of each individual; the first solely on the basis of appearance, the second on appearance plus speech. Correct identification of Jews on the basis of appearance alone was only 44.2 per cent, but 92.2 per cent for Christians. Judgments based on appearance plus speech, however, raised the percentage of correct identification of Jews to 51.5 per cent, but the figure for Christians remained at 92.2 per cent. These figures are deceptive because the population judged contained a very large majority of non-Jews; about nine times as many Jews were called Christians as the reverse.

Allport and Kramer⁴ gave a "racial awareness" test to 223 Harvard and Radcliffe students in conjunction with pencil-paper questionnaires to measure prejudice against and experience with minority groups. Each student was shown twenty slides, each of which showed the photograph of a male college student taken from a five-year-old Harvard yearbook. They were asked after a fifteen-second exposure whether they thought the photograph was that of a Jew or a non-Jew. "Don't know" responses were allowed. Half of the photographs, which were presented in random order, were of Jews and half were of non-Jews.

¹ This is a slightly revised version of a paper read at the annual meetings of the Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, April, 1958.

² Melville J. Herskovits, "Who Are the Jews?" in Louis Finkelstein, *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949), Vol. II, chap. xxx.

³ Frederick H. Lund and Wilner C. Berg, "Identifiability of Nationality Characteristics," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXIV (August, 1946), 77-83.

⁴ Gordon Allport and Bernard M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (July, 1946), 9-39.

Not one of the 223 students guessed all twenty correctly. The range was from 0 to 80 per cent correct judgments, with a median of 55.5 per cent correct (about eleven out of twenty). Students with higher total prejudice scores judged *more* faces to be Jewish than did students with lower scores. Students with higher anti-Semitic scores were more *correct* in their judgment. Both findings are significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence.

These findings have been further investigated in four additional studies, in which, as in the original research, photographs or lantern slides were used rather than actual observations of subjects, college students were employed as judges, and the degree of prejudice of the judges was determined.

Carter⁵ had 290 students identify the "racial" background of 45 second-generation Mediterraneans, Jews, and North Europeans by lantern slides. He found that, when a twofold classification into Jewish and non-Jewish faces was made, 61 per cent of the Jews and 71 per cent of the non-Jews were correctly identified. When a threefold breakdown was asked for, the percentages of correct identifications were 52 for the Mediterraneans, 49 for the Jews, and 75 for the North Europeans. However, when percentages of correct identifications are based on those *called* Jews and non-Jews in the twofold breakdown, the results are somewhat lower for the Jews and higher for the non-Jews—52 and 78 per cent. Using the threefold classification of Jewish, Mediterranean, and North European, the percentages correctly labeled were 58, 54, and 58, respectively.

Carter found a "small" relationship between degree of prejudice and the number of slides classified as belonging to the group toward which prejudice is expressed in the twofold Jewish-non-Jewish set of judgments. This relationship becomes "insignificant" when the threefold classification is required. "No consistent relationship" is

found for the more prejudiced judges to be more accurate in their identification of Jews. On the basis of these findings, the author questions the general applicability of Allport and Kramer's findings.

Lindzey and Rogolsky⁶ have essentially repeated Allport and Kramer's study, using 685 undergraduate judges. They found the mean accuracy in identification of twenty photographs (ten each of Jews and non-Jews) to be 13.4. This figure is higher than Allport and Kramer's figure of "about eleven out of twenty" correct responses. This is at least partly explicable by Lindzey and Rogolsky's allocation of "Don't know" responses proportionately to each judge's "Jewish" and "non-Jewish" responses—a questionable procedure. Along with other results, the authors found support at a prearranged 5 per cent level of significance for Allport and Kramer's findings that individuals who score high in prejudice are more accurate in their identification of Jews and tend to label more faces as Jewish.

Elliott and Wittenberg⁷ give evidence to contradict the findings of Allport and Kramer and of Lindzey and Rogolsky that the positive relationship between anti-Semitic attitudes and accuracy in identifying Jewish and non-Jewish photographs is due to the greater skill of prejudiced persons. They claim that this may be a spurious relationship attributable to the anti-Semite's tendency to judge more faces as Jewish. To test this, the authors used three samples of twenty photographs from a 1949 Wayne University yearbook. Of Sample I, 75 per cent were Jews; of Sample II, 25 per cent were Jews; and, of Sample III, 50 per cent were Jews. The seventy student judges identified only a mean of 8.8 out of twenty faces correctly in Sample I. In Samples II and III the means were 10.3 and 8.8. These results

⁶ Gardner Lindzey and Saul Rogolsky, "Prejudice and Identification of Minority Group Membership," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLV (January, 1950), 37-53.

⁷ Donald N. Elliott and Bernard H. Wittenberg, "Accuracy of Identification of Jewish and Non-Jewish Photographs," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LI (September, 1955), 339-41.

⁵ Launor F. Carter, "The Identification of 'Racial' Membership," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLIII (July, 1948), 279-86.

amount to 44, 52, and 44 per cent correctly identified; the last two are below chance expectation. Elliott and Wittenberg found a positive relationship between anti-Semitic attitude scores and accuracy of identification *only* for the 75 per cent Jewish sample. This indicates that the alleged accuracy of identification of Jews may be a function of a bias of the anti-Semites in judging more faces to be Jewish.

Scodel and Austrin⁸ have further investigated the question of the relationship between prejudice and response bias in labeling photographs as Jewish, on the one hand, and the accuracy of identification, on the other. They also have attempted to determine differences between Jews and non-Jews on these two points. One hundred and eighteen Jewish and 194 non-Jewish undergraduates judged a hundred photographs (thirty "Jews," thirty "Americans," twenty "North Europeans," and twenty "South Europeans"), obtained from various sources, as of either Jews or non-Jews. Each student was also asked to choose the thirty photographs he thought most likely to be of Jews. Among Jews and non-Jews the more prejudiced tended to label more photographs as Jewish than the less prejudiced, but in neither group was there a significant difference in accuracy between those of high and low prejudice. Jews, however, were slightly more accurate than non-Jews and showed a tendency to label more photographs as Jewish. The authors claim that both groups did better than chance in identifying Jewish faces, but they then go on to say that "whether Jews can be identified better than chance, however, is a relatively meaningless question [in this case], since accuracy is obviously dependent on the nature of the group from which Jews are being selected." All these findings are significant to at least a 5 per cent level.

In general, these studies indicate that there is a tendency on the part of anti-Sem-

ites to choose more faces as Jewish, and this probably explains the likelihood that they will appear more accurate in their identification of Jews. Paradoxically, the only study that investigated differences between Jewish and non-Jewish judges found that the former judged more faces to be Jewish and were more accurate than the non-Jewish judges. There also appears to be a general allocation preference for taking Jews for non-Jews rather than the reverse, except when there is a sizable proportion of Mediterraneans in the population judged. And there is a marked variation in the range of identifiability of Jews from about 40 to 65 per cent, a variability which seems to be partly a function of the proportion of Mediterraneans in the total population judged.

Our study differs from these previous investigations in several ways: the identification was of live individuals rather than of photographs because, though it entails numerous disadvantages, we thought it more "realistic"; judgments were made under three sets of conditions; and all analyses were made in terms of a Jewish-non-Jewish breakdown of judges and subjects.

METHOD

The problem is the extent to which Jews may be accurately identified and the degree to which this perceivability is attributable to physiognomic or cultural attributes such as gesticulation and articulation and the names of the subjects. Toward this end, six individuals attempted to identify 57 male and 34 female undergraduates previously unknown to them.

The six judges were male doctoral candidates in the social sciences. Half were Jewish and had resided for considerable periods in areas of high Jewish concentration; the three non-Jewish judges, on the other hand, had had limited contact with Jews.

The subjects were four freshman classes at the University of Pennsylvania; two classes ("Introductory Sociology") were all male, and two classes ("English Composition") all female. Crucial data concerning

⁸ Alvin Scodel and Harvey Austrin, "The Perception of Jewish Photographs by Non-Jews and Jews," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LIV (March, 1957), 278-80.

the subjects were obtained by having them complete a four-page "background" questionnaire. The true purpose of both the questionnaire and the study itself was kept from the students, in part, by including a number of decoy or irrelevant questions, for example, fraternity and political affiliations, number of siblings, etc.⁹

The relevant information consisted of the religious affiliation and the birthplace of the subject and his parents. The questions were so constructed as to "force" some affiliation, for example, "What are you? Protestant Catholic Jewish (Circle one)." Two of the students who had one Jewish and one non-Jewish parent were arbitrarily dropped.

The test itself consisted of having the six judges make three separate judgments, at different times, of all the subjects, placing each student on a four-point scale:

- A. I am almost positive he (she) is a Jew.
- B. I guess he (she) may be a Jew.
- C. I guess he (she) may be a non-Jew.
- D. I am almost positive he (she) is a non-Jew.

"Don't know" responses were not allowed. After some deliberation, it was decided, in order to permit simple statistical manipulation, to collapse these four categories into two: Jewish (A and B) and non-Jewish (C and D).

In the test on the first level, the judges based their judgment as nearly as possible on physiognomy alone.¹⁰ While the subjects completed the questionnaires, which took from twenty-five to thirty minutes, the judges, in the front of the classroom, marked "A," "B," "C," or "D" for each student in the appropriate place on a seating chart.

⁹ Subsequent to the tests some Jewish students said that they would have "acted" differently and spoken more slowly and precisely had they been aware of the true purpose of the study.

¹⁰ Two judges suggested a possible influence of the seating arrangement, that is, a tendency for Jews to sit beside Jews. But a check revealed only a slight tendency, if any, of this sort. One judge claimed that he might have been influenced by a possible Jewish-non-Jewish difference in haircuts. All judges agreed that they perceived no difference in dress.

The second level of judgment was made several weeks later. The students discussed a number of "non-loaded" questions asked by their instructor during normal class. Each male subject talked enough for judgment to be made for all. Over the women students, however, the investigators had less control, and only a minority of girls spoke at sufficient length to permit judgments to be made. In this test, judgments were based on physical appearance plus speech and gestures.

On the third level, again after several weeks,¹¹ each student stood up in class, gave his complete name, spelled his surname, and mentioned the last motion picture he had seen and made critical comments on it. The judgments now were based on physiognomy, articulation, gesticulation, and name.

The tests themselves were additive in nature in that each one contained additional clues which, it was assumed, aided in the correct identification of Jews. On the second level, judgment was based not only on physical appearance but on verbalization, regional accent, and gestures. On the third, the judges used all these clues, with the subject's name in addition.

RESULTS

Table 1 discloses that the male subjects were accurately identified well above chance on Level I.¹² Correct identification amounted to 62 per cent of all judgments of the Jewish and 82 per cent of the non-Jewish subjects. The differences between the Jewish and non-Jewish judges were quite small. On the second level the over-all identification of Jewish subjects dropped from 62 to 52 per cent,

¹¹ One of the Jewish judges was not present for the third test of the women. Because of this and with our lack of experimental control over the class during the second test of judgments of women, we have dropped the female population from this study except for an occasional mention. The data, in tabular form, are available to anyone interested.

¹² We have regarded p as equal to .5 in the statement of our null hypothesis. The assumption here is that each judgment was a separate and discrete choice between "Jew" and "non-Jew" and was unrelated to either the estimated or the actual percentage of Jews among the subjects.

the Jewish judges remaining relatively constant, while the non-Jewish judges dropped from 64 per cent on Level I to 42 per cent on Level II. With the non-Jewish subjects, however, correct judgments rose to 93 per cent, both sets of judges increasing their accuracy considerably and maintaining it at about this high point on Level III judgments. On the third level, Jewish subjects were correctly identified in 90 per cent of the cases by the Jewish judges and in 78 per cent by the non-Jewish judges.

Whereas Table 1 deals with accuracy in identifying *actual* Jewish and non-Jewish subjects, Table 2 shows the percentage of correct identification among those *called* Jews or non-Jews who actually were Jews or non-Jews. Thus this table, in contradistinction to Table 1, shows a regular and substantial increase in correct identification on each level, from 74 to 86 to 89 per cent for Jewish male subjects and from 73 to 70 to 88 per cent for non-Jewish male students.

Table 3 discloses that at each of the three

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT IDENTIFICATION OF JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH MALE UNDERGRADUATES, BY LEVEL, FOR JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH JUDGES

(*N* = Number of *Actual* Jews or Non-Jews To Be Identified by Judges)*

	LEVEL I		LEVEL II		LEVEL III	
	J <i>N</i> :%	NJ <i>N</i> :%	J <i>N</i> :%	NJ <i>N</i> :%	J <i>N</i> :%	NJ <i>N</i> :%
Jewish Judge No. 1.....	24:71	31:77	24:67	28:93	23:100	31:93
Jewish Judge No. 2.....	24:67	29:79	23:74	28:93	23:91	31:87
Jewish Judge No. 3.....	24:42	31:97	24:46	28:93	23:78	27:96
Total Jewish judges.....	72:60	91:85	71:62	84:93	69:90	89:92
Non-Jewish Judge No. 1.....	24:58	30:87	24:42	28:86	23:74	27:93
Non-Jewish Judge No. 2.....	24:75	30:60	24:50	28:96	23:87	27:85
Non-Jewish Judge No. 3.....	24:58	31:94	23:35	28:96	23:74	27:96
Total non-Jewish judges....	72:64	91:80	71:42	84:93	69:78	81:91
Total all judges.....	144:62	182:82	142:52	168:93	138:84	170:92
Percentage of incorrect judgments						
—all judges.....	38	18	48	7	16	8

* Variations in the *N*'s are attributable to absences of the subjects or inadvertent omission by the judges.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF MALES CALLED "JEWS" AND "NON-JEWS" WHO ACTUALLY WERE JEWS AND NON-JEWS, BY LEVEL, FOR JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH JUDGES

(*N* = Number of Individuals *Called* Jewish or Non-Jewish)

	LEVEL I		LEVEL II		LEVEL III	
	J <i>N</i> :%	NJ <i>N</i> :%	J <i>N</i> :%	NJ <i>N</i> :%	J <i>N</i> :%	NJ <i>N</i> :%
Jewish Judge No. 1.....	24:71	31:77	18:89	34:76	25:92	29:100
Jewish Judge No. 2.....	22:73	31:74	19:89	32:81	25:84	29:93
Jewish Judge No. 3.....	11:91	44:68	13:85	39:67	19:95	31:84
Total Jewish judges.....	57:75	106:73	50:88	105:74	69:90	89:92
Non-Jewish Judge No. 1.....	18:78	36:72	14:71	38:63	19:89	31:81
Non-Jewish Judge No. 2.....	30:60	24:75	13:92	39:69	24:83	26:88
Non-Jewish Judge No. 3.....	16:88	39:74	9:89	42:64	18:94	32:81
Total non-Jewish judges....	64:72	99:74	36:83	119:66	61:89	89:83
Total all judges.....	121:74	205:73	86:86	224:70	130:89	178:88

levels the non-Jewish male students were more highly visible than their Jewish counterparts. Thus, on Level I, 41 per cent of all non-Jewish students were unanimously identified by the six judges, in contrast to 30 per cent of the Jewish subjects. In the second series of judgments, the corresponding percentages were 68 and 9, while on the last level they were 73 and 55, respectively. At the other extreme, 43 per cent of the Jewish and 13 per cent of the non-Jewish male subjects were identified by three or fewer judges on the first level; this differential

backgrounds, or from different academic fields, the proportion of correct identifications might have been somewhat different. If, on the other hand, the subjects were older individuals instead of college undergraduates, or if the population contained different proportions from particular ethnic groups, again the findings would probably be different. If, for instance, there had been more students of Italian and Greek background among our subjects, the percentage of correct identifications of Jews would probably be lower. In view of this, the findings

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH MALE UNDERGRADUATES IDENTIFIED CORRECTLY BY ALL 6 JUDGES, BY 5 OUT OF 6, BY 4 OUT OF 6, THROUGH 0 OUT OF 6 JUDGES
COMPARED WITH PER CENT CHANCE EXPECTATIONS, BY LEVELS

(*N* = Number of Individuals)*

CORRECT IDENTIFICATION	CHANCE EXPECTATION	LEVEL I		LEVEL II		LEVEL III	
		J† (<i>N</i> = 23)	NJ† (<i>N</i> = 29)	J (<i>N</i> = 22)	NJ† (<i>N</i> = 28)	J† (<i>N</i> = 22)	NJ† (<i>N</i> = 26)
6 out of 6.....	2	30	41	9	68	55	73
5 out of 6.....	9	13	24	18	25	18	15
4 out of 6.....	23	13	21	14	4	14	4
3 out of 6.....	31	17	10	18	4	9	4
2 out of 6.....	23	4	3	27	0	5	4
1 out of 6.....	9	13	0	9	0	0	0
0 out of 6.....	2	9	0	5	0	0	0
Total.....	99	99	99	100	101	101	100
Mean no. of correct identifications.....	3.0	3.4	4.9	3.2	5.6	5.1	5.6

* The variable *N*'s are explained by the exclusion of any individual on any level upon whom all of the judges did not make judgments.

† Indicates a distribution that could have occurred by chance $<.05$. The significance test used was the Kolmogorov-Smirnov One-Sample Test. See Sidney Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 47-52.

increased on the second level to 59 and 4 per cent, respectively. On the third level the differential decreased to 14 and 8 per cent. The actual distributions are compared here with the expected, derived through the binomial expansion. All the distributions significantly exceeded chance expectations at the upper end of the scale of visibility except for Level II judgments of Jews.

The percentages here arrived at are not generalizable. Had we used females rather than males, or businessmen rather than social science graduate students, as judges, the results would perhaps be different. Or if the judges were of different ethnic or regional

can be regarded as significant *only* as they might shed light on the *relative differentials in the identifiability of Jews and non-Jews*.

The significant points arising from this study are the following:

Jews are identifiable by physiognomy beyond chance, within the sampling limitations already cited. Sixty-two per cent of the Jewish males were correctly identified in this manner; and correct identifications of those *classified* as Jews (Table 2) amounted to 74 per cent. For, while 2 per cent of the Jewish subjects should, by chance expectation, have been identified unanimously by all six judges (Table 3), actually, 30 per cent of the Jewish males were correctly identified

by all six judges. (The comparable percentages for the female population were 67, 71, and 13.)

Jewish males were less often correctly identified than non-Jewish males on all levels. (This was true of the female sample, too, but to a lesser extent.) There are two possible kinds of errors: judging a Jew to be a non-Jew or judging a non-Jew to be a Jew. Errors of the former kind, however, are much more frequent than errors of the latter among both Jewish and non-Jewish judges. Table 1 shows the percentage of incorrect judgments of the Jewish males on the three levels to be 38, 48, and 16, but for non-Jewish males the corresponding percentages are 18, 7, and 8. Table 3 shows a markedly smaller proportion of Jewish than non-Jewish males to be correctly identified by six out of six and five out of six judges. There are, however, large differences in allocation preference on the three levels. On Levels I and III, taking a Jew to be a non-Jew is about twice as frequent as taking a non-Jew to be a Jew; on Level II, however, this preference is on the order of seven to one. (Lund and Berg found it to be about nine to one.)

That the judges erred in the direction of taking Jews to be non-Jews rather than the reverse cannot be explained here by assuming that the judges underestimated the proportion of Jewish students in the population judged. A check of the judges showed that they estimated with fair accuracy the actual Jewish-non-Jewish composition of the male and female populations.¹³ It may be due to the presence of a "liberal bias" on the part of the judges that they assign the higher status of non-Jew when in doubt. Or the explanation may be simpler; it may be due to a tendency to resolve doubtful cases in favor of the most numerous class. (Of re-

lated interest here is the well-supported finding that anti-Semitic individuals show the opposite disposition to judge more individuals to be Jews.)

Unexpectedly, there is a *decrease* in the percentages of correct identifications from 62 to 52 for Jewish males as one passes from Levels I to II (Table 1). Greater identifiability was expected on tests of Level II because the clues of speech and gesture were added to physiognomy, the criterion of Level I. When the Jewish and non-Jewish judges are compared, it will be seen that the diminished correctness of identification is limited wholly to the non-Jewish judges. The percentages of correct identification for Jewish males, on the two levels for the Jewish judges remained constant (60 and 62), but, among the non-Jewish judges, it dropped from 64 to 42.

A possible explanation of this may be an identification on the part of the non-Jewish judges, particularly, of "non-Jewishness" with individuals who do not betray characteristics of Eastern urban speech and gesture, which few of the male students have. These findings also suggest that speech and gesture are stronger determinates of judgment than physiognomy, *even though they are less valid*.¹⁴

When in doubt, most judges apparently classified an individual as a non-Jew. (We believe that this is independent of the proportions in the population judged.) This tendency creates the impression of significantly lower identifiability of Jews than of non-Jews (Table 1). In order to eliminate this bias, Table 2 was constructed to depict the percentages of correct identifications using as the denominator the number of subjects *called* Jews or non-Jews rather than the number of *actual* Jews or non-Jews. For example, on Level I, when the number of *actual* Jews is used as the denominator, correct identifiability is 62 per cent (Table 1),

¹³ The six judges estimated the percentages of Jewish male students in the population as follows: 45, 30-35, 50, 30-35, 40-50, and 50-60. Their judgments for the percentages of Jewish women were as follows: 35, 20, 30-40, 40, 40-50, and 40. Actually, 41 per cent of the men were Jewish and 45 per cent of the women.

¹⁴ We were under the impression that the Jewish subjects who were correctly identified on Level II less seldom than on Level I would be largely from outside the New York-New Jersey-Philadelphia area. Such did not prove to be the case.

but, when the number of individuals *called* Jews is used, correct identifiability jumps to 74 per cent (Table 2). At all levels the correct identification of Jews is more frequent, and of non-Jews less frequent in Table 2.

Table 2, however, may set up an opposite distortion, exaggerating the accuracy and perception of Jews by the judges. Here high accuracy is correlated with the classification of a small number of individuals as Jews. Jewish Judge No. 3 correctly identified only 42 per cent of the 24 Jewish male subjects on the first level, and, similarly, Non-Jewish Judge No. 3 was 58 per cent accurate for the same students (Table 1). But, using as a basis those *called* Jews (Table 2), Jewish Judge No. 3 was 91 per cent correct, but he only classified 11 males as Jews; likewise, Non-Jewish Judge No. 3 was 88 per cent accurate, taking only 16 males to be Jews.

In Table 2 the increased accuracy from Level I (74 per cent) to Level II (86 per cent) appears related to the drop in the number of individuals classified as Jews from 121 on the first level to 86 on the second. Possibly, the "articulatory-gesticulatory" clues conflicted with certain stereotypes of "Jewishness." As most of the males were of middle or upper economic status, few revealed such speech or gestures.

The name, however, apparently had high predictive value for the judges. Correct identifications reached their highest point for Jewish subjects on this third level, and the differential between Tables 1 and 2 became minimal. Table 1 discloses that 84 per cent of the judgments were now correct, while Table 2 reveals an accuracy of 89 per cent, even though the number of individuals classified as Jews was the highest for any test (130).

There were a sizable percentage of Jewish subjects who were very highly visible, that is, identified by all six judges, on the basis of physiognomy. Table 3 reveals that 30 per cent (7 out of 23) of the Jewish males were so identified. There were also several (2 out of 23) "invisible" Jews, that is, incorrectly identified by all judges. This distribution

was unique to the first level. With the introduction of the "articulation-gesticulation" clue, the number of highly visible and invisible Jews diminished. Finally, when names were added, over half the Jewish subject population became highly visible. It might be noted that, on this third level, there were no longer any invisible Jews, and, indeed, only one male (5 per cent) was correctly identified by fewer than two judges.

For the non-Jewish the distributions were more skewed in the direction of high visibility on all three levels. Forty-one per cent of the non-Jews were highly visible on the first level, 68 per cent on the second, and 73 per cent on the third. Indeed, only one subject (3 per cent) on Level I and one subject (4 per cent) on Level III were correctly identified by fewer than three judges. We have already quoted the disposition, when in doubt, to classify the subject as non-Jewish.

In judging the undergraduates, there was little difference in the ability of Jewish and non-Jewish judges to identify correctly on Level I, where cultural differentials are least significant. On Levels II and III, however, where cultural elements are crucial, the Jewish judges were more accurate in identifying Jewish males than were the non-Jewish. On Level II the percentage of correct responses by Jewish judges was 62 and by non-Jewish judges 42, while on Level III the percentages were 90 and 78, respectively. There appears to be no difference in ability to identify non-Jews correctly: the percentages of correct responses on Level II was 93 for both groups of judges, while on Level III the percentages were 92 and 91. In short, Jewish judges are apparently better judges of Jewish males than are non-Jewish judges when cultural attributes are introduced, and there is barely any difference on any level in the ability of the two groups of judges to judge non-Jewish males correctly. As Table 2 indicates, this cannot be explained by their tendency to judge more faces as Jewish.

THE FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION OF ELITES IN THE KIBBUTZ¹

AMITAI ETZIONI

ABSTRACT

A process of differentiation in the social structure of the communal settlements of Israel (*kibbutz*) is related to functional differentiation of elites. Expert, managerial, social, and cultural elites emerge. The differentiation first takes place on the role level and later on the personnel level. The processes of differentiation follow predictable lines suggested by Parsons. Once differentiated, a hierarchy of elites tends to develop in which specialized elites are at the bottom, dual elites at the middle level, and collectivity oriented elites at the top.

I. FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF ELITES

Every social system, perhaps every system of action, is confronted with four basic functional problems. When simple social systems become more complex, when a *Gemeinschaft* becomes a *Gesellschaft*, four distinct sub-systems emerge, each predominantly devoted to one of the major functions. Thus many processes of change can be analyzed as processes of functional differentiation. These ideas, formulated by Professor Parsons in 1953,² have been fruitfully applied in the analysis of a large number of social as well as non-social systems, including the social structures of task-oriented groups,³ of families,⁴ and of economies;⁵ the processes of socialization and social control;⁶ and the

history of culture, especially religion and the structure of the legal system.⁷ This paper attempts to show that, after some minor additions, this conceptual scheme can be very helpful in analyzing the social structure and the differentiation of elites. The discussion is based on a study of elites in communal settlements (*kibbutzim*) in Israel.⁸

The four universal functional problems are: (1) the need of the system to control the environment; (2) gratification of the system's goals; (3) maintenance of solidarity among the system units; and (4) reinforcement of the integrity of the value system and its institutionalization. In the rest of the discussion these functional problems will be referred to as "adaptive," "goal-attainment," "solidaric," and "normative," respectively. Following Parsons' suggestion the adaptive and goal-attainment functions will be labeled "external" and the solidaric and normative "internal." The adaptive and normative will be labeled "instrumental" and the goal-attainment and solidaric functions "consummatory"⁹ (see Table 1).

¹ This paper is based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Organizational Structure of the *Kibbutz*" (University of California, Berkeley, 1958). He is indebted to Professors S. M. Lipset and Philip Selznick, and to Professor Talcott Parsons for criticism of an earlier version and especially to Dr. Y. Talmon-Garber. The data were collected at the Israeli Institute of Productivity.

² See Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 92-128; and Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953).

³ Parsons *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-268, esp. 111-61.

⁴ Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, *et al.*, *Family Socialization and Interaction* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955).

⁵ Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

⁶ *Family, Socialization and Interaction*, pp. 36, 38-39, 40-45, 140-41, 200-216.

⁷ Discussions of Professor Parsons in a seminar, Berkeley, spring, 1958.

⁸ A preliminary report on this study was published in Hebrew (see Amitai Etzioni, "The Organizational Structure of the *Kibbutz*," *Niv HaKevutza*, VI, No. 3 [August, 1957], 412-33, and VI, No. 4 [November, 1957], 658-82).

⁹ Talcott Parsons, "The Role of General Theory in Sociological Analysis" (paper presented to the American Sociological Society, Washington, D.C., 1957).

In every social system at least some social situation, roles, or, in more complex structures, collectivities are devoted mainly to one of the major functions. When the social systems become complex and internally differentiated, we would expect to find in each subsystem some roles or collectivities which specialize in initiating, directing, and/or regulating the activities of each subsystem. We shall refer to these roles and collectivities as "elites." Thus we would expect to find in each complex social system four elites, one for each subsystem.

TABLE 1

	Instrumental	Consummatory
External	A Adaptive	G Goal attainment
Internal	L Latent (Normative)	I Solidarity

We suggest calling the adaptive elite—the elite of the specialists or experts, the goal-attainment elite—the politicians or managers (depending on the context); the elite of integrative activities—the social leaders, and the elite of the normative subsystem—the "cultural" (as defined by Parsons) leaders, including philosophers, ideologists, religious leaders, and others. This nomenclature can be justified by showing that the activities of experts, managers, and social and cultural leaders, using these designations approximately as they are generally understood, are cognate with the activities of the four functional subsystems discussed above, if both types of activities are analyzed in terms of pattern variables. The pattern variables of the four subsystems have been specified by Parsons as shown in Table 2.¹⁰

We shall turn now to specify the various elite activities in these terms. The experts are adaptive because their activities are specific and universalistic. They deal with

knowledge, science, and technology. They are interested in the objective features of the environment from the point of view of the specific system problem they attempt to solve. The political or managerial elites (managers are in a certain sense the politicians of their organizations) are affective and performance oriented. They direct activities toward the system goals (this is the affective element) and are interested in motion toward these goals rather than in maintaining the quality of the system (this is the performance orientation). The social leaders (often "informal leaders") are particularistic and diffuse in their orientation. Their focus of interest is the particular system of which they are leaders, and their influence as well as their involvement are not limited to segmental spheres of their group activity but encompass the whole group sphere of action. The cultural leaders deal with symbols and values which determine the normative quality of the system. Creation of new meanings, integration of new meanings with the old ones, reinterpretation of systems of

TABLE 2

A			G
	Universalism Specificity	Affectivity Performance	
	Quality Neutrality	Diffuseness Particularism	
L			I

meaning, creating and maintaining value commitments—all these activities undertaken by cultural leaders have one common requirement: some independence and detachment from the social system and a certain degree of neutrality toward it.

This typology of elites should be seen as an analytical scheme. Concrete elites can be analyzed according to the specific ways in which the analytical elements are combined. Thus industrial elites are often managerial-expert; many politicians are political-integrative (social) oriented, and the secondary orientations of many members of

¹⁰ *Working Papers*, p. 182.

the cultural elites seem to be expert orientations (e.g., most academicians). Thus a relatively more sophisticated classification of elites can be achieved only when the analytical scheme is applied at least twice and the predominant as well as the subordinate orientations of elites determined.

II. THE PROCESS OF FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

In a very simple and uninstitutionalized social system, as, for instance, friendship between two people who have about equal status and similar involvement in the relationship, there may be no elite positions. But in somewhat larger (e.g., experimental groups) or more institutionalized (e.g., the family) systems, specialized roles of initiation and control will tend to develop. At first, or at very low levels of complexity, these elite positions will tend to be *multifunctional*, that is, the same role-holders will initiate and control action in all major areas of activities. In friendship between a veteran and a recruit, one, say the veteran, may be the "expert" on adapting to the environment (he knows the "ropes"), have a determining influence on the nature of the activities (to go have a beer or watch a movie), and at the same time be the one who maintains the harmony of the relationship (gives in) and reinforces its norms. Thus the veteran has a multifunctional elite position in the friendship system. In some primitive societies the chief and his court, seen as one unit, is such a multifunctional undifferentiated elite.

At somewhat more complex levels elite roles and elite groups become differentiated. The separation of the religious elite from the political-bureaucratic elite is perhaps the most significant and well-known case to the student of modern societies. Industrial sociologists focus on a vital differentiation of line-staff functions (manager-expert functions) which emerges as industrialization develops. The formal-informal leadership distinction, essential to organizational sociology, is a differentiation between managerial-oriented and solidaric-oriented leaders.

We shall turn now to a detailed account

of a case study of the process of functional differentiation of the elite of a community. The functional differentiation of the elite will be related to changes in the structure of a community which becomes more and more complex and more and more institutionalized.

III. NATURAL HISTORY OF THE "KIBBUTZ" AND ELITE DIFFERENTIATION

The elites we studied are the elites of the communal settlements in Israel, the *kibbutzim*.¹¹ There are about 225 *kibbutzim*, most of which follow a fundamentally similar life-pattern. The groups which eventually establish *kibbutzim* are conceived in the youth movements, grow up in the training camps, mature into autonomous young *kibbutzim*, and settle down to the routine life of an older *kibbutz*. We shall discuss the nature of the social system at each stage and then relate the process of elite differentiation to the changes in the nature of the social system. We shall attempt to find support for the following hypotheses in the data we collected: (a) with increasing complexity of the social system the elite becomes differentiated, that is, various functions are carried out by separate roles and different people; (b) differentiation is not random but follows a certain predictable pattern, multifunctional elites becoming differentiated according to functional lines; (c) once differentiated, a hierarchy of elites tends to develop, in which specialized (mono-functional) elites are at or near the bottom, dual elites are at the middle levels, and collectivity oriented elites are at the top; and (d) the process through which a new social system is created and gradually gains functional autonomy is analyzed and related to the differentiation of the elites. In the sociologi-

¹¹ For some excellent general discussions of the *kibbutz* see Melfrod E. Spiro, *Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956); M. Weingarten, *Life in a Kibbutz* (New York: Reconstructionist Press, 1955); Henrik F. Infield, *Cooperative Living in Palestine* (New York: Dryden Press, 1944); and Esther Tauber, *Molding Society to Man* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1955).

cal literature there are very few discussions of the emergence of new social systems larger than small groups.

A. ELITES IN A PARTIAL SYSTEM

Most new *kibbutzim* grow out of groups of young people who are recruited from outside the *kibbutz* movement. Usually these groups crystallize in some collectivistic-oriented social movements like the pioneering youth movements in Israel and some Zionist youth movements in the Diaspora.¹² These young people generally live in their parents' homes, study or work during the day, and meet in the evenings and week ends in order to create a social group which later will become a *kibbutz*.

These youth-movement groups, called *gariinim*,¹³ are sporadic and partial social systems, dominated by normative and integrative orientations; sporadic, because between periods of activity the whole group becomes latent, and partial because they depend on parents, schools, work places, youth-movement headquarters, and other external institutions for the fulfilment and regulation of some basic functions. Particularly, the external functions of adapting to the environment (e.g., making a livelihood) and allocating the available facilities among the group members are fulfilled for the group by members of outside social systems.

The group is a relatively autonomous system as far as the internal functions are concerned. Activities are mainly of two types: (1) normative—studying the writing of Marx, Lenin, Borkhov, and other European and Israeli socialists and discussing *kibbutz* literature and Israel's politics; and (2) integrative—dancing, communal singing, and trips and parties. Much emphasis is put on holidays and various Boy Scout-like rituals.

¹² See J. Ben David, "Report of the Research Project on Youth Movement in Israel," *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology* (London: International Sociological Association, 1954), Vol. I; S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

¹³ Literary, "pits"; also "core." The term is used to designate that these groups are seeds of future *kibbutzim*.

The groups are small, coeducational, and highly homogeneous in terms of age, ethnic, and socio-economic status as well as educational background. This homogeneity, the lack of external functions, and the emphasis on internally oriented activities tend to create highly solidaric groups whose social structure is based almost completely on informal social control.

Elites at this stage are restricted to internal functions. Most external activities are initiated and controlled by elites in other systems. Parents determine when younger members can go to the youth-movement center, how much time they can spend, if they may join a trip, etc. Schools or employers have similar controlling functions. A youth guide nominated by the youth-movement headquarters directs and limits many of the activities conducted by the group. The *gariin* has some "self-government" through two channels: elected committees and informal leadership. But the scope of this self-regulation is very limited. Informal leaders are easily co-opted, and committees tend to become inactive shortly after their election.

There is no elite differentiation at this stage. The youth guide controls both normative and integrative activities. The informal leaders, as far as we can tell, have similar positions in both realms of activity. Many local branches of the youth movements have only one committee which often discusses and decides on issues of both kinds, interchangeably.

B. ELITES IN THE TRANSITORY PERIOD

The second stage in the natural history of the *kibbutz* begins when the *gariinim* leave their sheltered homes and city life for intensive training, usually after graduation from high school. There are several alternative training arrangements: some training takes place in agricultural colleges which are also boarding schools,¹⁴ some in *moshavot*. Often the training for farm work and *kib-*

¹⁴ These schools are discussed by Amitai Etzioni, "The Organizational Structure of 'Closed' Educational Institutions in Israel," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXVII, No. 2 (Spring, 1957), 107-25.

butz life is combined with service in the army. In most cases the training takes place in an older *kibbutz*. We shall follow the development of the *gariin* and its elites when this alternative is chosen.

With the transfer to the training place, the *gariin* becomes a permanent social group called *hachshara*, which means "training." The group settles in one of the *kibbutz* quarters. Interaction becomes continuous, and contact among members is very frequent. For the first time the group obtains a common external base. All *gariin* members work for the same "employer," an older host *kibbutz*, and are trained by its members. The members obtain all their supplies and accommodations from the communal services of the host *kibbutz*.

At the same time the *hachshara* becomes much more autonomous. It gains a high degree of self-control over internal functions and some control over externally oriented activities. The controlling functions of the youth guide are internalized. The group has to initiate and regulate by itself all social and cultural activities. Functionaries of the older *kibbutz* give some "expert" advice on these issues (e.g., help to obtain a lecturer) and set some limits to self-regulation (e.g., a trip planned for Passover has to be delayed because the *hachshara* help is needed for an early harvesting). But, in general, the older *kibbutz* interferes only rarely in the *hachshara's* internal activities.

Externally oriented activities of the *hachshara* still take place in systems not under its control. The members work in the host *kibbutz* farm and services and receive accommodation from it. They are assigned to jobs mainly according to the *kibbutz* needs and by its work assigner. He usually determines which members will be assigned to what jobs, thus leaving the *hachshara* little control over the division of labor within it.

The increase in internal control is revealed in the considerable increase in scope and significance of committee activities. In the *gariin* period most issues were decided through informal group discussions; in the

hachshara it is done in the general assembly, which usually meets once a week and decides almost all the issues. It also elects committees which function in its name and report to it about their activities.

There is a cultural committee in charge of normative functions and also of some integrative functions.¹⁵ It organizes lectures, a library, supply of newspapers and political information, etc., as well as parties and rituals on Friday and holiday evenings. There is a members' committee in charge of integrative and some normative activities. It has same judicial functions (e.g., it settles serious conflicts among members). Its representatives hold intimate informal discussions with *hachshara* members who have "personal" problems, who are suspected of intending to desert the group, and who deviate from this or that *kibbutz* norm. At this stage the members' committee has only limited control over the allocation of material rewards, which are supplied by the host *kibbutz* mainly to individuals in the *hachshara* and not to the *hachshara* as a group.

There is a work committee which represents the *hachshara* toward the host *kibbutz* work assigner. It bargains with him over the ratio of *hachshara* members assigned to skilled and semiskilled jobs to unskilled workers, reports about members who are sick, on applicants for vacations, etc. Thus at this stage it is a committee with an external-representative function.

The first signs of differentiation can be recognized at this stage. There is a role differentiation among the three or more committees but little differentiation among the elite personnel. While some members are considered as having greater aptitudes for this or that elite role, specialization is not encouraged. Active members are often switched from one committee to another and often are members of two at a time.

As noted, there are some signs of role

¹⁵ The committees in the *kibbutz* are described and discussed in the studies mentioned above (see n. 11) and in Maurice Pearlman, *Collective Adventure* (London: William Heinmann Ltd., 1938), and Ben-Shalom Avraham, *Deep Furrows* (New York: Hashomer Hatzair Organization, 1937).

differentiation on the elite level but very little specialization of elite personnel. In earlier stages of differentiation tasks which have hereto been organized in one role become separated and invested in two or more separate roles. Such role differentiation does not mean that a parallel differentiation of personnel occurs automatically. The same people can go on carrying out the now separate tasks (this happens when the work unit becomes separated from the family unit), or there can be a high turnover among the carriers of the separate roles, so that most people will carry each role for some time, and only little specialization will occur. The young *kibbutzim* come close to this model for a short period, maintaining considerable differentiation of elite roles with little differentiation of elite personnel.

C. ELITES IN AN AUTONOMOUS COLLECTIVITY

The third step in the natural history of the *kibbutz* takes place when the training is completed. The *hachshara* leaves the host *kibbutz* and establishes a new one. Not all *hachsharot* (plural of *hachshara*) reach this stage. Some disintegrate, and some join an existing *kibbutz*. We shall follow the development of the elites where the *hachshara* establishes a *kibbutz* of its own.

The major change from *hachshara* to *kibbutz* is the internalization of control over the adaptive and managerial functions. At this stage members work in a farm at services which belong to and are controlled by themselves. the older *kibbutzim* send often a guide or two to help out during the first months, but they are generally considered strictly experts, sources of advice, and not partners in the structure of control. The general assembly controls production, division of labor, and allocation of material rewards (consumption), as it controlled the social and cultural activities in the *hachshara*.

The elite, which heretofore consisted of a few committees and informal leaders, expands rapidly and becomes much more elaborated and specialized. A whole organizational structure with a center of decisions

(the secretariat), division of tasks and authority as well as some hierarchization, develops. The first full-time functionaries are elected. A large number of new, mainly external-oriented committees are created, following the model of the older *kibbutzim*.

The most important new committee is the farm committee, which is in control of the externally oriented subsystem, the work system. It is a managerial-expert committee which plans and regulates the allocations of means of production, including labor, machines, other types of equipment, soil, water, fertilizers, technological knowledge, and financial means.

The work committee now distributes the workers according to the needs of their farm and its services as well as their personal needs; thus control over work becomes internalized. The farm committee is helped by various expert committees, including a planning committee for planning of the new *kibbutz* site, construction, and farm; a crop committee, which works out the details of the agricultural planning, including crop rotation; and some other committees which vary from *kibbutz* to *kibbutz*.

An important change takes place in the functions of the members' committee. In the *hachshara* days it had only integrative-normative functions (see above); now a new medium of integration is added. The committee determines the allocation of various material rewards and handles the integrative problems emerging from it.

The committees have limited significance compared with the functionaries, who are elected for the first time at this stage. While the committees meet once or twice per week after working hours, the functionaries are part or full-time organizers who devote a considerable part of their working day as well as much of their leisure time to organizational activity. At this stage there are usually five functionaries: the general farm manager, usually also the chairman of the farm committee, who actually directs the work system of the *kibbutz*; the treasurer, who is the *kibbutz* representative in the city in financial and marketing matters; the

shopping agent, who makes purchases for the *kibbutz* in the city; and the secretary, whose role is a combination of the clerk of the *kibbutz*, its representative to the authorities, and the only functionary active in internal activities. He is often chairman of the members' committee. Most of the new *kibbutzim* have also part-time work assigners. In others work is assigned by the work committee members in their free time. The last important addition are branch managers. The *kibbutz'* farm and communal services (communal kitchen, laundry, children's houses, clothing store, etc.) are organized into work units called "branches." At this stage most branches are established, and branch managers are elected or nominated.

At this point a hierarchy of elites develops for the first time. At the top is the secretariat, to which all other committees are subordinated. Most functionaries are members of the secretariat; otherwise they are subordinated to it as well. The most developed hierarchy is found in the new organizational branch of the external activities. From bottom to top we find the following levels: workers, branch managers, farm committee and the general farm manager, the secretariat, and, finally, the general assembly.

By now, there is a considerable differentiation of elites as to role. The strongest differentiation is between the externally and internally oriented elites. On the one hand, we find the cultural committee, members' committee, and the secretary; on the other, the farm committee, other externally oriented committees, as well as four functionaries (all except the secretary) and the branch managers. There is some differentiation along the four functional lines. In the internal wing the cultural committee is predominantly normatively oriented, and the members' committee and the secretary are predominantly integratively oriented. (This differentiation basically existed already in the *hachshara* days, but it becomes more emphasized.) In the external branch the farm committee and the general farm manager are predominantly managerially

oriented, and the advisory committees (the planning committee, the crop committee, and others) are predominantly expert-oriented. The branch managers of small branches are more expert-oriented; the branch managers of larger branches are managerial-oriented.

D. ELITES IN A COMPLEX SYSTEM

The change from a young *kibbutz* to an older one is a change from a relatively simple monolithic collectivity to a complex commune. The solidaric ties to the *kibbutz* as a collectivity are weakened with the increase of the significance of the solidaric ties to the subcollectivities. In earlier stages the *kibbutz* was mainly a group of young bachelors. By now most of its members have established a family, which becomes a significant unit of activity and loyalty.¹⁶ A second focus of solidarity is often found in the new groups which join *kibbutz* after the first years. The young *kibbutzim* are small (forty to eighty members), homogenous groups. But soon the groups are not large enough for the various needs of the *kibbutz*, mainly for a rational organization of the farm and defense system. New groups join, unlike it in age, educational background, and/or ethnic origin and socioeconomic status. In most cases some social differentiation is maintained along these lines.¹⁷ As the *kibbutz* becomes older, the children often constitute a social subcollectivity of their own. At last, to close the circle, the *kibbutz* plays host to a *hachshara*, which is preparing itself for the day it will establish its own *kibbutz*. In *kibbutzim* where there is little differentiation of loyal-

¹⁶ On the increasing significance of the family as a cohesive unit in the *kibbutz* see Y. Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Israel," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVI, No. 4 (November, 1954), 348, and Y. Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Collective Settlements" (stenciled).

¹⁷ On the development of social differentiation in the *kibbutz* see Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in a 'Classless' Society," *American Sociological Review*, XVI, No. 6 (December, 1951), 766-74; Yonina Talmon-Garber, "Differentiation in Collective Settlements," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* (Hebrew University, Jerusalem), III (1956), 153-78.

ties on status bases (e.g., old-timers versus newcomers; ethnic origins) often loyalties are woven along functional lines of work units (called "branches").¹⁸ But the elites themselves almost never constitute a basis for crystalization of a solidaric group (see below).¹⁹

The organizational structure itself does not change in any basic way, although it becomes considerably larger and more elaborate. At a relatively early stage an educational committee is added which is responsible for the socialization of the children, a normative function. As the number of the children increases, subcommittees for various age groups are introduced. In order to maintain normative primacy of the committee, larger *kibbutzim* elect special educational subcommittees for administrative and technical tasks. The members' committee usually establishes an increasing number of subordinated committees which deal with specific allocations like a housing committee, an equipment committee, a health committee, and many others.

The number of functionaries and the time allocated to them are increased, but no new tasks are formed. Functionaries are first released from regular work for an hour a day (known in the *kibbutz* as an "eight," i.e., eighth part of the working day). The time allocated for organizational activity is gradually increased. While in the new *kibbutz* usually only one or two functionaries have a full-time office, in the older *kibbutz* most functionaries are old full-time officers; in large *kibbutzim* two full-time functionaries fulfil tasks earlier carried out by one part-time functionary. Thus, *in toto*, there is mainly an increase in the volume of elite activity but little additional differentiation on

the role level. The reason is, we suggest, that basic functional differentiation has already been reached at the earlier stage.

The main change as far as the elite structure is concerned lies now on a different level. Specialization takes place now on the personnel level. Until now we saw a process of increasing differentiation on the role level, while elite members were switched frequently from role to role, although there was some concern about specialization of personnel, as noted earlier. At this last stage members are increasingly specialized in one function, yet elite members frequently hold more than one office, this being less true as the institution ages.

We studied the offices held simultaneously by elite members of two *kibbutzim*; a young *kibbutz*, COT, established in 1949 and an older COT and forty-one "additional" offices in BAH. By additional offices we mean the offices a member holds simultaneously with his basic office. From the point of view of the present argument and the statistics supplied, it does not make any difference which role is designated as "base" and which as "additional"; what matters is the number of offices held by one person and the types of combination.

Obviously, the number of cases is too small to allow for a fourfold functional analysis. But if we divide the offices into externally and internally oriented offices (we have suggested that the external-internal differentiation develops earlier), we can see significant differences between the two *kibbutzim* (see Table 3).

The data support the suggestion made above. In the younger *kibbutz* there are more members who hold offices in elites of different functional subsystems than in the older; while in the young *kibbutz* 33 per cent of the combinations of offices are cross-functional, less than 10 per cent are so in the older *kibbutz*. In support of this conclusion from other *kibbutzim*, it may be said that in Benjamin, a young *kibbutz*, the treasurer, who plays an adaptive-dominated role, was also the ideological leader of the *kibbutz*. In Simon (a young *kibbutz*) the

¹⁸ See Amitai Etzioni, "Solidaric Work-Groups in Collective Settlements," *Human Organization*, XVI, No. 3 (1958), 2-6.

¹⁹ On lack of social ties between elite members see Y. Talmon-Garber, "Differentiation in Collective Settlements," *op. cit.*, p. 117. On the concept of social circulation see H. D. Lasswell, D. Lerner, and C. E. Rothwell, *The Comparative Study of Elites* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), pp. 8-9.

general farm manager was at the same time also the chairman of the educational committee. We do not know about any similar combinations in older *kibbutzim*. Some probably exist, but they seem to be considerably less frequent.

IV. ELITES AND INSTITUTIONALIZED BRIDGES

Differentiated societies have separate subsystems devoted to the major functions. Thus the work system is devoted to adaptation, family and education to socialization (normative dominancy), the legal system mainly to integration, and what is often referred to as decision-making can be termed, in the conceptual frame of reference applied here, a managerial subsystem. The activities

interstitial units are certain types of elites. While most are *specialized*, some are dual-oriented and others collectivity oriented. The *dual* elites serve two subsystems simultaneously; the *collectivity* oriented elites serve the whole. By integrating and coordinating differentiated activities, both contribute to the cohesiveness and effectiveness of the system.

We would expect to find specialized elites at the bottom or close to the bottom of organization and stratification structures, dual elites at the middle level, and collectivity oriented at the top level. But while organizational structures almost always have one center of decision (i.e., a top elite), in stratification and political structures of so-

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF ADDITIONAL OFFICES

	External- [*] External Offices	External-Internal or Internal-External Offices	Internal- Internal Offices
COT (young <i>kibbutz</i>).....	8	6	4
BAH (older <i>kibbutz</i>).....	27	4	10

^{*} The first term designates the office of the elite member; the second, the additional offices. Thus external-internal, for instance, means that a member in an external committee (e.g., farm committee) is also a member of an internal committee (e.g., educational committee).

of these various subsystems have to be integrated if the system is to be maintained and its ability to reach its goals is to be preserved. To some degree this is performed by the regular functioning of the various subsystems, especially the integrative and normative subsystems. To some degree the ties among the various subsystems are maintained by special intersystem (interstitial) sectors. Some professions and many cross-class social groups and voluntary associations seem to have this function.

We would expect interstitial units to lack a dominant unidimensional orientation and their structure to reflect the orientational nature of the subsystems they bridge. Thus, if we see a vocational school as a typical interstitial unit, we would expect it to combine the normative orientation of the family and primary school with the external orientations of the occupational system.

Among the most important categories of

cieties it varies considerably. While totalitarian states have a centralized top elite, in feudal societies and some democratic societies, notably the United States, top-level elite structure is much more complicated.²⁰

The *kibbutz* gives us an opportunity to study a society which has a top collectivity oriented elite which to a large degree coincides with the elites institutionalized in the organizational structure and also to study a dual elite. The work committee in both the young and the older *kibbutz* is a dual elite; the secretariat is collectivity oriented.

The work committee assigns members to jobs. Two types of considerations impinge equally on the decisions to assign members:

²⁰ See Raymond Aron, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class," in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 567-77; C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); Talcott Parsons, "The Distribution of Power in American Society," *World Politics*, X, No. 1 (October, 1957), 123-43.

the needs of the farm and services and the needs of the *kibbutz* as a solidaric unit. In pattern variables the first set of considerations is universalistic, specific, and performance- and neutrality-dominated. The factors taken into consideration are economic, technological, and physical require-

tive system, on the other—a difficult thing, since the conflicting needs of the two subsystems are considerable. *Kibbutz* members often refuse to serve on the work committee, especially to be work assigners. While, in general, committee members are elected for one or two years, work assigners

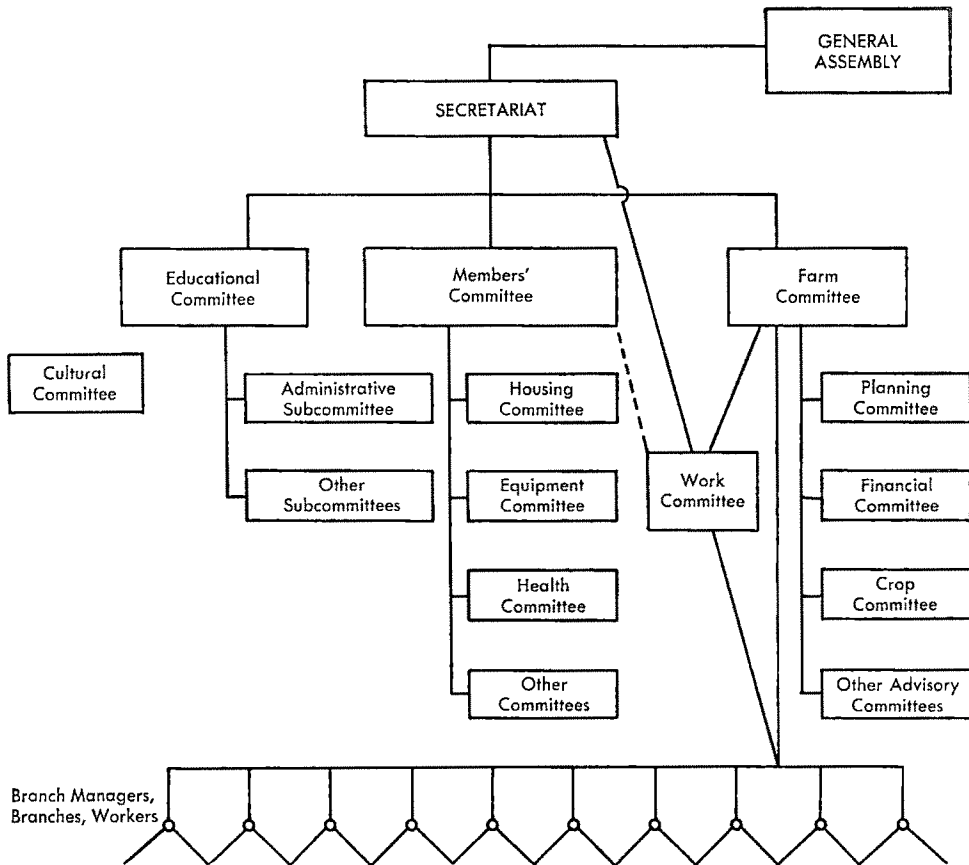


FIG. 1.—Model of the organizational structure of an older *kibbutz*

ments, aptitudes, managerial expediency, efficiency, and optimal distribution of means of production. The second set of considerations is particularistic, diffuse, quality and affectively oriented. The members' preferences about jobs, team mates, positions in the *kibbutz*, character, and similar factors are taken into account.

The task of the work committee is to work out solutions which will not undermine the work system, on one hand, and the integra-

are elected for shorter periods, in most *kibbutzim* for three months.

The interstitial character of the work committee is revealed by the hierarchical nature of the organization (Fig. 1). Most elite roles in the organizational structure of the *kibbutz* are clearly in one line of authority. Thus the branch managers are subordinated to the general farm managers; the housing, equipment, and health committees to the members' committee; and the mem-

bers of the educational subcommittees to the educational committee. But the work committee and work assigner are not clearly subordinated to any committee and are often directly represented in the top committee, the secretariat (see below). While the work assigner often works in close cooperation with the general farm manager and is under considerable influence from his managerial (universalistic) demands, he is also under pressure of the health committee, members' committee, and secretary to take into account "human factors." In some *kibbutzim* one member of the work committee is an ex-officio representative of the members' committee. Former members of the work committee seem to be more likely to become active members of internally oriented committees than holders of any externally oriented role, and former members of internal committees seem to be more like work-committee members than do those of any external committee.

Organizational structures are characterized among other things by a single center of direction. The nature of this top unit reflects to some degree the nature of the whole system. Thus, if the system is characterized by a dominance of the normative function, for instance, we would not be astonished to find a strong representation of normative-oriented actors in the top elite of the system. But, on the other hand, the top elite of any organization cannot be a specialized elite in the dominant function of the organization, because other functions of the organization may be neglected. Since the organization is a social system, its effective functioning and, in the long run, its very existence depend on representation of all major functions—directly or indirectly—at the top level. Thus top management of successful industries includes "managers" as well as experts, engineers as well as salespeople, economists as well as accountants.

The top elite of the organization structure of most *kibbutzim* is the secretariat. It controls the whole organizational structure and is responsible before the general assembly for the functioning of the various commit-

tees and functionaries. In cases of conflict among the various committees, the issue is often decided by the secretariat or by the general assembly, which may act on recommendations submitted by the secretariat.²¹ The agenda of the general assembly is prepared by the secretariat, and one of its members is the chairman of the general assembly in most *kibbutzim*. While members of the other committees often develop quite strong loyalties to one realm of activity, the secretariat is considered to be the "cabinet" of the whole *kibbutz*, and its members are particularly expected to have "the general welfare" of the *kibbutz* as their primary focus of interest and loyalty.

The secretariat is well adapted to its functions as a top, collectivity oriented elite. All major functions are represented in it. It includes usually the treasurer, the general farm manager, the chairman of the members' committee, the chairman of the educational committee, and often the work assigner. The secretary is the nominal chairman of the committee. In addition to the functional representatives, one or two members are usually elected to "represent the public." These are sometimes the most influential members of the secretariat. They are not committed to one function and thus help the secretariat to reach agreed upon policies. Thus, while most committees include only specialists of one or two kinds, the secretariat includes representatives of all major functions and some unspecialized members. It is a multifunctional body which represents the collectivity as a unit versus the various subsystems.

DISCUSSION

At every stage of change (especially from the *gariin* to the *hachshara* and from the *hachshara* to a young *kibbutz*) involves, on the one hand, an expressive crisis for the organization and, on the other hand, en-

²¹ On the democratic process in the *kibbutz* see R. D. Schwartz, "Democracy and Collectivism in the Kibbutz," in *Social Problems*, special issue on the *kibbutz*, S. Diamond (ed.), Vol. V, No. 2 (Fall, 1957).

hanced ritualistic activity. The crisis is expressed in considerable reorganization and in high turnover of members. The "rituals"—especially when a *hachshara* reaches maturity and a new *kibbutz* is established—are highly institutionalized. The analogy between it and the socialization of the child may lead as well to intriguing insights into organizations and institutionalization.

Elites emerge and develop in a patterned process. First there are elite situations (informal discussions which include decision-making in the youth movement), then elite roles emerge. The third step occurs when elite roles differentiate, without a necessary parallel differentiation of the elite personnel taking place. Often a more or less parallel differentiation occurs later on the personnel level; this could be designated as specialization. The last stage, which seems not to have developed in most *kibbutzim*, occurs when the various elites become subcollectivities (i.e., bases for formation of solidaric ties).

It was pointed out by Parsons that differentiation of social (and non-social) systems do not develop randomly but take place along predictable lines of the fourfold func-

tional scheme. The differentiation of elites seems, at least in our case, to follow along the same lines.

In analyzing the various elite roles and the process of change, we found that certain concepts and patterns of relationships have to be added to the scheme which was our starting point. We found that concurrently with the process of differentiation a process of integration (not a process of merging!) takes place. On the one hand, "primitive," multifunctional, undifferentiated elites give way to a set of specialized elites; on the other hand, interstitial elites emerge which integrate the activities of either two subsystems or of the collectivity as a whole. These elites are placed in the political and stratification structure of the organization and society studied here, so as to allow them, to some degree, to regulate the activities of the specialized elites and thus to integrate the whole system. It remains to be explored if these concepts and suggestions can be usefully applied to the study of elites in different contexts.

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FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF A THEORY OF COALITIONS IN THE TRIAD

THEODORE CAPLOW

ABSTRACT

A previously presented model of the triad whose members are not identical in power and in which the formation of coalitions depends predictably upon the initial distribution of power is here extended by the addition, first, of two new types to the six originally described, and, second, of three situations—continuous, episodic, and terminal—which correspond to different patterns of coalition formation in given types of triad. Evidence from a number of recent studies is discussed in relation to the model.

Sometime ago the writer proposed a model for the strategy which governs the formation of coalitions in the triad under certain conditions.¹ This theory drew upon the existing empirical evidence,² studies which, however, had been designed for somewhat different

attention to a neglected feature, namely, that the formation of given coalitions depends upon the initial distribution of power in the triad and, other things being equal, may be predicted under certain assumptions when the initial distribution of power is known. Six types of triad were described, those numbered up to Type 6 in Figure 1. The quantity denoted by the relative size of the circles and by the signs of equality and inequality in the equations is strength or power. The expected coalitions are indicated by double arrows. The formation of coalitions in the six types of triad were analyzed under the following assumptions:

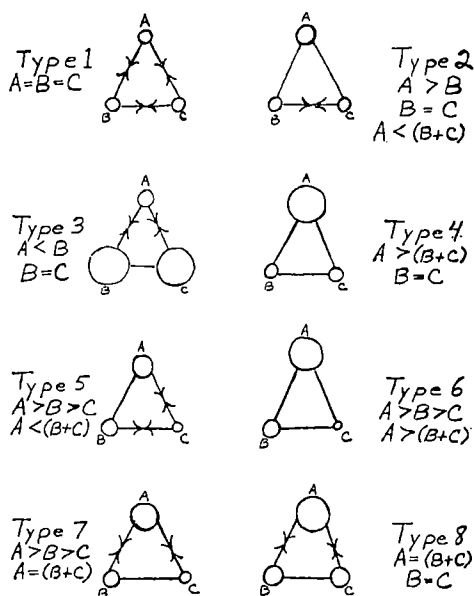


FIG. 1

purposes, and, since their findings did not bear directly upon the model, they were illustrative rather than corroborative.

The purpose of the earlier paper was to examine the model of the triad whose members are not identical in power and to call

- I. Members of a triad may differ in strength. A stronger member can control a weaker member and will seek to do so.
- II. Each member of the triad seeks control over the others. Control over two others is preferred to control over one other. Control over one other is preferred to control over none.
- III. The strength of the coalition is equal to the strength of its two members.

¹Theodore Caplow, "A Theory of Coalitions in the Triad," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (August, 1956), 489-93.

²Theodore M. Mills, "Power Relations in Three-Person Groups," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (August, 1953), 355; see also Mills, "The Coalition Pattern in Three-Person Groups," *ibid.*, XIX (December, 1954), 663; Fred L. Strodbeck, "The Family as a Three-Person Group," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (February, 1954), 23-29; E. Paul Torrance, "Some Consequences of Power Differences on Decision Making in Permanent and Temporary Three-Man Groups," in A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, Robert F. Bales (eds.), *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), pp. 488-89; Robert F. Bales and Edgar F. Borgatta, "Size of Group as a Factor in the Interaction Profile," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (August, 1953), 396-413.

IV. The formation of coalitions takes place in an existing triad, so there is a pre-coalitional condition in every triad. Any attempt by a stronger member to coerce a weaker member in the pre-coalition condition will provoke the formation of a coalition to oppose the coercion.

Since that time new evidence has come to hand, and the critical comments of a number of investigators working upon triad problems have been brought to bear upon the original model. The purpose of the present paper is to present an amplified version of the theory of coalitions in the triad to cover a wider range of situations.

TWO MORE TRIADIC TYPES

The first extension of the model now proposed is based on the observation by More that two fundamental types of the triad whose members differ in strength were overlooked in the original presentation.³ This pair of types is included in Figure 1, numbered 7 and 8, wherein the combined strength of B and C is equal to A. They are by no means insignificant. Indeed, because of the tendency for triads in which power is evenly balanced to be stable, it is conceivable that there are as many empirical applications of Types 7 and 8 as of the others combined.

SITUATIONAL STRATEGIES

Another proposed extension of the original model originates in the recognition of at least three different situations in which coalitions may occur and of the fact that, for some of the triads shown in Figure 1, a different set of strategies governs the formation of coalitions in each of the situations described below, namely:

Continuous.—Here the object of a coalition is to control the joint activity of the triad and to secure control over rewards which are found within the situation itself. Compare the sibling triad in childhood.

Episodic.—The membership of the triad is stable, and the contest for power continues over an extended time, but the object of coalition is to secure an advantage in episodic dis-

tributions of rewards which occur periodically and under predetermined conditions. A recently studied example⁴ is the triad of two congressional parties and the President, the episodes of distribution being the votes and vetoes on particular bills.

Terminal.—The coalition is directed toward a single redistribution of power—terminal—either because it dissolves the triad or because it leads to a state of equilibrium which precludes further redistributions. The best example and most important case is that composed of three hostile sovereign powers contemplating war.

It will at once be apparent that the assumptions set forth in the earlier version of this theory were applicable to the continuous situation.

In order to take account of the formation of coalitions in episodic or terminal situations, we must change Assumption II. For episodic situations it will be:

Each member of the triad seeks a position of advantage with respect to each distribution of reward. A larger share of reward is preferred to a smaller share; any share is preferred to no share.

The effect of adopting this change in Assumption II is to convert the triad in which the differential strength of the participants acts continuously, as in the cases diagrammed in Figure 1, to the simpler state of affairs where winning and losing occur in separate episodes. In the episodic situation coalitions will always be formed except in Types 4 and 6. The necessity to enter a coalition in order to win at all will be clearly perceived, and it will suggest an equal distribution of shares. There will be no coalitions at all in Types 4 and 6, where the stronger member of the triad will invariably win. There will also be a tendency for coalitions to be limited to a particular episode and to be more changeable than in a continuous situation.

Another modification of Assumption II brings us to the terminal situation. This reads as follows:

⁴ R. Duncan Luce and Arnold A. Rogow, "A Game Theoretical Analysis of Congressional Power Distributions for a Stable Two-Party System," *Behavioral Science*, I (April, 1956), 83-95.

³ Douglas More, private communication.

Each member of the triad seeks to destroy the others and to add their strength to his own. A large increase in strength is preferred to a small increase in strength, a small increase is preferred to no increase, no increase is preferred to a loss, and a loss of strength is preferred to complete destruction.

The striking thing about the terminal situation is that coalitions are only possible between equals or potential equals. The reason why this is so can be seen by examining, for example, Type 5. If a coalition of B and C is successful in partitioning A, it must be on the basis of C's receiving a share sufficiently larger to bring him up to dyadic equality with B. Otherwise, once the coalition has completed the reduction and partition of A, B, being stronger, will proceed to

two unequal members of the triad is necessary to avert destruction by a stronger member, A, but is not sufficient to accomplish destruction of the stronger member, A, or to put the weaker member of the coalition, C, into jeopardy.

Table 1 shows the expected coalitions for the eight types of triads in the continuous, episodic, and terminal situations. The three situations involve with very different coalition strategies. A general distinction can be made between the continuous situation in which the only risk in a decision not to enter a coalition is the danger of being excluded from the coalition of the two others, and where even this may be reduced by an agreement that no coalitions will be formed;⁵ or the episodic situation, where refusal of a prof-

TABLE 1
EXPECTED COALITIONS IN TRIADS OF VARYING INITIAL STRENGTH

TYPE	DESCRIPTION	SITUATION		
		Continuous	Episodic	Terminal
1.....	$A=B=C$	Any	Any	Any
2.....	$A>B, B=C, A<(B+C)$	BC	Any	BC
3.....	$A<B, B=C$	AB or AC	Any	BC
4.....	$A>(B+C), B=C$	None	None	None
5.....	$A>B>C, A<(B+C)$	BC or AC*	Any	None
6.....	$A>B>C, A>(B+C)$	None	None	None
7.....	$A>B>C, A=(B+C)$	AB or AC*	AB or AC*	BC
8.....	$A=(B+C), B=C$	AB or AC	AB or AC	BC

* Adapted from W. Edgar Vinacke and Abe Arkoff, "An Experimenta Study of Coalitions in the Triad," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (August, 1957), 409, Table 1.

reduce and absorb C. C would therefore be unwilling to enter the coalition in the first place. It is unlikely, however, that B will agree to a division of spoils which gives the lion's share to the initially weaker C. Similar considerations apply to the potential coalitions of AB and BC in Type 5. It may be argued, of course, that history presents many cases of achieved coalitions of this kind, leading to the ultimate destruction of the weaker partner by the stronger, for instance, the subjugation of their Indian allies by the Spaniards after Cortez' conquest of the Aztecs. In many of these cases the weaker partner may have entered the coalition under the misconception that he was equal or superior in strength to his partner. The other possibility, frequently realized in history, is that the weaker coalition partner identified the situation as belonging to Type 7, in which a coalition of

ferred coalition leads to almost certain loss; or the terminal situation, in which abstention from a coalition carries a high risk of destruction. The probability that *some* coalition will be formed will be higher in terminal than in episodic situations and higher in episodic than in continuous situations of the same type.

In Type 1, of course, the distribution of strength being equal, there is no reason to suppose any one coalition more likely than another. Types 4 and 6 do not admit the formation of any coalition within our assumptions. Alliances may occur between the weak members, or between the strong member and a weak member; but, whatever purposes these alliances may have, they are not coalitions in the sense meant here, since they

⁵ Some of the subjects of Vinacke and Arkoff did, in fact, devise just this sort of agreement.

cannot affect the outcome based upon differential strength.

In all the remaining types there is some difference in coalition strategy from one situation to another. In Type 3, for example, in the continuous situation, it will readily be seen that A can strengthen his situation by forming a coalition with either B or C and will be welcomed as an ally by either B or C. On the other hand, if B joins C, he does not improve his pre-coalition position of equality with C and superiority to A. His only motive to enter the coalition with C is to block the coalition AC. However, C's position is identical with B, and he, too, will prefer A to B as an ally. Thus there are two likely coalitions, AB and AC. By contrast, in the episodic situation, there is no possibility that either A or B or C can win a particular contest without joining forces with one of the others, and, since they are equally strong in this sense, it makes no difference that B and C are stronger than A taken individually. Any two of the three may form a successful coalition, and over an extended period of time involving many episodes all the possible coalitions are likely to occur. In the terminal situation, however, there is a single most likely coalition between the equals B and C to achieve the partition of A, and a subsequent dyadic equilibrium between B and C. There is no reason for A to enter a coalition with either B or C, unless by an unequal division of spoils he is to be brought up to the strength of his partner. Otherwise, as previously noted, he faces destruction by his stronger partner after the triad has become a dyad.⁶

In Type 5, in the continuous situation, the likely coalitions are BC or AC, since A seeks to join both B and C, and C seeks to join both A and B, but B has no incentive to enter a coalition with A, and A has a very strong incentive to enter a coalition with C. The episodic situation is again resolved on

"rational" grounds by each member's awareness that either coalition partner is equally advantageous. In the terminal situation it is unlikely that any coalition will be formed, since all coalitions in Type 5 involve unequals, and, as we have already seen, the weaker coalition partner in a terminal situation faces ultimate destruction.

In Types 7 and 8, in the continuous situation, the combined strength of B and C is exactly equal to A, so that no effective coalition of B and C is strategically possible. In other words, although a coalition of B and C can block the dominance of A, it is not sufficient to control the situation, and, therefore, the probable coalitions under the standard assumptions are AB or AC. The same may be said of the episodic situation, with the qualification that the defensive coalition, BC, may be attractive in special cases where the rules allow an even distribution of the reward. In the terminal situation, however, the coalition BC is the only means by which B and C can avert their destruction by A.

THE CHOICE BETWEEN NON-IDENTICAL COALITIONS

What additional assumptions are necessary to explain the selection of one or the other of the non-identical coalitions in the starred cells of Table 1? Since we are concerned here only with strategies based upon the initial distribution of strength, there is no way of explaining the selection between identical alternatives, like AB and AC in Type 3, without going beyond the model. But we can examine the bases of selection in those cases where the alternative coalition partners are not identical in initial strength (i.e., the continuous situation in Types 5 and 7 and the episodic situation in Types 2, 3, 5, and 7). In each of these cases one member of the triad may be considered as the "chooser," because he is sought as a coalition partner by both the others.⁷ Two

⁶ It may be surmised that the probability of one of the stronger members inviting A into a coalition with the inducement of an uneven distribution of spoils, which will bring A up to the strength of his partner, depends upon the exact distribution of quantities of strength among the three members.

⁷ As the table shows, there is also a "chooser" in Types 3 and 8, but, since the choice will be made in those cases between potential coalition partners who are identical in strength, it must be made on grounds extraneous to the model.

assumptions, of about equal plausibility, suggest themselves. Either (5a) the "chooser" in a triad seeks the maximum advantage or minimum disadvantage of strength relative to his coalition partner or (5b) the "chooser" in a triad seeks to maximize the strength of the coalition in relation to the excluded member. The former assumption predicts the formation of an AC coalition in the cases listed; the latter, an AB coalition in the same cases. Either assumption may be realistic under particular circumstances.

SOME EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

An experimental test of the original theory was undertaken by Vinacke and Arkoff.⁸ A total of thirty triadic groups in a simple experimental game were used to test the hypothesis that the occurrence or non-occurrence of coalitions between particular pairs could be predicted from knowledge of the initial distribution of strength. Initial strength was varied according to a prearranged plan based on our six types. The results were, in general, confirmatory; that is, in Type 1, all possible coalitions occurred a large number of times; in Type 2, coalition BC occurred significantly more often; in Type 3, coalitions AB and AC; in Type 4, no coalitions; in Type 5, coalitions BC and AC; in Type 6, no coalitions. The division of spoils, when a coalition was agreed in advance, was generally proportionate to the relative strength with which the partners entered the coalition, even though their concurrences were equally necessary for success in the game.

Vinacke and Arkoff interpret their findings as reflecting a choice of frames of reference by the subjects. They reason that rational analysis would demonstrate to each player that "(a) in Types 4 and 6 only the strong man can possibly win, and (b) in any of the other four types, any couple can beat the third member, and further, no one can win without forming a coalition."⁹ Thus

they regard the initial power distribution as rationally meaningless, for, regardless of his own strength, each player must enter a coalition with someone else, and, in the triads where coalitions are possible, all coalitions will be equally successful. They suggest, therefore, that the observed tendency of the subjects to form coalitions in accordance with their initial strength, and to distribute the spoils in proportion to the contribution of the initial strength to the coalition, is a kind of subjective misperception.

The elements of paradox in this explanation are readily resolved if it is assumed that the subjects tested by Vinacke and Arkoff regarded the game situation as continuous even though the experimenters intended it as episodic. In other words, the subjects identified the distribution of differential strength as part of the rules of the game and perceived that treating the situation as episodic would nullify this distribution, which appeared to them as an important part of the experiment. Their behavior was therefore quite rational. Although we cannot be sure of this, it gains some credibility from the formation of a number of unnecessary and hopeless coalitions in Types 4 and 6—such as might be anticipated if the episodic definition of the situation had been rejected by the subjects (Table 2).

In an earlier laboratory study, Hoffman, Festinger, and Lawrence had demonstrated the tendency for a coalition to form in a situation involving two equal subjects and a somewhat stronger paid participant all engulfed in a competitive task.¹⁰ The experiment, in other words, created triads of Type 2 through manipulation of the situation, and the expected coalition of BC was in fact observed. Corwin set up an experimental game situation in a pilot study to determine whether coalitions of this type occur because the weaker members of the triad are motivated to reduce the advantage of the stronger or because they seek to advance their

⁸ W. Edgar Vinacke and Abe Arkoff, "An Experimental Study of Coalitions in the Triad," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (August, 1957), 406-14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

¹⁰ Paul J. Hoffman, Leon Festinger, and Douglas Lawrence, "Tendencies toward Group Comparability in Competitive Bargaining," *Human Relations*, VII (1954), 141-57.

own interests.¹¹ Using an experimental card game which provided an opportunity for a coalition of the two weaker members against the stronger member at each of several stages, he discovered that B and C formed coalitions with A whenever it was advantageous to do so in the early stages of the game; that in the later stages they combined against A even when it was disadvantageous to do so; while in the very last stage of most of the experimental games they competed against each other for second place, even though no second place was recognized in the rules of the game. This points to the possibility of distinguishing continuous, episodic, and terminal situations even in short-run sequences.

spective reports. Nevertheless, they are interesting. The three siblings in each case were designated A, B, and C, in order of age, on the assumptions that the rank order of power would, in most cases, be the same as the rank order of age and that most sibling triads would fall into Type 5.

Of the fifty, twenty-three triads were found to contain coalitions verified by the separate reports of all three siblings. Contrary to expectations, fifteen of them were AB coalitions; seven were BC coalitions; and only one was an AC coalition. Three of the BC coalitions were composed of twins. The most frequent coalition was AB, which is not anticipated by the model for any of the three situations in Type 5. All but two

TABLE 2
COALITIONS FORMED IN THE SIX TYPES OF POWER PATTERNS IN TRIADS
(Data from the Vinacke-Arkoff Experiments)

Allies	Type 1 (1-1-1)	Type 2 (3-2-2)	Type 3 (1-2-2)	Type 4 (3-1-1)	Type 5 (4-3-2)	Type 6 (4-2-1)
AB.....	33	13	24	11	9	9
AC.....	17	12	40	10	20	13
BC.....	30	64	15	7	59	8
(No coalition).....	10	1	11	62	2	60
Total.....	90	90	90	90	90	90

A NEGATIVE CASE

A number of my students at the University of Minnesota undertook to test the original model by a study of coalitions in fifty sibling triads, drawn from the general population of the Twin Cities.¹² As a partial standardization, each member of each triad was interviewed with regard to the interaction, activities, and mutual sentiments of the three siblings during the year when the youngest was ten years old. This ranged from as long as sixteen years ago to the present, and the data have the usual faults of retro-

were coalitions of siblings of the same sex. The age difference between coalition partners was considerably less than between siblings who did not form coalitions, and the coalitions typically persisted into adulthood, with a tendency for the partners to continue their closer association after leaving the parental home.

In this tentative exploration, sibling coalitions appear to be based on similarity of sex, age, and interest rather than on the balance of strength in the triad. This is discouraging because it sets narrower limits to the application of the model than had been hoped. On the other hand, it suggests that the formation of coalitions in triads may continue to follow a predictable pattern under much more complex conditions than those we have discussed.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

¹¹ Ronald G. Corwin, "Some Conditions Which Influence Coalition Behavior in Triads" (seminar paper, prepared for Professor Henry Riecken, University of Minnesota).

¹² Joel E. Gerstl, "Coalitions in the Sibling Triad" (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Department of Sociology, 1956). (Mimeographed.)

THE PENTECOSTALIST MINISTER: ROLE CONFLICTS AND STATUS CONTRADICTIONS

BRYAN R. WILSON

ABSTRACT

The Pentecostal movement is the most recent widespread separatist movement in Christian fundamentalism, and Pentecostal groups in Great Britain have gradually, even if only partially, followed the familiar process of passing from sects to denominations; one feature of this development has been the acceptance of permanent, paid ministers. The movement still retains a distinctly sectarian ideology but has recruited by revivalism a less radically sectarian clientele. Its ministers have become the guardians of a sectarian ethic in a denominationalizing organization, in which the ministry itself is, structurally, one of the most distinctly denominational elements. The Pentecostal minister, as a consequence, suffers severe role conflicts, additional to those generally experienced in the ministerial profession, and acute contradictions of status.

Sects, as usually defined in the growing body of sociological literature on the subject, do not usually employ the services of a ministry.¹ In the pristine condition of the sect the ministerial role is divided into its separate functions—leadership in worship, prayer, social action; pastoral care; preaching; presidential duties; administration; welfare activities—and these are undertaken by elected or appointed members of the sect itself. The ministerial role is divided, and the functionaries are unspecialized, untrained, and usually unpaid, although here there is variation.² But there are groups which cannot be conveniently styled as other than sects which have, in fact, developed trained specialists as ministerial leaders. Such are the two principal Pentecostal groups in Great Britain, from one of which

—the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance—are drawn the observations on which this paper is based.³ These movements are apparently undergoing the familiar transformation from sect to denomination, although somewhat more slowly and irregularly than has been the pattern in American fundamentalist movements in the course of the last century.⁴ The equivocity of the Pente-

¹ The methods of study were participant-observation, both concealed and revealed, in a number of congregations, and in two revival campaigns, where Pentecostalist ministers were closely observed. Rigorous interviewing techniques are usually impossible in research on sects, but in this case some ministers were willing to discuss at length their functions. Ministers were to some extent conscious of their own problems of role; most typically, they were aware of them only at the operational level, in knowing what was "appropriate behavior." Conversational remarks, pulpit pronouncements, and published articles all showed an awareness of, and even a sensitivity concerning, the difficulties of the ministerial role, although, of course, without any sophisticated sociological or analytical apprehension of the specific pressures and adjustive mechanisms involved. The observational and participant study was augmented by detailed content analysis of sect literature. The results of this and associated studies are shortly to be published under the title *Minority Religious Movements in Modern Britain*.

¹ See, e.g., E. Troeltsch, *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, trans. O. Wyon (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931), pp. 329 ff.; Howard Becker, in L. von Wiese and H. Becker (eds.), *Systematic Sociology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932), pp. 624 ff. On sect development and the circumstances in which ministerial tendencies occur in sects see B. R. Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1959; cf. also n. 4 below.

² Those who function as readers in Christian Science, for example, although performing no other significant leadership functions (with one or two exceptions concerning appointments), and not usually simultaneously serving as members of church boards, sometimes, if not always, receive an honorarium, which is, in practice, often given back to church funds.

⁴ On this process see H. Richard Niebuhr, *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929); Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1942); W. G. Muelder, "From Sect to Church," *Christendom*, 1945, pp. 350-62; E. D. C. Brewer, "Sect and Church in Methodism," *Social Forces*, XXX (May, 1952), 400-408; O. R. Whitley, "The Sect to Denomination Process in an American

costal minister's position is partly attributable to the transitional process.

Pentecostalism, in its modern form, had its English beginnings within the body of the Church of England and other denominations and in a number of earlier independent Holiness missions. The teachings of the Pentecostals—that the Holy Ghost still quickens the faith of born-again believers and that the gifts of the Spirit, as described by Paul (I Corinthians, chaps. 13–15), and particularly the gift of tongues, are still granted—were harbored by some in the fundamentalist wings of the various churches, although these teachings remained alien even to the majority of these fundamentalists. Initially, the Pentecostals were tolerated within other movements, but, as the teaching assumed increasing importance for its advocates, a separatist development occurred, even though most leading Pentecostals recognized that this teaching was only an “added truth,” a “fuller blessing,” and not a truth essential to salvation. Some of the most influential remained in their own churches, where they felt they were most needed, and opposed any separate Pentecostal movement. Nonetheless, such a movement developed almost unintentionally as a consequence of the intense revivalist activities of some who had espoused Pentecostal doctrines. The new movement lacked, in its early uncrystallized form, a clear articulation of its distinctive purpose and mission, but by revivalist techniques a growing following was built up, first in Northern Ireland from 1911 to 1920 and subsequent-

ly in England and Wales. Congregations brought into existence by revival could not be readily accommodated in existing churches, to whose congregations the fervor of the newly revived was often offensive.

The revival-recruited and the various independent missions which accepted Pentecostal teaching and practice became the core of the new sect. The revivalist leaders appear to have had no conscious aim, in the first place, to establish a sect. They did not imitate any model; it was the consequence of their attempt to “revive Christendom.” The needs of the converted quickly imposed administrative obligations upon the leadership. The converted needed after-care, and functionaries other than revivalists had to be found to undertake what were essentially ministerial duties. In this important detail both the Elim church and, though to a somewhat lesser extent, the Assemblies of God differed from sects like the Brethren, the Christadelphians, and the Church of God in the British Isles and Overseas, in that they were congregations brought into being principally by revivalism and not in the same sense self-recruited seekers after truth. Their caliber was not that of the sturdy independent self-governing meeting houses; they had responded to a leader and still needed a pastor to shepherd the flock.

The appointment of honorary pastors and church leaders as functionaries distinct from revivalists followed. They were chosen as far as possible from local communities by the movement's leaders. This was the first shift in the accepted values and action patterns of the movement. The initial mission, the initial value-orientation, had been altered by the clientele itself.⁵ In a sense the very methods of revivalism imply such an outcome and a weakening of the central value, the freedom of the Spirit, of the pioneer Pentecostals. Yet the movement continues to be ideologically committed to this pristine value and finds need, from time to time, to

Religious Movement,” *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVI (December, 1955). For a critical discussion see J. M. Yinger, *Religion, Society, and the Individual* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1957), esp. chap. vi. For modification and reassessment of this thesis see B. Johnson, “A Critical Appraisal of Church-Sect Typology,” *American Sociological Review*, XXII (February, 1957), 88–92; B. R. Wilson, “Apparition et persistance des sectes dans un milieu social en évolution,” *Archives de sociologie des religions*, V (January–June, 1958), 140–50; Wilson, “An Analysis of Sect Development,” *op. cit.*

⁵ Analogous phenomena occur in other organizations (cf. B. R. Clark, “Organizational Adaption and Precarious Values,” *American Sociological Review*, XXI [June, 1956], 327–36).

assert that Pentecostalism's real contribution to the church of Christ is that, whereas all other aspects of its teaching are expressed by other branches of fundamentalism, in its emphasis on Spirit baptism and Spirit gifts, it has a real mission in fully restoring all true gospel to the community of the saved. Yet this is a subsequent rationalization; the movement appears to have emerged initially almost as an unforeseen consequence of the revivalist activities of a few prominent Pentecostals. Revivalism was a technique inherited from the evangelicals of the nineteenth century and one appropriate to a mass society, but one, which, if successful, helps to produce mass movements, and this in itself implied serious modification of the activities of the small exclusive groups seeking personal experience of the Holy Ghost, in which Pentecostalism had had its beginnings.⁶

⁶ The bulk of those who embraced Pentecostalism while in previous fellowships differed from those who were won by subsequent revival campaigns in that the latter tended to be much more uniformly drawn from the lowest social classes, were less firmly grounded in a strong biblical tradition, and had a less vigorous and less articulated commitment to the moral and doctrinal standards of fundamentalism. Had Pentecostalism remained wholly in the possession of the independent missions and the "come-outers" from other denominations, it would have had far less need for a ministry. Revivalism, however, recruited a mass following for a particular leader. Few among the recruits showed capacities for effective leadership without training and institutional support for their position, and so arose problems establishing leadership with mediated responsibility from a following largely unsuited to undertake it. The bureaucratization of the movement, which has replaced the early simple charismatic revivalism, has created a hierarchy, but the organization remains highly centralized and somewhat autocratic.

In general, Pentecostalism still recruits almost entirely from the lower social classes and, typical of movements with mass appeal, tends to have a considerable turnover. The denominationalizing process is, as yet, more evident in internal organization than in external acceptance. In Britain the change of class position by whole groups and by institutions is less speedily effected than in the United States, and there is no evidence to suggest that Pentecostalism in Britain is gaining any ground among classes other than those to whom it made its initial appeal.

Elim quickly moved from the honorary pastor and lay leader to the regular minister appointed by headquarters and trained there in the movement's own Bible school. The honorary pastor had been a "Spirit-led" brother, but the minister was an appointee. In part the development of a trained ministry was a consequence of the particular interest of the leader of the Elim movement in helping poor boys to receive Bible-school training. Not all such young men could find outlet, subsequently, in overseas missions and revivalist work, although this appears to have been the original idea, and the movement came to find them work in "home missions" (as the ministerial positions were initially called, since "missioning" was respectable, whereas the movement was not yet committed to a ministry), although no guaranty was given of such placement. The process occurring was the familiar routinization, from voluntary service to service for a fixed stipend, as laid down by headquarters. Likewise, the continuing revival activities of the movement became routinized; typical was the discontinuation of the practice of asking for "love-offerings" to the revivalist, although asking for contributions to the campaign itself continued, since the revivalist was increasingly only an ordinary pastor within the movement, receiving his regular stipend while temporarily relieved of his normal duties. The movement had ceased to be simply a revival campaign but had become an established sect, with revivalism as the technique of recruitment. Ideally, the movement still had a "called ministry," but increasingly the real criterion determining who would actually minister was not that of Spirit-leading but that of Bible-school training.

The minister in Elim is now the legitimized functionary of the group, and it can be asked how far he embodies the values of the organization as expressed in the official ideology, in the actual practice of headquarters, and in the understanding of local congregations. These are not entirely consonant one with another, and it is principally

the local minister who takes the strain. Revivalism, as we have noted, even though it feeds on the emotional release of the lower strata, weakened the early Pentecostal emphasis on the spontaneous freedom of the Spirit. A movement with a tradition of alertness to the call of the Spirit and a desire to get "on fire for God" had drawn unto itself a large body of followers with different backgrounds who needed to be awakened to such desires and experiences. The original values of the movement are no longer sustained from below but remain a significant ideological commitment and the *raison d'être* of the movement's separate existence. It is the ministry which must keep them alive, even though the Pentecostal tradition is essentially lay. The minister seeks to perpetuate a Pentecostal tradition in a revival-recruited congregation, but, if he succeeds, he jeopardizes his own position as a trained and appointed minister rather than one whose ministry derives from a congregationally observed Spirit-anointing.

The minister is himself restricted by the tradition of the free Spirit, insofar as this exists in his congregation, since inspirationism, as in many earlier sects, contains values fundamentally opposed to any sort of institutionalized ministry,⁷ or, if accepting a ministry at all, does so only at the Spirit's behest and in accordance with the gifts bestowed by the Spirit.⁸ Modern Pentecostalism has retained the idea of Spirit utterance in its meetings but has regularized and insti-

tutionalized the circumstances and content of such utterance and brought the excesses and improprieties of the early period under control. However, there are, from time to time, warnings, in the literature produced for internal consumption, that the freedom of the Spirit must not be restrained. The criticism, although not pointed, can be directed only at ministers, who alone are in a position to bridle the Spirit. Thus the minister is responsible for infusing into his following a distinctive tenet of Pentecostalism and of encouraging Pentecostal phenomena—glossalalia being the most common—and is warned against checking spontaneous expression; yet he also has to keep order, guide Pentecostal demonstration, and prevent expression which might challenge his own leadership or bring his Spirit election into doubt. Clearly, the movement has not persisted for more than forty years without developing institutional mechanisms for the resolution of these role conflicts and rationalizations to justify ministerial decisions and leadership; in spite of this, the minister's task is, in the highly charged atmosphere of some Pentecostal meetings, a delicate one.

The intense conviction of the traditional Pentecostal doctrine of justification by faith alone and the priesthood of all believers, typical of sects, further induces equivocation of the role of the Pentecostal minister. Leadership in the sect is, paradoxically, less easily undertaken once it has become institutionalized, that is, as long as there is still commitment to the sect's peculiar value system. Institutionalization of roles implies a different basis of legitimation from that of charisma, but acceptance of the charismatic token as the basis of leadership is deeply imbedded in the Pentecostal teaching itself. In practice the ideal of the priesthood of all believers is only weakly held among contemporary Pentecostals, who are generally people of limited ability, intelligence, and articulateness and who require very much to be ministered unto. Even so, the affirmation of this ideal is gratifying to some lay members, and hence the importance of providing opportunities for the ordinary indi-

⁷ For a description of the free Spirit in earlier sects see, e.g., Norman Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957); G. Huehns, *Antinomianism in British History* (London: Cresset Press, 1951), esp. pp. 37–54.

⁸ The Catholic Apostolic church, founded by Edward Irving in London in the mid-nineteenth century, is an example of a church polity organized along lines suggested by Spirit gifts, according to the prescriptions of I Corinthians. Elements of this inspirationism are widespread among Christian movements, for instance, as in the drawing of lots to determine performance of particular functions among the Moravians (see W. H. G. Armytage, "The Moravian Communities in Great Britain," *Church Quarterly Review*, CLVIII [April–June, 1957], 141–52).

vidual to speak in tongues or prophesy. Pentecostalism provides these, even though it also seeks, institutionally, to circumscribe them; thus in recent years it has been cleverly explained that prophesying implies "forth-telling" rather than "fore-telling" and that such forth-telling must always be in accordance with biblical truth and be universally applicable rather than personal or particularistic.

The existence of a Bible school to which admission is easy for genuinely born-again youths and which stipulates no real educational prerequisites in some way reconciles the ideal of priesthood of all believers and the realities of the situation.⁹ The circumscription of the minister's role is another means of achieving the same result: anyone may in fact distribute the emblems for the breaking of bread, since this is only a remembrance and not of any intrinsic merit. Lay members may preach, and some member is always called upon to begin prayers or "to lead in worship at the Throne of Grace"; and others are called to give testimony or tell of their healing. Some of these functions of leadership are themselves institutionalized lay functions and are supported by institutionalized roles appropriate to them, since usually deacons or elders are called to commence prayer and worship. The minister's choice is often spontaneous, in accordance with Spirit-leading, but for some more onerous tasks, such as organizing the singing of choruses, prearrangement is necessary. In either case, the minister learns to divide his functions and to share them in order to encourage members of the congregation to minister one unto another. He enjoys no *mystique* but is in many ways merely an agent of the movement's headquarters. In dividing his functions, he helps to retain the informality which is an especially prized feature of Pentecostal meetings; he reduces the "churchly" element and increases the in-

volvement of the lay members. Likewise in evangelistic activities he seeks to get all his members at work in open-air testimony, house-to-house canvassing, leaflet distribution, and the old and infirm in the maintenance of a half-hour of prayer, morning and evening, for revival. All this helps to retain a sectlike atmosphere, but clearly the minister must strike a balance, lest he undermine his own position as leader.

Inevitably, the Pentecostal minister has discovered and perhaps even been taught ways of reconciling his own need to assert leadership with Pentecostalism's insistence on the spontaneous operation of the Spirit. There are institutionalized periods in each meeting for freedom of expression. The minister indicates such periods as occasions for prayer, supplication, or worship and elicits appropriate response; and he terminates such periods with some well-understood formula—often a formal, though spontaneous, prayer of his own. The mechanisms do not always work smoothly, and theoretically the meeting is open for Spirit operation at all times. Of all people, the minister must appear to be sensitive to the Holy Ghost and yet the meeting must not move beyond his control. Usually he does not publicly exercise Spirit gifts, or only perhaps in interpretation of some message in tongues (an intervention which helps to give him special control). Theoretically, it is now often claimed that ministers, almost *qua* ministers, are blessed with the gift of the discernment of spirits, which allows them to distinguish between true and false expressions of the Holy Ghost. This is a claim of considerable importance, a powerful rationalization of the minister's periodic need to guide and evaluate performance, and an attempt to limit this gift to the ministry, since no one is more dangerous to the group than the lay person who claims divine power to evaluate the charismatic utterances of his fellows. The minister uses his authority to bring all charismatic performances into accord with scriptural warrant, both in form and in content, and, to do this, he needs every scriptural support he can find for his own role.

⁹ Such educational establishments are widespread among fundamentalist groups (see, e.g., W. E. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955]).

Particular difficulties are posed by the methods of recruitment of Elim members for the minister's role in the upbuilding of stable congregations. Revival recruits often enjoy revival meetings more than stable church life and often respond to a revivalist in that role, or as a personality, more than to a regular minister. A crucial phase in the organization of churches following revivals is the transition from the campaign to the established church. There is, for the organization in general, the problem of the optimal length of the campaign and the best moment for the process of organizational conversion to commence—the conversion of the newly born-again believer into the stable and committed church member. Policy in Elim is to bring in a new minister at this time rather than to allow any of the revivalists (all regular pastors with churches of their own elsewhere) to continue in the new role.

Thus, whether it is consciously appreciated at Elim headquarters or not, the revivalist is spared the difficult operation of transforming his role to meet new requirements or, alternatively, of continuing his revivalist techniques when no longer called for and when, in addition to imposing a strain on him, they appear to have diminishing marginal returns, perhaps even to the point of bringing into operation the law of adverse effect. As a policy it also prevents the recruited from building up loyalty to an individual minister rather than to the movement as a whole. Yet the transition must not be too drastic, or recruits might feel that they have been brought into a movement whose character was misrepresented in the revival campaign. The minister who is to settle with the congregation must be "sold" to his congregation toward the end of the revival; he must share in its spirit and enthusiasm, and yet he must also begin the process of weaning the recruits from the intense excitement of the campaign. It is usually announced that "the campaign continues" at the new church buildings, and, indeed, Pentecostal meetings in established churches do retain a diminished flavor of revivalism, with more pronounced revival sea-

sons fostered at special times of the year. The change of leader makes apparent the institutionalized nature of the relationship between pastor and following and aims at the commitment of the recruited to the movement rather than to a particular individual revivalist.

The minister must, of course, be acceptable to the members of the congregation, even though they do not choose him initially (and for subsequent appointments have only a veto, which is, in fact, hardly ever invoked, and serves merely as a paper safeguard of congregational rights). His task is particularly susceptible to disruption, especially in this transition from the campaign to the eventually established church; it is difficult to win genuine commitment to the movement. The commitment which tends to develop among the members is to the particular congregation of friends, with a campaign remnant of a sense of belonging to a wider and more amorphous body of "the born-again." The minister, clearly, seeks to promote these allegiances and to build up strong primary relationships in his congregation as an aid to its cohesiveness. He must not, however, build himself too fully into the structure of these relationships, lest on his eventual departure the group fall apart. Since Pentecostal meetings are brought into being by revivalists, and then receive a minister, they may lack the resilience of churches with a genuinely congregational polity which can survive the departure of a well-liked minister or the tenure of an unpopular one.

Elim members have less stake in the government of their own church, and, as "born-again" believers, their denominational commitment tends to be weak (although in recent years revival leaders have attempted to strengthen this allegiance during the campaign). Bad judgment on the part of a pastor can drive members to join other similar Pentecostal or fundamentalist churches and so be lost to the denomination. The minister's role is thus rendered more difficult by differential commitment to the movement between himself and the laity of a kind which does not occur among congre-

gationally governed churches and is absent in non-ministerial sects.

A stable church is not easily established among social groups which are themselves unstable and consequently particularly susceptible to revivalist blandishments and the emotionalism of Pentecostal services. Petty jealousies and spites appear to be common in Elim churches, aggravated by the smallness of the groups and the frequency and intensity of their interaction. The primary-group character of Pentecostal assemblies provides an almost familial situation without any of the real bonds of the family and, consequently, often gives rise to "family" quarrels. And so the minister, while he must be sufficiently close to members to strengthen their commitment, must keep out of the quarrels and struggles for status of individuals within his church. He must check charismatic demonstrations manipulated by individuals or cliques for their own purposes and yet do so without giving offense, taking sides, or interfering with the "proper manifestations" of the Holy Ghost. Generalized warnings about back-biting and human pride are necessarily frequent, and ministers are sometimes obliged to discuss their performance privately with those who appear too prominent as the chosen voice of the Spirit, particularly those who too frequently manifest the gift of interpretation in the meeting and cause jealousy among other would-be interpreters (for, theoretically, many might receive the interpretation but only one is anointed by the Holy Ghost to deliver it. Sometimes some feel anointed but are forestalled by another before they can respond. These very problems of the Pentecostal teaching in operation themselves suggest a functional explanation of the emergence of the ministry, since without such an institutionalized role each assembly would probably succumb to internal dissensions and fractiousness. Member commitment is volatile, and the establishment of a ministry helps to regulate relationships and minimize the threats which Pentecostalism's

inspirationalism and subjectivism engender.

The role conflicts of ministers of other denominations are likewise experienced by Pentecostal ministers: the problems of social distance in the light of both private guidance and public and social performance of duty; the maintenance of enthusiasm and spontaneity in the face of long and routinized service (a particularly acute difficulty in the Pentecostal ministry); and the balancing of ministerial and administrative tasks.¹⁰ But to some extent the role problems differ.

As against the liberal Protestant minister, the Pentecostal leader enjoys the support of the authority of Scripture, and he has, in most matters, the policy pronounced by the movement's headquarters as a guide. He is not faced with the difficulty of the minister of a congregationally organized church, whose conscientiousness may sometimes give offense to the very people who are his patrons. Yet the fact that the Elim minister is indisputably the agent at the local level of the movement's headquarters implies other conflicts. The Elim movement is loosely structured at the bottom and tight at the top; the mechanisms of control are institutionalized and unambiguous in the administration at headquarters, some being embodied in constitutional provisions and regulatory codes, but ill defined at the more informal local level. Thus in the matter of doctrinal conformity, the minister is specifically committed to headquarters, and his pulpit preaching is firmly circumscribed by formal rules; but no such attempt is made to insure correct doctrine in the laity, who need know little more than that they are born-again believers, eligible for Spirit baptism. The minister stands to bridge the gap between these two social systems of which he forms a part; he mediates the demands of headquarters to his own congregation, informs them of decisions, and builds up their confidence in "our move-

¹⁰ For a discussion of the general role problems of ministers see James M. Gustafson, "An Analysis of the Problem of the Role of the Minister," *Journal of Religion*, XXXIV (July, 1954), 187-91.

ment" and "our God-blessed leaders."¹¹ There is no pretense of democratic participation of local people in the leaders' decisions, which are interpreted by ministers and literature as God-sent directives and opportunities. The minister's role in his church is diffuse and all-embracing, but in relation to headquarters it is specific and calculated; he is called upon to operate with the freedom of Spirit direction in his own church and yet to appear meticulous to headquarters. That these role obligations are separated tends to alleviate direct conflict, even if it does less to mitigate tensions felt by the man himself.¹² The disparities of behavior are understood and tolerated at headquarters, but the local congregation is far less aware of their minister's obligations to the movement's leaders. This lack of symmetry in knowledge of differing role obligations by those involved in the minister's role performance, does not reduce the value of role segregation as a mechanism in reducing role conflicts, but in the case of relatively tender-minded persons (and it can be reasonably supposed that the ministry contains many such) this might be a purely formal consideration. It may well increase tensions felt by the minister concerning role performance, for he is ideally committed to honesty and uprightness. Differential role obligations impair this self-image, as does inequality in the knowledge others have of his differing obligations.

When role-set members are aware of conflicting demands in a particular role, they free its incumbent from some obligation to them.¹³ Where, however, the individual

performs a bridge function, as does the Pentecostal minister, his diverse obligations are structurally implied, and the members cannot free him from them. In other occupational spheres the strain of such a situation can be partially dissipated by use of the very lack of knowledge among role-set members: the colleague group evolves a type of "shop talk" in which the overt values to which it subscribes are treated cynically or frivolously, a performance which has tension-reducing functions.¹⁴ For ministers such an outlet is much less possible—the values of their professional role are too explicit. For Pentecostal ministers, whose allegiance is more intense and enthusiastic, it is even more unlikely, given the sectarian character of Pentecostal movements in England and the strength of the lay tradition.

There is conflict between the minister's commitment to the movement and his responsibilities to his own church members, which is parallel to the divergent if not conflicting obligations of many professionals to the professional ethic, on the one hand, and their clientele, on the other. The ministerial conference and headquarters' directives seek to impose rigorous moral standards, but the laity, in general, has little more than a conventional standard of Christian ethics. The leaders espouse a sectarian ethic of denial of the world and the minister acts as a socializing agent, persuading and disciplining the revival-recruited flock.¹⁵ In public sermon and private counselling he exhorts his congregation to resist worldly associations and activities; at the same time, he must also be informal and friendly with everyone and, while maintaining his own status, must emphasize sectarian equality and

¹¹ These "bridge functions" of mediating roles are similar to the "bridge systems" in the process of socialization referred to in a highly suggestive article by K. D. Naegele, "Clergymen, Teachers and Psychiatrists," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXII (February, 1956), 46–62.

¹² Cf. Jackson Toby, "Some Variables in Role Conflict Analysis," *Social Forces*, XXX (March, 1952), 323–27; Robert K. Merton, "The Role Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," *British Journal of Sociology*, VIII (June, 1957), 106–20.

¹³ Merton, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ On colleague group cynicism see Everett C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (March, 1945), 353–59.

¹⁵ An example of the strict ethical standard which ministers have sought to impose on the Elim laity is the strong recommendation by the ministerial conference in the 1930's of conscientious objection. Yet, in practice, few laymen became conscientious objectors.

brotherhood. He involves himself in the activities of the local people, even though his basic allegiance must always be to headquarters, which may move him at any time, permanently or temporarily, to another church.

He mixes very informally and visits homes frequently, yet he must take care not to favor one family above another or to jeopardize his commitment to the values and loyalties for which he is the agent of headquarters. A particularly delicate matter is the regulation of informal groups for religious praise and devotion. These are to be encouraged on scriptural warrant, yet there are difficulties. If the minister is invited to participate in their meetings, he must not become the property of any clique from which others are excluded and which might easily use him to confirm their own special blessedness. On the other hand, he will not want to have them meet too often without adequate supervision, for Pentecostal gifts and the concomitant emotionalism lend themselves to excesses and to manipulation. Yet religious impulses must not be dampened. He is thus likely to try to bring such informal and private activity into the compass of the church and to use the informal enthusiasm in the formal activity of the congregation, if this can be done without the alienation of others.¹⁶

The young unmarried minister must in keeping with the sect's expectations seek his mate within the sect. Only there is he, in any case, likely to meet young women, since all members, and certainly the minister, are supposed to keep their social activities within the sect. Within the assembly, however, courtship would conflict with the minister's wider affective role. Undoubtedly, this problem affects ministers of other movements, but the exclusiveness, emotionalism, and ministerial commitment to rigorous moral standards sharpen the conflict in the case of

Pentecostalism. It is not surprising that the leaders of the Elim movement subject ministers' courtship and engagement to their approval and allow their termination only under extenuating circumstances. Nothing, short of disaffection, is likely to cause more disruption than a conflict between a minister's obligations to his congregation and to his bride-to-be. The congregation is in a sense jealous of the affection and attention which are necessarily expressed by him as their pastor. Thus his private activities have consequences for his public office and cannot be readily prevented from becoming almost the property of the entire group, to whom any extraneous commitment is likely to seem tantamount to a betrayal of sect allegiance.

In few if any other professions are the wives of *ordinary* practitioners committed to their husbands' work as are the wives of ministers—a consequence, perhaps, of the diffuse and affective character of the ministerial role. Because in the sect this is so important, there is good reason for the headquarters of Elim to seek to control in some degree the minister's selection of a wife.

It is headquarters' policy to move a minister who selects a fiancée from his local church, so that tensions in the home church are likely to be reduced, and the minister's role eased and likewise that of his bride. Diffuse and affective occupational roles always imply total allegiance to the work organization; this implicit loyalty is nowhere more demanded than in religious institutions, all of which, consequently, seek to regulate all the other affective roles of their functionaries. The Greek Orthodox church prohibits marriage for the priest; Roman Catholicism denies to the married access to the priesthood; in Protestantism the two roles are segregated as far as possible, and the ministerial role is more restricted. Even so, many clergymen choose to remain celibate. In the sect, without a ministry in the usual case, religious allegiance transcends both occupational and marital obligations for all members, but where a ministry has emerged as in Elim, occupational obligations

¹⁶ Cf. the business executive's efforts to bring the energies of informal groups in industrial concerns to the service of the whole organization in Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration* (Evanston, Ill., and White Plains, N.Y.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1957), p. 8.

are deemed to take precedence over those of marriage.

The tradition of the leadership of the Spirit is ill matched with a paid ministerial order, even though British Pentecostalism has accepted the ministry in steadily increasing numbers since early days. Ideally, the leaders within the church should be endowed with the gifts of the Spirit, and their functions should be divided along the lines suggested by Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, on which Pentecostalism stakes much of its case.¹⁷ From time to time it is suggested that Pentecostal ministers differ somewhat in their personal ministry precisely because of differential endowment by the Spirit, and it is always claimed that they possess one or more gifts. In meetings there is still what amounts to competition in demonstrating inspiration by the Holy Ghost, and in testimonies and even sermons frequent contrast is made between divine election and "futile" book-learning and schooling. Inevitably, the minister must identify himself with Pentecostal sectarianism rather than with any conception of a ministerial profession. There is, too, a strong distrust of Catholic and Anglican priests, and the role of the ministry in the movement must always be distinguished from that of a priesthood, and its status consequently diminished.

Pentecostals, however, in common with all sects which are not vicinally isolated, do, necessarily if involuntarily, accept the status system of the society at large and consequently their status assumptions oscillate between this and that of the sect itself. The professional minister is very differently placed in these two systems—there are pronounced status contradictions. Undoubtedly, the minister is accorded status in the sect because of symbols such as ministerial dress, which, up to a point, evoke

responses more typical of society at large than of the sect and set him above the status ordering within the group. Yet he must not presume too much, and it is interesting that he will not infrequently conduct meetings, particularly midweek meetings, in ordinary dress. Pentecostals never weary of debunking worldly social status and of emphasizing the unqualified significance of election by the Holy Ghost as the only status which really matters. But the minister is leader and identified with headquarters, and, as a saver of souls, he can lay successful claim to status based on achievement which sect members consider worthy.

Pentecostals, like most sectarians, though despising the world, often accept worldly estimates of themselves or their activities when these are favorable, if, for example, an Elim minister is shown respect in public or in the press. The enjoyment of privileges in common with other ministers has not, however, been without its problems; this is particularly true of the exemption from military service granted to Pentecostal ministers in the second World War. This lifted the ministry from its lay following by according it privileges for which other members had to fight as rights of conscience in the law courts. In a sense, the ministry were taken into the "Establishment." Unambiguous ministerial example in asserting conscientious objection was eliminated, and few lay Pentecostals did register objection to military service; ministerial control of the laity had been significantly impaired. More significant, however, is the clear distinction of status which this external administrative decision created between the ministry and the laity. To share the prerogatives and privileges of the ministers of other movements was at once a victory and a defeat; many, though gratified, were made uncomfortable by the implied association with what is often called a "worldly priesthood."

That the Pentecostal ministry has assumed conventional clerical garb indicates a search for status outside the movement

¹⁷ In modern Pentecostalism in England, the Apostolic church (not to be confused with the Irvingite Catholic Apostolic church referred to above) orders church leadership along these lines and claims, in consequence, to be more thoroughly Pentecostal than its two principal contemporaries.

and perhaps also inside. Yet the minister is aware that even though, as a minister, he enjoys relatively high status, as a Pentecostalist, his social status is low. And even high status is, for the sect, tainted: it were better to be despised among men. That ministerial aspirations are contradictory might well be inevitable in the transition of the movement from despised sect to accepted denomination.

There are clear limits to the extent to which the minister can identify himself with other ministers, and these are more or less defined by educational and salary differentials. The Pentecostalist has had a brief training in a college with an unlettered faculty, where the curriculum emphasizes practical training and scriptural knowledge rather than ancient languages and theological scholarship. Of all professions, the ministry has perhaps least professional solidarity and least uniformity of training. Denominational allegiances cut across professional identity and are of a far more radical kind than those which exist between different specialties in those professions which have more, and more rational, division of function. Pentecostalism, from the point of view of other ministers, has a spurious and contemptible form of ministry, to which most of them would prefer to deny ministerial status altogether. Likewise, to the general public there is incongruity in a minister with only an elementary education and ungrammatical speech with a marked regional accent.¹⁸ The ministerial profession, in general, has been placed in an increasingly equivocal position as it has lost earlier functions and has found no highly specialized role of its own; moreover, it can barely maintain a reputation for learning, as knowledge itself has become more specialized and

¹⁸ Hughes (*op. cit.*) points out that, when people with new auxiliary characteristics seek entrance to a profession, they jeopardize the profession's own self-image, in that they may deviate from professional conduct and standards. Part of the hostility of other ministers doubtless originates here and also, as suggested below, in the fear of damaging the public stereotype of the profession.

more widely distributed.¹⁹ As a consequence ministers have probably become more sensitive about their professional status. All this retards the identification of the Pentecostal minister with the clerical profession and strengthens his identity with the sect. In practice, the Pentecostal minister comes into contact with few other ministers, and these usually on a self-selected basis of common acceptance one of another by fundamentalists. These are usually, in Britain, other Pentecostalists and Baptists, who join together to promote local campaigns and who accord each other parity of status. The Pentecostal minister is not usually invited into the local interdenominational councils and might be as much embarrassed by an invitation as would liberal ministers by his presence among them.

The status of the Pentecostal minister is contradictory because of a lack of consensus among those for whom his role has significance. It is insecurely fixed in the hierarchy of the organization, when the disparity of formal structure and ideological commitment is taken into account; it lacks distinctive ideological support; and it is unrecognized within the profession to which it might be said to belong. The contradictions in his status arise from the marginality of his role both within the profession²⁰ and within the movement, which has itself a certain marginality to the social order and which has not as yet passed from the status of sect to that of denomination.

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¹⁹ Cf. S. H. Chapman, "The Minister, Professional Man of the Church," *Social Forces*, XXIII (December, 1944), 202-6; Joseph van Vleck, Jr., *Our Changing Churches* (New York: Association Press, 1937); Robert S. Michaelson, "The Protestant Ministry in America, 1850 to the Present," in H. R. Niebuhr and D. D. Williams (eds.), *The Ministry in Historical Perspective* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1956); S. I. Goldstein, "The Roles of an American Rabbi," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXVIII (September, 1953), 32-37.

²⁰ Cf. Walter I. Wardwell, "A Marginal Professional Role: The Chiropractor," *Social Forces*, XXX (March, 1952), 339-48.

SOCIAL CLASS AND SIZE OF COMMUNITY¹

THOMAS ELY LASSWELL

ABSTRACT

Descriptions of the patterns of social stratification of the home towns of 151 subjects were sorted according to the local populations of 1950. The subjects' conceptions of social classes were shown to vary with the size of the communities; certain marked distinctions in the number of classes were believed to exist in the communities, and, even though the same values seemed to be involved, their relative importance, as indicated by frequency in being mentioned, varied significantly among the categories of communities.

By now it is established that Americans believe in the existence of social classes and that their beliefs are related to the ways in which societies and communities are organized.² Too, a sufficient number of studies have shown that there is no general system of social classes appearing in the same form in every American community—that is, a structure with a fixed number of classes, each having well-defined, standard characteristics.³ There remains the task of developing an empirically supported theory of social classes to account for the regularities, if any.

Hatt and Reiss have suggested that "occupational prestige, financial solidity,

educational level, family background or political power, among other factors, may account for high or low status. The way in which these factors combine in the small community is different from the way they define position in the larger urban settlement or in the still larger mass society."⁴ Cuber and Kenkel have proposed a similar hypothesis: "Not only are communities of a similar size different from one another in their status structures, but additional differences appear to be introduced by the differing sizes of community aggregates."⁵

The procedure adopted for testing the Hatt-Reiss and Cuber-Kenkel hypotheses takes the form of a rather simple experiment which can be repeated in any college or university. For the past several years students in introductory sociology at Grinnell College have been assigned the following problem: "Describe the social class stratification pattern of the community where you have lived most of your life." One hundred and fifty-one papers from six such classes (1954–57), have been analyzed for features relevant to the above hypotheses, among others. While college students are hardly a representative sample of their communities, those attending the same liberal arts college are likely to view their home towns from somewhat the same perspectives and may therefore have as homogeneous an ori-

¹ Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society, 1958. The content analysis here reported was done by Ruth Brockert. The author, however, accepts full responsibility for choice of techniques and accuracy of findings.

² Cf. the author's "Social Class and Stereotyping," *Sociology and Social Research*, XLII (1958), 256–62.

³ John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, *Social Stratification in the United States* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954), pp. 132–56; Gerhard E. Lenski, "American Social Classes: Statistical Strata or Social Groups?" *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1952), 139–44; Stanley A. Hetzler, "An Investigation of the Distinctiveness of Social Classes," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (1953), 493–97; Robert E. L. Faris, "The Alleged Class System in the United States," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XXII (1954), 77–83; and the author's "A Study of Social Stratification Using an Area Sample of Raters," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 310–13.

⁴ Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Reader in Urban Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 344.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 289.

entation as any other reasonably accessible category of persons.

The papers were separated into categories on the basis of the 1950 population of the

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS
BY COMMUNITY CATEGORIES

Category	1950 Population	N
I.....	300- 15,000	41
II.....	15,000- 50,000	25
III.....	50,000-250,000	31
IV.....	*	41
V.....	Over 250,000	13
Total.....		151

* Category IV is comprised of the suburbs of cities which would fall in Category V.

Lincoln, Nebraska; Salt Lake City, Utah; and Charleston, West Virginia—cities with a population of 50,000–250,000. Category IV contains suburbs of metropolises of over 250,000, regardless of the size of the suburb; some are Beverly Hills, California; Oak Park, Illinois; Saint Louis Park, Minnesota; Webster Groves, Missouri; River Edge, New Jersey; and Euclid, Ohio. Category V is comprised of metropolitan centers of more than a quarter-million persons—Chicago, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Omaha, New York, and Milwaukee, for example. The sample is predominantly, although not entirely, midwestern.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF CLASSES REPORTED

NUMBER OF CLASSES	RESPONDENTS REPORTING					Sample Per Cent
	I Per Cent	II Per Cent	III Per Cent	IV Per Cent	V Per Cent	
9.....	....	4	6.5	....	....	2.0
8.....	....	8	3.2	....	7.7	2.7
7.....	....	4	3.2	....	15.4	2.7
6.....	7.3	16	45.2	9.8	15.4	17.9
5.....	19.5	32	19.4	12.2	23.1	19.8
4.....	12.2	16	6.5	24.4	7.7	14.6
3.....	46.3	20	16.1	34.2	15.4	29.8
2.....	2.4	...	....	17.1	7.7	6.0
1.....	....	...	....	2.4	....	0.7
0.....	4.9	...	....	....	....	1.3
Don't know.....	7.3	...	....	....	7.7	2.7
Total.....	99.9	100	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.2

communities, with the exception of papers describing metropolitan suburbs, which were placed in a special category regardless of population. The categories and the numbers of respondents in each are shown in Table 1. Category I contains such towns as Mena, Arkansas; Canton, Illinois; Tama, Iowa; Rock Port, Missouri; Fremont, Nebraska; Manvel, North Dakota; and Mount Vernon, Ohio, all of which had a population of less than 15,000 in 1950. Into the second category—from 15,000 to 50,000 in population—fall such cities as Greeley, Colorado; La Salle-Peru, Illinois; Mason City, Iowa; Traverse City, Michigan; Mankato, Minnesota; Grand Island, Nebraska; Batavia, New York; and Cheyenne, Wyoming. In the third are cities such as Fort Smith, Arkansas; Peoria, Illinois; Hammond, Indiana; Des Moines, Iowa; Topeka, Kansas;

An important corollary of the hypotheses is that there will be a difference in the number of classes specified by respondents from communities from different categories. Actually, the number of classes reported in this study ranged from none to nine (Table 2). Categories I and IV—somewhat suggestive of the examples used by Barber⁶ as communities likely to cover only a part of the general span—recognized fewer classes (combined median, 3; combined mean, 3.7) than Categories II, III, and V (combined median, 5; combined mean, 5.3). The difference between the means of these two sets of categories is significant statistically at the 1 per cent level ($Z = 6.24$). That this may well be due to a different span is sug-

⁶ Bernard Barber, *Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1957), p. 93.

TABLE 3
RESPONDENTS' REFERENCES TO VALUES

VALUES	REFERENCES PER PAPER				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Occupation.....	3.00	4.80	4.19	2.56	3.38
Community activities.....	2.15	2.56	2.10	1.27	0.92
Education.....	1.85	1.60	2.74	1.59	1.92
Housing.....	1.73	2.52	3.65	2.80	3.77
Income.....	1.66	2.84	2.55	1.61	2.92
Associates.....	1.61	2.08	1.13	1.20	0.54
Residential area.....	1.59	2.24	3.35	1.90	3.08
Material possessions.....	1.49	2.56	4.26	2.39	2.54
Respect.....	1.39	1.84	2.03	1.10	1.23
Leisure activities.....	1.29	2.00	3.16	2.10	1.38
Attitude toward others.....	1.27	2.40	1.90	1.37	1.31
Religious association.....	1.17	1.48	1.19	0.85	0.38
Personality traits.....	0.76	0.56	1.19	0.64	0.77
Aspirations.....	0.66	0.96	0.97	0.39	0.31
Morals.....	0.56	0.52	0.77	0.20	0.46
Number of children.....	0.51	0.72	0.58	0.29	0.08
Influence.....	0.49	0.92	0.58	0.59	0.38
Lineage.....	0.46	0.64	0.74	0.24	0.15
Child training.....	0.41	0.20	0.52	0.17	0.08
Conception of self.....	0.29	0.52	0.52	0.29	0.15
Travel.....	0.20	0.48	0.71	0.39	0.15
Where educated.....	0.17	0.16	1.16	0.49	0.54
Ethnic group.....	0.15	0.64	1.06	0.41	1.00
Attitude toward education.....	0.15	0.24	0.29	0.10	....
Living habits.....	0.12	0.24	0.48	0.54	0.54

TABLE 4
RANK ORDER OF VALUES

RANK ORDER OF REFER- ENCES	CATEGORY OF COMMUNITY				
	I	II	III	IV	V
1.....	Occupation	Occupation	Material posses- sions	Housing	Housing
2.....	Community ac- tivities	Income	Occupation	Occupation	Occupation
3.....	Education	Material posses- sions	Housing	Material posses- sions	Residential area
4.....	Housing	Community ac- tivities	Residential area	Leisure activities	Income
5.....	Income	Housing	Leisure activities	Residential area	Material posses- sions
6.....	Associates	Attitude to others	Education	Income	Education
7.....	Residential area	Residential area	Income	Education	Leisure activi- ties
8.....	Material posses- sions	Associates	Community ac- tivities	Attitude to others	Attitude to others
9.....	Respect	Leisure activities	Respect	Community ac- tivities	Respect
10.....	Leisure activi- ties	Respect	Attitude to others	Associates	Ethnic group
	(11) Attitude to others	(11) Education	(14) Associates	(11) Respect	(11) Communi- ty activities
	(23) Ethnic group	(16) Ethnic group	(15) Ethnic group	(17) Ethnic group	(14) Associates

gested by the fact that over half of the suburban respondents did not use the terms "low" or "lower" to describe any class. Be that as it may, it is clear that respondents from different sizes of communities visualize different numbers of social classes.

Twenty-five items appear important to the respondents in connection with social class (Table 3). The technique of assigning items to categories may be clarified by the following examples: (1) "religious association" includes denominational membership

TABLE 5

RHO COEFFICIENTS FOR TABLE 3

	I	II	III	IV	V
I.....	...	.98	.85	.83	.79
II.....	.98	...	.83	.84	.77
III.....	.85	.83	...	.91	.91
IV.....	.83	.84	.91	...	.92
V.....	.79	.77	.91	.92	...

TABLE 6

RHO COEFFICIENTS FOR TABLE 4*

	I	II	III	IV	V
I.....	...	.52	.27	.27	.37
II.....	.52	...	.39	.47	.42
III.....	.27	.39	...	.90	.83
IV.....	.27	.47	.90	...	.87
V.....	.37	.42	.83	.87	...

* Items below the line in Table 4 were assigned the respective ranks of 11 and 12.

and also any other mention of any other kind of identification or lack of identification with religious bodies or religious movements; (2) "material possessions" includes any reference to specific items such as automobiles, clothing, and television sets or their lack; reference to such abstractions as money, wealth, or property; reference to conspicuous consumption; it does not include, however, direct references to housing or earned income as these are listed separately; (3) "morals" is used in its customary sense but also includes any reference to criminality or lack of it; and (4), similarly, "influence" includes power.

Table 4 shows the rank order of frequency with which the major categories of values were mentioned. The findings point to the following conclusions: (1) The larger the community, the less likely are community activities and choice of associates and the more likely are type of housing and residential area believed to be related to social class. (2) Students relate occupation closely with social class in communities of all sizes. (3) Material possessions are believed to be more closely related to social class in communities of 50,000-250,000 than in either larger or smaller communities.

All the ten most frequently mentioned values are among the fourteen most frequently mentioned in each size of community; they simply occur in different rank orders, as is shown in Table 4. Rho correlation coefficients for comparing the rank orders of the various community categories are shown in Tables 5 and 6. The findings bear out the Hatt-Reiss hypothesis: "The way in which these factors combine in the small community is different from the way they define position in the larger urban settlement."⁷

The fact that all the correlations were considerably higher than chance expectation was interpreted as an indication of the pervasiveness of a mass conception of social classes or a mass stereotype; the fact that all the correlations were lower than unity was interpreted as reflecting differences of conceptions of social classes according to size of community. The findings of this study are, then, congruous with the Cuber-Kenkel hypothesis that "differences appear to be introduced by the differing sizes of the community aggregates."⁸

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⁷ Hatt and Reiss, *op. cit.*

⁸ Cuber and Kenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

RACIAL AND MORAL CRISIS: THE ROLE OF LITTLE ROCK MINISTERS¹

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ABSTRACT

Three reference systems—the self, the professional, and the membership—are variables bearing on behavior in moral dilemmas. These are used to explain the apparent inconsistency between attitude and behavior of ministers in the racial crisis current in Little Rock, Arkansas. Certain institutional characteristics compelled the minister to give a peaceable atmosphere in his congregation precedence over social reform. Certain institutional arrangements, working propositions, techniques of communication, and the reactions of extremists helped the minister to control the development of guilt while remaining inactive during his city's racial crisis.

This paper analyzes the conduct of the ministers in established denominations in Little Rock, Arkansas, during the crisis over the admission of Negro students to the Central High School in the fall of 1957. How do ministers behave in racial crisis, caught between integrationist and segregationist forces?

One might expect that Little Rock's clergymen would favor school integration. All the major national Protestant bodies have adopted forceful declarations commending the Supreme Court's desegregation decision of 1954 and urging their members to comply with it. And southern pastors have voted in favor of these statements at their church conferences—and sometimes have even issued similar pronouncements to their own congregations.² But the southern man of God faces serious congregational opposition

if he attempts to express his integrationist beliefs publicly in the local community. The vast majority of southern whites—even those living in the Middle South—are definitely against racial desegregation.³

The purpose of this study is to determine how the ministers of established denominations in Little Rock behaved in the conflict. In analyzing their behavior, we treat self-expectations as an independent variable. This is contrary to the usual course, in which the actor is important analytically only because he is caught between contradictory *external* expectations. The standard model of role conflict treats ego as forced to decide between the incompatible norms of groups that can impose sanctions for non-conformity. This model—which is essentially what Lazarsfeld means by cross-pressures—skirts the issue of whether ego imposes expectations on itself and punishes deviations. Pressure and sanction are external to the actor. Hence the typical model tends to be ahistorical in the sense that a finite number of cross-pressuring groups are

¹ This study was supported by a grant from the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University. The authors wish to express their gratitude to Professor Samuel A. Stouffer for his suggestions. Two brief popular accounts of aspects of this study have appeared previously: "Men of God in Racial Crisis," *Christian Century*, LXXV (June 4, 1958), 663-65, and "Vignettes from Little Rock," *Christianity and Crisis*, XVIII (September 29, 1958), 128-36.

² For example, local ministerial groups issued such statements in New Orleans, Louisiana; Richmond, Virginia; Dallas and Houston, Texas; and Atlanta, Macon, and Columbus, Georgia. For a review of national church statements see "Protestantism Speaks on Justice and Integration," *Christian Century*, LXXV (February 5, 1958), 164-66.

³ A 1956 National Opinion Research Center poll indicated that only one in every seven white southerners approves school integration (H. H. Hyman and P. B. Sheatsley, "Attitudes toward Desegregation," *Scientific American*, CXCIV [December, 1956], 35-39). A 1956 survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion showed that in the Middle South—including Arkansas—only one in five whites approved of school integration (M. M. Tumin, *Segregation and Desegregation* [New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1957], p. 109).

used to predict the actor's behavior. It is assumed that the actor cannot have developed from periods of prior socialization any normative expectations for his behavior which would have an independent existence.⁴ This additional variable—the actor's expectations of himself—is especially meaningful in the analysis.

Though it is a city of approximately 125,000, Little Rock has much of the atmosphere and easy communication of a small town. It is located in almost the geometric center of the state, and physically and culturally it borders on both the Deep South-like delta country to the east and south and the Mountain South-like hill country to the west and north. Thus Little Rock is not a city of the Deep South. Its public transportation had been successfully integrated in 1956, and its voters, as late as March, 1957, had elected two men to the school board who supported the board's plan for token integration of Central High School. And yet Little Rock is a southern city, with southern traditions of race relations. These patterns became of world-wide interest after Governor Faubus called out the National Guard to prevent desegregation and thereby set off the most publicized and the most critical chain of events in the integration process to date.

Only two ministers devoted their sermons to the impending change on the Sunday before the fateful opening of school in Sep-

tember, 1957. Both warmly approved of the step and hoped for its success. Other ministers alluded to it in prayer or comment. It was commonly believed that a majority of the leading denominations' clergy favored the school board's "gradual" plan. This impression seemed confirmed when immediately after Governor Faubus had surrounded Central High with troops fifteen of the city's most prominent ministers issued a protest in, according to the local *Arkansas Gazette*, "the strongest language permissible to men of God."

When Negro students appeared at the high school for the first time, they were escorted by four white Protestant ministers and a number of prominent Negro leaders. Two of the four whites are local clergymen, one being the president of the biracial ministerial association, the other, president of the local Human Relations Council. Many of the more influential ministers of the city had been asked the night before to join this escort. Some demurred; others said they would try to come. Only two appeared.

On September 23, the day of the rioting near Central High School, several leaders of the ministerial association personally urged immediate counteraction on the mayor and the chief of police. Later, support was solicited from selected ministers in the state to issue a declaration of Christian principle, but dissension over the statement prevented its publication. Indeed, *no* systematic attempts were made by the clergy to appeal to the conscience of the community. Such statements as individual ministers did express were usually—though not always—appeals for "law and order" rather than a Christian defense of the principle of desegregation.

Several weeks after the rioting, plans for a community-wide prayer service began to develop. Care was taken to present this service in as neutral terms as possible. Compromise and reconciliation were stressed: never was it described as organized prayers for integration. And indorsements came from both sides of the controversy—from President Eisenhower and from Governor Faubus. As one of the sponsors put it: "Good

⁴ By showing that the actor may have a predisposition toward either a particularistic or a universalistic "solution" to role conflicts in instances where the particularistic-universalistic dimension is relevant, Stouffer and Toby link the study of personality to that of role obligations in a way rarely done (Samuel A. Stouffer and Jackson Toby, "Role Conflict and Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI [March, 1951], 395-406). This study, however, treats the personal predisposition as a determinant of conflict resolution rather than a factor in conflict development. Much the same is true of Gross's analysis (Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander McEachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958], esp. chaps. xv, xvi, and xvii).

Christians can honestly disagree on the question of segregation or integration. But we can all join together in prayers for guidance, that peace may return to our city." The services in the co-operating churches were held on Columbus Day, October 12. All the leading churches participated, with only the working-class sects conspicuously missing. The services varied widely from informal prayers to elaborate programs, and attendances varied widely, too, and totaled perhaps six thousand.

These "prayers for peace" may best be viewed as a ritualistic termination of any attempts by the clergy to direct the course of events in the racial crisis. The prayers had met the national demand for ministerial action and the ministers' own need to act; and they had completed the whole unpleasant business. Despite sporadic efforts by a small number to undertake more effective steps, the ministers lapsed into a general silence that continued throughout the school year.

We began our work in Little Rock in the week after the peace prayers. Following a series of background interviews and a careful analysis of ministerial action as recorded in the press, twenty-nine detailed interviews with ministers were held.⁵ Twenty-seven of them are Protestants and two are Jewish; the Roman Catholics did not co-operate.

This sample was not selected randomly; the so-called "snowball technique" was used in order to include the most influential church leaders. This involves asking each interviewee to name the members of the Little Rock clergy that he considers to be "the most influential." The first interview was made with an announced leader of the peace prayers, and interviewing was continued with all the men mentioned as influential until no new names were suggested. We added a number of ministers who were not named but who had taken strongly liberal

positions during the crisis. Thus our sample is most heavily weighted with the pastors of the larger churches with the greatest prestige and the pastors of smaller churches who had assumed active roles in the conflict. These two groups, we anticipated, would have to contend with the greatest amount of incompatibility in role.

Most of the interviews were held in the church offices. Rapport, which was generally excellent, was partly secured by the authors' identification with southern educational institutions. A detailed summary, as nearly as possible a verbatim account, was placed on Audograph recording equipment shortly after the completion of each interview. Information in three broad areas was sought, and to this end a series of open-ended questions was developed. A series of questions was aimed at determining whether the respondent was a segregationist or an integrationist. A segregationist here is defined as one who prefers racial barriers as presently constituted; an integrationist is one to whom the removal of legal and artificial barriers to racial contact is morally preferable to the present system.⁶

Each interviewee was asked to give a complete account of what he had done and said in both his parish and in the community at large regarding the racial crisis. If he had not been active or vocal, we probed him for the reason and to learn if he had felt guilty over his failure to state the moral imperatives.

A final set of questions dealt with the pastor's perception of his congregation's reaction to whatever stand he had taken. If pressure had been applied on him by his parishioners, we probed him to learn exactly what pressure had been used and how.

The segregationist.—Only five of the twenty-nine clergymen we interviewed were segregationists by our definition. None was avidly so, and, unlike segregationist minis-

⁵ Thirteen additional interviews were held with the sect leaders of an openly pro-segregation prayer service. None of these were members of the ministerial association or were in personal contact with any ministers of the established denominations. A detailed report on them will be published.

⁶ Using the interview, three judges, the two authors and a graduate assistant, independently rated each respondent as either a segregationist or an integrationist. Agreement between the three raters was complete for twenty-seven of the twenty-nine cases.

ters of the sects, none depended on "chapter-and-verse Scripture" to defend his stand. All men in their late fifties or sixties, they did not think that the crisis was a religious matter. One of them was a supervising administrator in a denominational hierarchy. Although all five were affiliated with prominent denominations, they were not among the leaders of the local ministerial body.

These five men have not been publicly active in defending segregation.⁷ Each was opposed to violence, and none showed evidence of internal discomfort or conflict. All five co-operated with the neutrally toned prayers for peace. As one of them commented, "You certainly can't go wrong by praying. Praying can't hurt you on anything."

The inactive integrationist.—Inactive integrationists had done enough—or believed they had done enough—to acquaint their congregations with their sympathy with racial tolerance and integration, but during the crucial weeks of the crisis they were generally silent. These, representing as they do all major denominations, varied considerably as to age and size of church served. Included among them were virtually all the ministers of high prestige, many of whom had signed the protest against Governor Faubus at the start of the crisis and later were advocates of the peace prayer services. Some had spoken out in favor of "law and order" and in criticism of violence. They had not, however, defended the continued attendance of the Negro students in the high school, and they had not challenged their members to defend educational desegregation as a Christian obligation. They were publicly viewed as integrationists only because they had supported "law and order" and had not defended segregation.

Altogether, the inactive integrationists comprise sixteen out of the twenty-nine of our sample. Because it was not a random sample, we cannot draw inferences regarding the division of the total ministerial commu-

nity or of ministers of established denominations into integrationist and segregationist camps. However, since the sample underrepresents the uninfluential minister who had not been in the public eye during the crisis, we may conclude that a large majority of Little Rock's men of God did not encourage their members to define the issue as religious, nor did they initiate actions or participate in programs aimed at integration.

The active integrationist.—Eight of our respondents can be designated as active integrationists because they continued to defend integration in principle and to insist that support of racial integration is nothing less than a Christian imperative. They were, on the whole, young men who have headed their small churches for only a few years. Most were disturbed that the churches of the city were segregated; some have urged their churches to admit Negroes.

Most of the active integrationists had serious difficulty with their members because of their activities, evidence of which was lowered Sunday-morning attendance, requests for transfer, diminished giving, personal snubs and insults, and rumors of sentiment for their dismissal. One had concluded that his usefulness to his congregation had ended and accordingly had requested to be transferred. By the end of 1958, several others had been removed from their pulpits.

One thing all twenty-nine of the sample had in common was a segregationist congregation.⁸ Without exception, they believed that the majority of their members were strong opponents of racial integration. The highest estimate given by any integrationist of the proportion of his congregation which supported his views was 40 per cent; the median estimate for segregation was 75 per cent. Only three interviewees thought that a majority of their members would "accept" a strong public defense of integration by their minister.

Personal integrity, alone, would lead the

⁷ Again, this is in contrast to the sect segregationists. One sect minister is president and another is the chaplain of the local Citizens' Council.

⁸ Our study of a modest sample of church members bore out the ministers' estimates of predominantly pro-segregation sentiment in their congregations.

liberal Little Rock minister to defend integration and condemn those who support segregation. However, the minister is obligated to consider the expectations of his church membership, especially inasmuch as the members' reactions bear upon his own effectiveness.

When an individual is responsible to a public, we distinguish three systems as relevant to his behavior: the self-reference system (SRS), the professional reference system (PRS), and the membership reference system (MRS). The SRS consists of the actor's demands, expectations, and images regarding himself. It may be thought of as what the actor would do in the absence of sanctions from external sources. We have already seen that typically the SRS would support racial integration.⁹ The PRS consists of several sources mutually related to his occupational role yet independent of his congregation: national and regional church bodies, the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, if any, the local ministerial association, personal contacts and friendships with fellow ministers, and, probably, an image of "my church." Finally, the MRS consists simply of the minister's congregation. We have already seen that it favored segregation or at least ministerial neutrality.

The net effect of three reference systems seems to favor the cause of integration. Were they equal in strength, and were there no contrary forces internal to any of them, this conclusion is obvious. The minister would then feel committed to support the official national policy of his denomination; his knowledge that fellow ministers were similarly committed would support him, and the local hierarchy would encourage him to make this decision and reassure him should his congregation threaten disaffection. These external influences would reinforce his own values, resulting in forthright action in stat-

ing and urging the Christian imperatives. However, internal inconsistencies in the PRS and the SRS restrain what on first examination appears to be an influence toward the defense of integration.

The professional reference system.—Two overriding characteristics of the PRS minimize its liberalizing influence. First, most of its components cannot or do not impose sanctions for non-conformity to their expectations. Second, those parts of the PRS that can impose sanctions also impose other demands on the minister, inconsistent with the defense of racial integration before members who, in large part, believe in racial separation and whose beliefs are profoundly emotional.

The inability to impose sanctions.—The national and regional associations that serve as the official "voice of the church" are not organized to confer effective rewards or punishments on individual ministers. Especially is this true in the case of failure to espouse national racial policy or to act decisively in the presence of racial tension. This is even more true of the local ministerial association; it does not presume to censure or praise its members. Conversely, the local church hierarchy is an immediate source of sanctions. It has the responsibility of recommending or assigning parishes, and of assisting the pastor in expanding the program of his church.

The probability and the nature of sanctions from fellow ministers among whom one has personal contacts and friends are somewhat more difficult to specify. However, it does not appear likely that he is subject to sanctions if he does not conform to their expectations by liberal behavior on racial matters. Should he indorse and actively support segregationist and violent elements, this would be another matter. If he is silent or guarded, however, it is not likely to subject him to sanction. The active integrationists in Little Rock expressed disappointment at the inaction of their associates while at the same time suggesting possible mitigating circumstances. There is no evidence that personal or professional ties had been damaged.

⁹ Although groups make demands, impose sanctions, and significantly affect the actors' self-expectations and self-sanctions, nevertheless, we treat the self-reference system as an independent variable in role conflict. This system seems especially significant where personal action is contrary to the pressure of known and significant groups.

Among the various components of the PRS, then, only the local ecclesiastica, which does not exist for some, and, to a considerably lesser extent, fellow ministers, are conceivable sources influencing the minister's decision to be silent, restrained, or forthright.

Conflicting expectations and mitigated pressures.—The role of the minister as community reformer is not as institutionalized (i.e., it does not have as significant a built-in system of rewards and punishments) as are certain other roles associated with the ministry. The minister is responsible for the over-all conduct of the affairs of the church and is judged successful or unsuccessful according to how they prosper. He must encourage co-operative endeavor, reconciling differences, and bring people together. Vigor and high morale of the membership are reflected in increased financial support and a growing membership, and his fellow ministers and his church superiors are keenly sensitive to these evidences of his effectiveness. His goal, elusive though it may be, is maximum support from all members of an ever growing congregation.

The church hierarchy keeps records. It hears reports and rumors. It does not like to see divided congregations, alienated ministers, reduced membership, or decreased contributions. Responsible as it is for the destiny of the denomination in a given territory, it compares its changing fortunes with those of rival churches. In assigning ministers to parishes, it rewards some with prominent pulpits and punishes others with posts of low prestige or little promise. However exalted the moral virtue the minister expounds, the hierarchy does not wish him to damn his listeners to hell—unless somehow he gets them back in time to attend service next Sunday. Promotions for him are determined far less by the number of times he defends unpopular causes, however virtuous their merit, than by the state of the physical plant and the state of the coffer.

Now it is especially commendable if the minister can defend the cause and state the imperative with such tact or imprint that

cleavages are not opened or loyalties alienated. If, however, the moral imperative and church cohesion are mutually incompatible, there is little doubt that the church superiors favor the latter. One administrator told two of his ministers, "It's o.k. to be liberal, boys; just don't stick your neck out." Indeed, ecclesiastical officials advised younger ministers, systematically, to "go slow," reminding them of the possibility of permanent damage to the church through rash action.

Under these circumstances pressure from the national church to take an advanced position on racial matters loses much of its force. The minister is rewarded *only* if his efforts do not endanger the membership of the church: "Don't lose your congregation." Similarly, the prospect of an unfavorable response from his congregation protects him from the (possibly liberal) church hierarchy; he need only point to what happened to Pastor X, who did not heed the rumblings in his congregation. The higher officials, themselves keenly aware of local values and customs, will understand. And his fellow ministers, too, are, after all, in the same boat. They give him sympathy, not censure, if he says, "My hands are tied." An informal rationale develops that reassures the pastor: "These things take time," "You can't change people overnight," "You can't talk to people when they won't listen." There is strong sympathy for the forthright pastor who is in real trouble, but he is looked on as an object lesson. Thus the ministers reinforce each other in inaction, despite their common antipathy to segregation.

The self-reference system.—We still must reckon with the demands the minister imposes upon himself. It is obvious that the actor has the power of self-sanction, through guilt. A threatening sense of unworthiness, of inadequacy in God's sight, cannot be taken lightly. Similarly, to grant one's self the biblical commendation "Well done" is a significant reward. We have said that the self is an influence favoring action in support of desegregation. Can the inactive integrationist, then, either avoid or control the sense of guilt?

Our data are not entirely appropriate to the question. Nevertheless, four circumstances—all of which permit of generalization to other cases—appear at least partially to prevent the sense of guilt. These include major characteristics of the ministerial role, several ministerial values and “working propositions,” certain techniques for communicating without explicit commitment, and the gratifying reactions of extreme opposition forces.

The role structure.—The church, as an institutional structure, sets criteria by which the minister may assess his management of the religious enterprise; it does *not* offer criteria by which to evaluate his stand on controversial issues.¹⁰ This encourages, even compels, the minister to base his self-image, hence his sense of worth or unworth, on his success in managing his church. Thus, if church members do not share his goals, three types of institutionalized responsibilities restrain him in reform.

In the first place, the minister is required to be a cohesive force, to “maintain a fellowship in peace, harmony, and Christian love,” rather than to promote dissension. Thus some ministers prayed during the Columbus Day services that members “carry no opinion to the point of disrupting the Christian fellowship.”

Second, he is expected to show a progressive increase in the membership of his church. Pro-integration activity, lacking mass support, is likely to drive members to other churches.

Finally, his task is to encourage maximum annual giving and to plan for the improvement and expansion of the plant. It is hardly surprising that several inactive integrationists who were engaged in vital fund-raising campaigns shrank from action that might endanger their success.

Working propositions.—The minister makes certain assumptions about his work that reduce the likelihood of guilt when he

does not defend moral convictions that his members reject. He is, first, a devotee of education, by which he means the gradual growth and development of spiritual assets—in contrast to his counterpart of an earlier period, who was more likely to believe in sudden change through conversion. He also believes that communication with the sinner must be preserved at all costs (“You can’t teach those you can’t reach”) and for long enough to effect gradual change in attitude and behavior. A crisis, when feelings run high, is not the time to risk alienating those one wishes to change. For example, Pastor X acted decisively but, in so doing, damaged or lost his pastorate: “Look at him; he can’t do any good now.”

Communication techniques.—The minister may avoid committing himself unequivocally.¹¹ Some use the “every man a priest” technique, for example, the stating of his own opinion while expressing tolerance for contradictory ones and reminding his listeners that their access to God’s truth is equal with his. Others use the “deeper issues” approach; generalities such as the brotherhood of man, brotherly love, humility, and universal justice are discussed without specific reference to the race issue, in the hope that the listener may make the association himself. Still another course is to remind listeners that “God is watching,” that the question of race has religious significance and therefore they should “act like Christians.” There is also the method of deriding the avowed segregationists without supporting their opposites. The “exaggerated southerner” technique, which may be supplementary to any of the others, involves a heavy southern drawl and, where possible, reference to an aristocratic line of planter descent.

These techniques do not demand belief in integration as a Christian imperative. Further, except for the “every man a priest” technique, they do not commit the speaker to integrationist goals as religious values;

¹⁰ Blizzard does not find a “community reformer” or “social critic” role in the ministry (see Samuel W. Blizzard, “The Minister’s Dilemma,” *Christian Century*, LXXIII [April 25, 1956], 508–10).

¹¹ For a full description and illustration of such techniques as used in Little Rock see our *Christians in Racial Crisis: A Study of Little Rock’s Ministers* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959).

the listener may make applications as he chooses. The speaker, on the other hand, can assure himself that the connections are there to be made; he supplies, as it were, a do-it-yourself moral kit.

Reaction of the opposition.—The ministerial body in Little Rock, except for pastors to dissident fundamentalist sects, is defined by agitated segregationists as a bunch of "race-mixers" and "nigger-lovers." For example, the charge was made that the peace prayers were intended to "further integration under a hypocritical veneer of prayer" and that the sect pastors sponsored prayers for segregation "to show that not all of the city's ministers believe in mixing the races." Indeed, ministers of major denominations were charged with having "race on the mind" so that they were straying from, even rejecting, the biblical standard to further their un-Christian goals.

The effect of opposition by segregation extremists was to convince certain inactive integrationists that indeed they *had* been courageous and forthright. The minister, having actually appropriated the opposition's evaluation of his behavior, reversing its affective tone found the reassurance he needed that his personal convictions had been adequately and forcefully expressed.

Were the force of the membership reference system not what it is, the professional reference system and the self-reference system would supply support to integration that was not limited to "law and order" appeals and the denunciation of violence. However, since "Don't lose your congregation" is itself a strong professional and personal demand, the force of the PRS is neutralized, and the pressure from the SRS becomes confused and conflicting. Inaction is a typical response to conflicting pressures within both the internal and the external system.

It is not surprising, then, that most Little Rock ministers have been far less active and vocal in the racial crisis than the policies of their national church bodies and their sense of identification with them, as well as their own value systems, would lead one to expect. Rather, what is surprising is that a small number continued to express vigorously the moral imperative as they saw it, in the face of congregational disaffection, threatened reprisal, and the lukewarm support or quiet discouragement of their superiors and peers.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AND
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

NEWS AND NOTES

University of Alabama.—The *Journal* learns with regret that, as a result of an automobile accident on January 4, Paul Lasakow, assistant professor of sociology, was killed almost instantly. He was an instructor in sociology at Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia, 1954-56, and from September, 1956, until his death was affiliated with the University of Alabama Extension Center in Birmingham.

American University.—The fourth Institute on Current Developments in Research Administration will be held from April 20 to 24, 1959, sponsored by the School of Government and Public Affairs. Topics to be discussed by guest speakers and members of the faculty include balance of internal and external research, effects of size and structure on productivity, science-information classification, indexing and retrieval, transition from research to production, and the human relations of research organizations.

Additional information may be obtained from Lowell H. Hattery, Director, Center for Technology and Administration Studies, American University, 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Brooklyn College.—Roy Bowman, who became professor emeritus in June, 1958, is the recipient of an award of \$2,500 from the National Council of Jewish Women for the study of their membership of 100,000.

Rex D. Hopper has accepted appointment to a senior Fulbright Lectureship in Sociology at the University of Buenos Aires for June, July, and August.

University of Chicago.—The thirty-sixth annual Institute of the Society for Social Research will be held at the University on May 22 and 23. The general subject of the sessions is to be "Equilibrium and Change in Modern Society."

The Institute of Mathematical Statistics and the University have established a series of publications entitled "Statistical Research Monographs" as a medium to help fill the gap between journal articles and textbooks or treatises. Authors will have ample scope for the detailed

exposition of their research. Whereas, at present, authors often find it necessary to publish part of their findings in a theoretical and part in an applied journal, the new series will invite reports involving both viewpoints.

The editorial board consists of David Blackwell (University of California), William G. Cochran (Harvard University), Henry E. Daniels (University of Birmingham), Leo A. Goodman (University of Chicago), Wassily Hoeffding (University of North Carolina), Jack C. Kiefer (Cornell University), and William H. Kruskal (University of Chicago).

Authors are invited to send manuscripts and correspondence concerning the series to Leo A. Goodman, Department of Statistics, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Columbia University.—Conrad M. Arensberg is serving for the fifth year as chairman of the Columbia University seminar on the developmental problems of underdeveloped areas. He is also executive officer of the Department of Anthropology.

Simon Marcson has resigned as executive secretary of the seminar after four years, during which he also served as research associate under a grant from the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University. He continues as a University Associate of the seminar. Dr. Marcson is associate professor of sociology at Rutgers University and is this year on half-time leave to Princeton as a research associate for the Industrial Relations Section of the Department of Economics and Sociology.

Louis P. Cajoleas, who was formerly on the staff of Teachers College, has been appointed assistant professor in the Department of Education of the American University of Beirut, Lebanon.

Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, who has been on the staff since 1935, retired in June, 1958. An urban sociologist who has divided his time with the training of adult educators and has been active in national adult education organizations throughout much of his professional life, Professor Hallenbeck has also served as consultant on several foundation projects.

Solon T. Kimball is spending the current academic year as education consultant in community research to the Brazilian Center for Educational Research, a branch of the Ministry of Education. The Center conducts social science studies to help improve the schools of Brazil.

Mozell Hill has now joined the Department of Social and Philosophical Foundations. Professor Hill was formerly chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Atlanta University.

Sloan Wayland, who joined the faculty of the American University in Beirut, Lebanon, in the fall of 1957, is continuing his work there for another academic year.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The 1959 meeting of the Society will be held at the Hotel New Yorker, New York City, on April 11 and 12.

University of Florida.—The Graduate School has initiated a scholarly series to be entitled "University of Florida Monographs: Social Sciences." The series will be devoted primarily to research by present and former members of the scholarly community of the University. Four numbers will be published each year, the first to appear early in 1959. Monographs will be drawn from anthropology, economics, history, political science, and sociology and from appropriate work in education, geography, law, and psychology.

Editorial communications should be addressed to L. N. McAlister, 111 Peabody Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Business correspondence should be directed to Lewis F. Haines, Director, University of Florida Press, Gainesville, Florida.

University College of Ghana.—St. Clair Drake, who is here on three year's leave from Roosevelt University, Chicago, is acting as head of the Department of Sociology. With Dr. Busia, who has since resigned from the University to devote himself to duties as head of the Parliamentary Opposition, he is designing urban studies.

University of Hawaii.—A forty-four-day study tour of Japan, Formosa, Hong Kong, Macao, and Manila is planned by the University for the summer of 1959. Listed in the summer-

school catalogue as "Asian Studies S320," under the tutorship of Dr. C. K. Cheng, professor of sociology, it is open to teachers, students, and mature adults. Participants will leave the mainland on June 9, 1959, for Honolulu and will visit Japan, Formosa, Hong Kong, the new territories on the border of Red China, Macao, and the Philippines, returning to the University of Hawaii to wind up the course by August 1.

For information write to: Orient Study Tour, 2275 Mission Street, San Francisco 10, California.

International Catholic Child Bureau.—The Seventh Congress is to be held in Lisbon, Portugal, on the theme: "The Child and His Future in the World of Work." The dates have been changed to June 29–July 5, 1959.

For information, apply to the Secrétariat Général, 31, Rue de Fleurus, Paris 6^e, France.

International Sociological Association.—The Fourth World Congress of Sociology will be held under the auspices of UNESCO in Milan and Stresa, September 8–15, 1959. The theme is "Society and Sociological Knowledge."

The program will be in three sections, as follows: Section I, "Sociology in Its Social Context," chairman, Professor G. Friedmann; general papers by Professors R. Aron and R. K. Merton, and national studies by twelve others. Section II, "The Application of Sociological Knowledge": (1) "Fields of Application of Sociology." There will be discussion groups on industry, agriculture, education, regional and town planning, public health, mass communications, population, social welfare planning and administration, problems of economic growth in underdeveloped countries, ethnic and racial relations, the family, leisure, and medicine. The chairmen are Professors R. Clémens and E. W. Hofstee, Mrs. J. Floud, Mrs. R. Glass, Professors N. Grashchenkov, M. Janowitz, C. Musatti, and L. Livi, Mr. H. Friis, Dr. A. Palerm, Professors E. Franklin Frazier, and R. Hill, Dr. R. Bauer, and Professor G. Reader. (2) "Sociological Aspects of Social Planning," chairman, Professor C. Pellizzi; main papers by Dr. Gunnar Myrdal and Professors C. Bettelheim and S. Ossowski. Section III, "Developments in Sociological Methods," chairman, Professor A. N. J. den Hollander; main papers by Professors P. Lazarsfeld, J. Stoetzel, and R. Koenig. There will be seminars on experimental methods,

observational methods, multivariate surveys, small-group analysis, historical sociology, the comparative method, selected problems of statistical method, application of mathematics to sociology, the approaches of social anthropology, and the interrelations of psychology and psychoanalysis with sociology. The chairmen are Professor Emeritus S. Chapin, Dr. P. Chombart de Lauwe, Dr. M. Abrams, and Professors G. Homans, A. Briggs, C. Wright Mills, S. N. Eisenstadt, F. Brambilla, L. Guttman, G. Balandier, M. Gluckman, O. Klineberg, and Talcott Parsons.

The working languages in the plenary sessions are English, French, and Italian; in the discussion groups, English and French.

For information apply to the ISA Secretariat, 13 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C. 1, England.

State University of Iowa.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Fred Emory Haynes, one of the pioneer sociologists in the American Midwest on August 5, 1958. At the time of his death Dr. Haynes was assistant professor emeritus in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, which he served for forty-three years. During his final years he worked on his *Recollections* and continued collecting data on the operations of the Iowa State Board of Control and the correctional and penal institutions under its supervision. He developed the curriculum in criminology at the University, established a research program in penology, and exercised considerable influence on the growth of professional social work within the state. His major publications are *Criminology*, a general textbook, (1930) and his *American Prison System*, (1939), the only book which for many years gave a general view of the prison system in the United States. His colleagues and friends are seeking to establish a research endowment in his honor to be administered through the State University of Iowa Old Gold Development Fund.

"Jewish Journal of Sociology."—The first issue of this new periodical, with Morris Ginsberg as editor, and Maurice Freedman as managing editor, was due to appear in February, 1959, and will be published twice yearly (in the spring and autumn) at an annual subscription of one guinea. The first issue was scheduled to have articles by the following: Morris Ginsberg, Ferdynand Zweig, Schifra Strizower, André

Chouraqui, S. J. Prais, V. D. Lipman, Howard Brotz, Jakob Katz, and H. Tint. There will also be reviews, a chronicle, and a list of books received. It is published on behalf of the World Jewish Congress. The editorial office is at 55 New Cavendish Street, London, W. 1.

"Journal of Individual Psychology."—In honor of Kurt Goldstein's eightieth birthday, this journal is preparing a special issue for the spring of 1959, which will include papers gathered by a committee of friends and presented to him on this occasion.

This special issue will include an autobiographical statement by Goldstein, and, among others, there will be papers by Alexandra Adler, M.D., New York; Marianne L. Simmel, VA Hospital, Durham, N.C.; Leopoldo Chiappo, University of San Marcos, Peru. F. J. J. Buytendijk, University of Utrecht; William Gooddy, M.D., London; Norbett L. Mintz, Harvard University; Martin Scheerer, University of Kansas; Adrian L. Van Kaam, Brandeis University; R. Jakobson, Harvard University; A. H. Maslow, Brandeis University; and Paul Tillich, Harvard University.

The issue will also contain a large portrait of Goldstein, and his bibliography from 1936 to 1958, compiled by Joseph Meiers, M.D., and Norbett L. Mintz. The pre-publication price of the Goldstein issue is \$1.75. Send checks now to: *Journal of Individual Psychology*, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

University of Michigan.—The Institute for Social Gerontology announces the publication of a series of five syllabi in social gerontology, edited by Dr. Irving L. Webber, of the University of Florida. Each consists of a course outline and annotated bibliography designed for college and university use. They are: *The Economics of an Aging Population*, by Walter H. Franke and Richard C. Wilcock, University of Illinois; *The Psychological Aspects of Aging*, by Raymond G. Kuhlen, Syracuse University, and Woodrow W. Morris, State University of Iowa; *The Sociology of Aging and the Aged*, by Irving L. Webber, University of Florida, and Gordon F. Streib, Cornell University; *Social Welfare and the Aged*, by Gordon J. Aldridge, Michigan State University, and Fedele S. Fauri, University of Michigan; and *An Interdisciplinary Course in Social Gerontology*, by Bernice Neugarten and Robert J. Havighurst,

University of Chicago, and Claire F. Ryder, M.D., U.S. Public Health Service.

Single copies are available on request at fifteen cents each or fifty cents for the set. Address requests to the Institute for Social Gerontology, University of Michigan, 1510 Rackham Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

National Science Foundation.—The Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is conducting a study of scientific research and development expenditures and manpower in the U.S.S.R. for the National Science Foundation. Professor Alexander Korol, author of *Soviet Education for Science and Technology*, is serving as principal investigator. Concerned primarily with selected fields of the natural sciences, the study will include an analysis of how the Soviets allocate economic and manpower resources to various fields of research and development. Data will be compiled so as to be as comparable as possible with American materials.

To make the study as accurate and complete as possible, the Foundation invites communications from scientists who have visited Soviet laboratories and from specialists in the Soviet field interested in this problem. Reference to significant published studies and those now in progress in the United States or elsewhere will be appreciated. Also desired are unpublished memoranda and reports, which will be returned if requested.

Communications should be addressed to Jacob Perlman, head of the Office of Special Studies, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D.C.

North Carolina State College.—The 1959 session of the Southern Regional Graduate Summer Session in Statistics will be held at North Carolina State College, Raleigh, from June 8 to July 17, 1959. This is under the auspices of the North Carolina State College, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, University of Florida, and Oklahoma State University, which together operate a continuing program of graduate summer sessions in statistics to be held at each institution in rotation. The 1959 session, like previous programs, is intended to serve teachers of introductory statistical courses who want formal training in modern statistics; research and professional workers who want intensive instruction in basic statistical concepts and

modern statistical methodology; professional statisticians who wish to keep informed about advanced specialized theory and methods; prospective candidates for graduate degrees in statistics; and graduate students in other fields. The session will last six weeks, and courses will carry three semester hours of credit.

Requests for application blanks for the summer school and for National Science Foundation grants should be addressed to: F. E. McVay, Department of Experimental Statistics, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Northwestern University.—Two Northwestern University anthropologists have been awarded senior postdoctoral fellowships by the National Science Foundation for the academic year 1959–60. Associate Professor Alan P. Merriam will do research in the lower Congo region of Africa on the Yombe people. After studying the Yombe culture he will determine the role that music plays in the group's life. Merriam, who is also a musicologist, will be attached to the University of Lovanium, near Leopoldville.

Associate Professor Edward P. Dozier received an award to study in the Philippines. A specialist on the American Indian, he is currently on leave of absence at the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, Stanford California.

Park College.—Wayne Wheeler, chairman of the department of sociology, has been elected president of the Missouri Sociological Society for 1959. Other new officers of the society are Robert W. Habenstein, of the University of Missouri, vice-president, and Lowell W. Holmes of Missouri Valley College, secretary-treasurer.

Pennsylvania State University.—The department has been renamed the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. New members added to the staff include Delbert C. Miller, Kirk Dansereau, Seymour Leventman, and Melvin Zelnik in sociology and Louis B. Dupree in anthropology. Part-time staff members added recently include Paul T. Baker and James N. East in anthropology, Joseph Faulkner and Judith K. Leventman in sociology, and Margaret Skell in social welfare.

George A. Theodorson is at present in Burma on a Fulbright grant.

Edward Abramson is serving this year as

visiting professor of sociology at the University of Saskatchewan.

Frederick R. Matson, professor of archeology, has been named assistant dean for research in the College of the Liberal Arts and director of the Social Science Research Center.

William G. Mather, head of the department, is utilizing closed-circuit television in instructing about six hundred students in introductory sociology each semester.

Maurice A. Mook is offering introductory anthropology on television for the first time this year.

Duane V. Ramsey has resigned after several years with the department and is engaged in research and practice in psychiatric social work.

University of Pittsburgh.—A twelve-million-dollar gift has been made to the University for the advancement of the basic academic disciplines—the humanities, natural sciences, and social sciences.

The gift which is from the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, will be used to establish and endow ten distinguished professorships, six in the humanities, two in the natural sciences, and two in the social sciences; to support fifty predoctoral and six to nine postdoctoral fellowships in these fields; and to aid the general development of the University's new College of the Academic Disciplines.

"Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review."—An annual prize of \$300 in memory of Clement Staff, recently deceased former editor of *Psychoanalysis*, has been established by the National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis for the best clinical or theoretical paper in psychoanalysis or psychoanalytical psychology. The first award will be made for 1958–59.

Another prize of \$200 has been contributed by an anonymous donor for the best paper illustrating the relations between psychoanalysis and any selected aspect of the social sciences, philosophy, religion, or the arts. The 1958–59 award will be made in honor of Émile Durkheim and George Simmel, outstanding sociologists and philosophers, the centenaries of whose births are being commemorated this year.

The competition is open to all interested persons, other than members of the board of this *Review*, without regard to national origin or profession. Further details are offered on the back cover of the current issues of *Psychoanaly-*

sis and the Psychoanalytic Review. Essays must be submitted on or before July 15 of any year and ordinarily should not exceed 15,000 words.

Washington University.—Alvin W. Gouldner, now at the University of Illinois, will join the department in September, 1959, as professor of sociology and departmental chairman. N. J. Demerath, chairman since 1956, will continue as director of the Social Science Institute and as a member of the department.

Paul J. Campisi has been appointed research consultant to the University's Civic Education Center, Television Activities, to study the effectiveness of adult education through television. W. Youssef Wassef and Gabriella Carella Miller are research assistants.

Robert L. Hamblin, with Richard deCharms, assistant professor of psychology, has received support from the Office of Naval Research for a long-term program of research in small groups and interaction analysis. To accommodate this and other projects, the University has constructed for the Social Science Institute a laboratory which includes five experimental rooms connected by a flexible intercommunication system as well as a large, one-way vision, experiment-observation facility.

Wayne State University.—The College of Education and Graduate School again approve credit arrangements in connection with the Twelfth Annual European Travel Study Program in Comparative Education. Personally directed by William Reitz, professor of education, the party will leave Detroit on June 18 and return on August 16, 1959. Later dates of returning may be individually arranged. The tour includes eight countries. Persons may qualify to earn up to six hours of undergraduate or graduate credit to apply to degree programs, for teaching certification, or for annual salary increments. Others may register for "audit" credit and participate in the program for general personal enrichment.

Further information may be obtained from William Reitz, 727 Student Center, Wayne State University, Detroit 2, Michigan.

Whitman College.—Ely Chertok, who joined the staff last year, has been designated major adviser for sociology for the current year. He replaces Miriam Wagenschein, who is on leave of absence to study at Stanford University.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Moral Basis of a Backward Society. By EDWARD C. BANFIELD. With the assistance of LAURA FASANO BANFIELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press and the Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, University of Chicago, 1958. Pp. 204.

This small book packs a terrific punch despite its awkward title. It describes a village near Potenza in southern Italy, where only officials specifically appointed for that purpose do anything for the community. The author inquires why this is so. He examines and discards as only partially applicable six explanations often advanced: poverty, ignorance, exploitation by the upper class, conservatism, distrust of the state and all authority, and despairing fatalism. Poverty and class antagonism he discusses at greater length before presenting his own explanation of the lack of any sense of community obligation or of public spirit. He summarizes his ideas in the term "amoral familism," which at first seems more confusing than helpful but means that questions of right and wrong apply only to one's immediate family (the in-group) and that "anything goes" with the out-group. The author puts it as a hypothesis: Maximize the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family; assume that all others will do likewise (p. 85).

The writer then applies his hypothesis to phenomena he observed during nine months' residence in the village with his wife and two children. Indeed, he sets forth seventeen logical implications of it, five of which, selected at random, give some idea of the problems they cover:

1. In a society of amoral familists, no one will further the interest of the group or community except as it is to his private advantage to do so.
4. In a society of amoral familists, organization (i.e., deliberately concerted action) will be very difficult to achieve and maintain. . . .
7. The amoral familist who is an office-holder will take bribes when he can get away with it. But whether he takes bribes or not, it will be assumed by the society of amoral familists that he does.
10. In the society of amoral familists there will be no connection between abstract principle (i.e., ideology) and concrete behavior in the ordinary relationships of everyday life.
13. The amoral familist will value gains accruing to the community only insofar as he and his are likely to share them. In fact, he will vote against measures which will help the community without helping him because, even though his position is unchanged in absolute terms, he considers himself worse off if his neighbor's position changes for the better.

The author, to show more clearly the relevance of his study to "backward societies" everywhere, states that an industrialized economy is possible only in a complex social organization which cannot come into existence under conditions of amoral familism and that efforts at economic or community improvement are doomed to failure unless the total ethos is modified, which involves a cultural change, about which the author does not seem very sanguine. Such explanatory principles raise the question of cause and effect. In this particular village, amoral familism is said to be "produced by three factors acting in combination: a high death rate, certain land tenure conditions, and the absence of the institution of the extended family." Obviously, only further studies can show if these are the conditions most often associated with amoral familism—which the writer suggests exists at least to some degree in all societies.

Those familiar with peasant societies will at once recognize that the construct of the amoral familist will have to be modified, as any construct would, if given wider application. In many cases one will have to substitute the larger kinship group for the nuclear family, but the general principle would still seem to hold. Furthermore, the interpretation of what is of material, short-run advantage will vary from culture to culture; it represents a starting point for those interested in initiating planned change in "backward societies." Also, one should, apparently, not press too far the concept of amorality toward outsiders, since even here there are some overriding cultural norms which set limits as to what one can and cannot do.

IRWIN T. SANDERS

Harvard University

The Institutions of Advanced Societies. Edited by ARNOLD M. ROSE. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958. Pp. ix+691. \$10.50.

Comparisons among primitive societies and between them and "advanced" societies are common enough, but the comparative study of "advanced" societies lags. Arnold Rose, recalling in his Preface that there are few suitable teaching materials for comparative sociology and hardly any recent general books on the subject, offers the present volume.

It mainly consists of ten essays on individual countries within Western civilization. Six are European; the others are Israel, Brazil, Australia, and the United States—a good sample of literate societies having substantial formal education and using "modern" machinery. Choices were restricted, however, to studies whose authors were native resident sociologists, and this restriction led to a book about Western societies.

The essays vary widely in character and quality. For the most part they are solidly factual and informative, although the state of sociological knowledge about the countries varies enormously. Description of institutions bulks large in them all, but values, national character, and cultural characteristics are treated too. The essays by Anthony Richmond on the United Kingdom, by Ronald Taft and Kenneth Walker on Australia, and by Jessie Bernard on the United States are generously statistical; they make use of numerous professional studies and spring from a set of professional ideas familiar to American scholars. François Bourricaud's essay on France has a very different flavor; it is learned, nuanced, and better written than the others, with more affinities to the broad Western traditions of historical writing. Eisenstadt's essay on Israel is the most severely professional; it assumes a great deal of acquaintance with modern sociological theory, especially Parsons', and it passes over much elementary exposition to dwell on interpretation and analysis. Most of the others are hampered by limited data and lack distinctive qualities of style or analysis.

A book of this sort can, on the one hand, aim to improve our understanding of advanced societies by original analysis and interpretation of individual cases, as do Eisenstadt's and Bourricaud's essays. On the other hand, it can have the more modest aim of educating students and social scientists; Richmond on the United King-

dom, Taft and Walker on Australia, or Waris on Finland serve this very worthy purpose. The comparative slant that Taft and Walker and Waris bring to their essays is not easy to achieve. Rose argues that beginning students could learn more from French mistresses or German trade-union leaders than from Manus or Trobriand Islanders. This well may be, but the task of presenting comparisons between societies of broadly similar character demands a subtlety and factual precision dispensable in more gross comparisons. The evidence on kinship given in these essays is too thin and unsatisfactory to permit good comparisons, even where there is substantial statistical evidence. Nor is it of much use to know that there were 1,556,721 Yugoslavian trade-union members in 1954, or that 200,000 Greeks were employed in commercial business in 1928, if such facts are not set in some comparative context. Constantly to put them here is no mean intellectual challenge.

Ultimate strategy for building a comparative sociology of advanced societies is the subject of an interesting essay Rose has put at the beginning of this volume. The development of this general subject must rest in part on case studies of the sort represented here. But these particular studies should be more than handmaidens of generality. Their execution is a test of the achievements and contributions of sociology, and it would be a great pity if, over the years, we did not see a continuing improvement in our capacity to supply them to the educated world. There is, we sense, a place for something different—more sociological, less topical, and more grounded in general principles than most studies. The essays in this book offer much heartening evidence that a new type of guide to the statesman and the common citizen may be in the making.

FRANCIS X. SUTTON

Ford Foundation

Toward a Unified Theory of Human Behavior.

Edited by ROY R. GRINKER, M.D., with the assistance of HELEN MACGILL HUGHES. With major contributions by KARL DEUTSCH, FLORENCE KLUCKHOHN, TALCOTT PARSONS, ANATOL RAPOPORT, JURGEN RUESCH, DAVID SHAKOW, JOHN P. SPIEGEL, and OTHERS. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956. Pp. xv + 376. \$6.50.

These well-known authorities held conferences over the period 1950-55 at which they presented their equally well-known theories, systems, or ideas, with the object of reaching, if possible, a unified theory. The present volume reports on the papers read, and the discussions pursued, at the first four conferences.

None ever pretended to be a Newton or an Einstein evolving elegant and basic theory. At best, therefore, the preoccupations turn upon the possibilities of finding a language system which will be acceptable to biologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, etc., and thus to achieve a unification in that respect.

The first of the conferences had before it brief formulations by Spiegel (that everything is interdependent on everything else); by Shakow (there are needs, which may or may not be gratified); Ruesch (that communication theory has much to offer, but all observers must be psychoanalyzed first, otherwise facts are distorted); Talcott Parsons (who provides a neat account of his general theory of action); Laura Thompson (who interjects core values); and by Florence Kluckhohn (who recommends value orientation and a questionnaire as a framework for the comparison of cultures). In the discussion, Weiss remarks that all, so far, is "rationalization," "schemes and diagrams," merely "a statement of the facts." What is missing, he adds, is quantification, to reduce the immense variety of facts to a few more common ones.

The second and third conferences consider papers by Alfred Emerson, who enlarges on the concept of homeostasis; by Spiegel, who expounds some of Eric Erikson's categories of the psyche; by Parsons, who puts his system in action by studying how family affairs may be involved in predicting jobs for young men; and by Anatol Rapoport, who reconsiders homeostasis. Jules Henry in a richly good-humored paper asks who in a maternity ward is being kept in a steady, homeostatic state, the newborn baby, the mother, the hospital, American society as whole, or the world? However, Deutsch restores the serious note and provides, in a paper entitled "Autonomy and Boundaries According to Communication Theory," the first approach to unification of a kind. It would be such as invites the behavioral sciences to talk the language of boundaries, decision points,

memory pools, higher-order feed-backs, homeostasis, and the like.

It is fair to say that the ensuing discussion is desultory and that it bears little relation to a complicated system of relationships given to the conferees by Dr. Ruesch, with which it is apparently currently grappling. The book ends with papers read at the fourth conference, which concerned the first of the seven systems of relationships of the Ruesch scheme.

Characteristic of the conferences is preoccupation with *description*, however covered over by models, systems, information theory, or the rest. Indeed, Ruesch's opening statement—that "once he [the sociologist, psychologist, anthropologist, etc.] has gathered data, he can interpret them as he pleases, using whatever systems he likes"—accurately reflects all else in the book. This reviewer wonders whether it reflects at all what is essential in science.

There is indeed a frightening gap between "facts as observed," implicit throughout the thinking of these authorities, and the superposed "theory," "systems," or the like. What is missing, it seems, is any concern with *technique* as instrumentation; in the last analysis, with what, in behavioral science, must serve as telescopes, microscopes, Geiger counters, and the like serve biology, physics, and astronomy.

This does not mean a naïve resort to instrumentation or to quantification for reduction or other arbitrary purposes. The concern is with what is to be observed in the first place rather than with description of facts observed. Given the right conditions, the facts after observation will usually be very different from what rational systems suggested they might be. The emphasis would be on basic discoveries rather than on the logical elaboration of information or other communication networks. There will be mathematics and statistics, no doubt, but such as the conditions under inquiry require. There will be a certain constraint and parsimony; and, once the right facts are being involved, interpretation will be as obvious as a haystack. There will be, of course, variables to manipulate, not ideas to adumbrate.

Those of us who are privileged, through this volume, to look in upon the day-by-day (more or less) thinking of so many authorities can at least draw the conclusion that, if a brew of experts in the behavioral sciences is concocted, it will have a polyglot taste. It is difficult otherwise to understand how, after the mixing, the basic results are homeostasis, transaction, in-

formation theory, metabolism, reproduction, irreversibility, goal-seeking, sex differentiation, and permanent coupling.

WILLIAM STEPHENSON

University of Missouri

The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group. Edited by MARSHALL SKLARE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. xii+669. \$10.00.

This volume, a welcome departure from the dreary tradition of "surveys" of Jewish life in America, emphasizes empirical research dealing with selected aspects of the contemporary scene. Because most of the contributions were written with an eye to their relevance for the broader body of theory and research, the book should be of interest to sociologists generally.

Of the thirty-three essays, half were especially written or adapted for the book. The historical articles serve as a kind of introduction and are not in this case of particular value to the sociologist. The section on demography includes a very able summary by Seligman and Antonovsky of Jewish population studies in selected American cities. Fauman's interesting analysis of occupational selection among Detroit Jews is marred by clumsy language and occasionally misread tables.

The most valuable community study is the well-known work by Gans on the Jews of Park Forest. Sutker's two essays on the Jewish organizational elite and the role of social clubs in Atlanta are of some interest, as is Baltzell's account of the Jewish upper class in Philadelphia. The section dealing with the Jewish religion contains a number of particularly valuable contributions, among which are Sklare's excellent discussion of Conservative Judaism, Polsky's study of Orthodoxy in Milwaukee, and Rosen's report on the religious attitudes of teen-agers. Carlin and Mendlovitz offer an interesting typology of American rabbis, and Glick's paper on the Hebrew Christians is notable for his skill in making relevant the study of a doubly marginal group.

The section on "psychological aspects" is not very impressive. Only Marian Radke Yarrow's study of personality development among Jewish children is of any lasting interest. The final section on "cultural aspects" contains a brisk and competent piece on delinquency by Sophia

Robison and an attempt by Fuchs to account for Jewish liberal and internationalist values. This section contains the best single contribution of the volume: a scholarly article on Jewish sobriety by Charles Snyder. Wolfenstein's paper on "two types" of Jewish mothers should have been retitled if not omitted.

On the whole, the volume is a valuable contribution to sociology and to knowledge about American Jews. To the extent that it represents the best material available in the field, it is also a left-handed commentary on the vast amount of work that remains to be done.

NORMAN MILLER

Cornell University

Community in Disaster. By WILLIAM H. FORM and SIGMUND NOSOW. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. Pp. xiii+273. \$4.00.

The Flint, Michigan, tornado of 1953 was a wind that blew good to Form and Nosow and their readers: their *Community in Disaster* is a solid contribution to the sociological literature on extreme situations. Group process and structure is the focus, in contrast with research on disaster which has emphasized personal and interpersonal adjustment. By ingenious use of case materials, observation, and excerpts from the personal interviews the authors achieve a good account of roles and of groups in formation and in interaction. The comparison of spontaneous, or, as they later preferred, "emergent groups," and formal organizations is very good indeed.

In five chapters, especially noteworthy, good conceptualization is combined with rare empirical accounts of whole organizations in action: the Michigan State Police, two volunteer fire departments, the Salvation Army, and the Red Cross. The Red Cross, incidentally, comes off no better than it did in the judgment of many GI's during that war of long, long ago—World War II. A promising classification of formal organizations is offered, together with a well-considered statement of criteria of organizational performance.

A number of general propositions are offered, though the authors provide scant reference to the literature. For example:

Conflict does not destroy effective action or cause the individual to lose a sense of his appropriate social responsibilities.

Rescue is built upon certain normally expected behavior patterns, and a rescue role for the untrained citizen is almost nonexistent.

Individuals who normally do not perform roles that demand independent decision-making find themselves incapable of easily deciding on appropriate courses of action under varied and unfamiliar circumstances.

Observations reported here and elsewhere establish that formally designated Civil Defense leaders are often failures in time of disaster and that the best leadership may come from generalist (not specialist or staff) executives and from varied specialist groups whose usual roles prepare them for disaster—firemen, policemen, physicians, nurses, priests, morticians, utility workers, and others. It may be that these people cannot be mobilized in advance to any extent because their civilian roles are simply too compelling and rewarding. The authors' advice makes sense: depend on professional organizations established to meet disaster as far as possible.

Like so much writing that comes out of field work, especially if launched without benefit of clear theoretical statements, *Community in Disaster* is hardly the book that was anticipated by the research team when they began collecting data along very general lines two days after the tornado. The problem was reformulated, as the authors state, after analysis was begun. Consequently, one finds analytic concepts none too well fitted to the data. Even the selection of gross categories that, we are told, are the "most important" for predicting behavior (sex roles, age roles, family roles, neighbor roles, and occupational roles) was deferred until the analysis. Moreover, the idea of phases or sequences behavior was not explored until after the data had been gathered. Hence there are a certain crudity in analysis and a strain between analytic categories and data. But if *Community in Disaster* be something of a salvage job, it is a quite successful one.

N. J. DEMERATH

Washington University

Human and Social Impact of Technological Change in Pakistan, Vols. I and II. By A. F. A. HUSAIN. Dacca: Geoffrey Cumberlege; New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xi+404; xiii+344.

UNESCO is providing funds to encourage investigation of the social consequences of modern technology in the underdeveloped countries and supported Professor Husain and his team to undertake the study in the eastern wing of Pakistan which his work reports. The author attempts to show how the people of East Pakistan are adjusting to change caused by the acceleration of innovations, especially, since the partition of the subcontinent of India in 1947. The "statistical survey" involved observation of 561 workers. Of 561 in the sample, 471 were drawn from 13,390 workers employed in nineteen factories scattered throughout the province of East Pakistan and 90 from 4,293 rickshaw drivers working in Dacca City, the provincial capital. At the time the study was undertaken in 1953, there were more than 512 factories in the province, and the size of their labor force was approximately more than 80,000. Seventy-three lively case studies comprise the entire second volume and provide the major source of the author's report.

The book gives some glimpses into the life of East Pakistan in general, and, in particular, it reports how some of those coming in contact with the new technology are shifting from their traditional way of life. A large proportion of factory workers appears to have been drawn from rural areas, presumably from agricultural work, by pecuniary motives. Not only are their eating and living habits being modified but also, inevitably, their beliefs and values. The author has noticed some move from the belief in predestination toward self-determination among the factory workers. To the casual observer this report might give an optimistic view, did not careful examination reveal that the study was not properly planned from the very beginning.

Professor Husain, who is a widely experienced economist, frankly admits the limitations of the study, but he seems not to realize that a better design would have improved its quality. For one thing, the problem was not properly stated as a research project. Then the central concepts, "direct impact," "indirect impact," "unaffected people," and so on, were not defined precisely. A hypothetical chart, indicating the stages through which an individual becomes adjusted to technological change, was constructed on the basis of a preliminary survey. The chart is a substitute for a set of hypotheses which were to be tested, although it is not very clear from the monograph. Yet it has neither been demonstrated statistically or explained theoretic-

cally how the data fit into the chart. Moreover, the population to which inferences are intended to be applied was not defined clearly. The author states the subjects of the study to be "people coming in direct or indirect contact with the new technology," but later he says it is "the entire labor force of East Pakistan." Now the greater part of the labor force of East Pakistan is agricultural, and the author maintains that most of the agricultural labor force is "unaffected" by the new technology. Then just what population is this monograph reporting?

There are other inconsistencies and confused statements; nonetheless, credit is due Husain, who, an economist, undertook a tremendous sociological task. His study was the first of its kind ever done in the new country of Pakistan, and the author and his team should be congratulated for laying a foundation stone for future investigators.

SULTAN HASHMI

Chicago

Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology. By LEO KUPER, HILSTAN WATTS, and RONALD DAVIES. With an Introduction by ALAN PATON. London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. Pp. 254. \$3.75.

It is perhaps a symptom of the times that the publishers of this study advertise it as "remarkably objective" and "factual, not fanatical." Have sociologists become such advocates of underdog causes that their occasional adherence to canons of scientific work calls for special comment?

The monograph is not only "objective"; it is highly competent. Although the authors use "the term 'ecology' in the narrow sense of the spatial distribution of the residents," they give a full description of the demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds of the major ethnic categories and carefully relate the competition for living space to these differentiating factors and to the political structure of the city. They analyze the census data of 1951 as a benchmark "to provide a basis for the study of the consequences of Durban's experiment in total [residential] segregation as they unfold over the years."

The three main ethnic categories in the South African metropolis—Europeans, Indians, and native Africans—were about equal in numeri-

cal importance in 1951 and were segregated each from the other to a high degree—higher, for example, than the segregation of Negroes from whites in most American cities. Nonetheless, implementation of the Group Areas Act will entail substantial transfers of resident population, economic losses to displaced groups, and disruption of local institutions. The burden of the shifts will fall disproportionately on the socially and politically subordinate. There is indeed room for doubt as to the prospects of complete success in any such scheme of racial zoning as well as for apprehension about the unanticipated consequences of efforts to enforce it.

Apart from its uses as a thorough analysis of a local and national problem, the monograph provides a well-documented case study of urban residential segregation which should prove of value for comparative study. Also, for obvious reasons, it lays unusual stress on the interrelations of residential segregation with urban politics and city planning. As the authors make plain, the distinction between "pure" ("natural") and "applied" ("planned") segregation often is "ambiguous when related to a concrete situation." Human ecologists in this country have been accused of working with a strictly "economic" model of pure competition wherein the location of each residential unit is assumed to be independent of others, subject only to the "natural" operation of factors producing segregation. In point of fact, their continued preoccupation with group factors in segregation belies this charge, and ecologists have by no means been unmindful of the context of social structure in which segregation occurs. Moreover, their stress on impersonal processes has been invaluable as a counterbalance to naïve theories of conspiracy or prejudice. Yet the study remains to be written which accurately assesses the relative weights of factors traditionally emphasized in human ecology and those—patent or latent—operating nominally on the side of politics, planning, and administration. If the Group Areas Act seems unlikely to become the sole determinant of residential patterns in Durban, one wonders whether "open occupancy" ordinances and statutes or Supreme Court decisions against covenants provide a monistic solution for the segregation problem as some define it in this country.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Hindu Character: A Few Glimpses. By DHIRENDRA NARAIN. ("University of Bombay Publications, Sociology Series," Vol. VIII.) Bombay: University of Bombay, 1957. Pp. v+234. Rs. 14.

The University of Bombay has served well the cause of contemporary social science by publishing this erudite yet highly readable, illuminating, and deeply significant study of Indian national character. Dr. Narain's central thesis is that the Hindu personality (contrasted with the Chinese) manifests a basically religious orientation, a pessimistic fatalism characteristic of most systems of Indian thought, and a depressive-passive attitude to life.

After discussing the concept of national character with scholarly perspective on major theoretical and practical problems, the author examines the contrast between Hindu and Chinese traits and the influence of the Bhagavad Gita on Hindu attitudes toward life and achievement. He presents considerable evidence from Hindi films, Tamil proverbs, and, to a lesser extent, the development of the child in the Hindu joint family and concludes that Hindu character is guilt-ridden rather than shame-driven and that, "at its very best, the Hindu mind accepts the burden of guilt and directs the aggression inward, displaying an unusual amount of patience and willingness to suffer."

An original contribution is Narain's trenchant critique of Krishna's teaching in the Gita as "psychologically unsound and impracticable" in the light of modern knowledge of the growth and maturity of personality. Character and plot in contemporary Indian movies are analyzed with sagacity, and interesting hypotheses for cross-cultural research are posed by the finding that "not a single romantic hero of the Hindi film is a tough guy."

Partly because of its vast scope, its preoccupation with humanistic sources, and the complexity of its subject, the work's research design, as a whole, suffers from looseness: it lacks methodological sophistication and incisive empirical definition. Too facile, for instance, is the author's assumption that Indian "national character" has persisted over millenniums. He overlooks possibly *changing* trends in Hindu character, emerging, as one might expect, from the plans and aspirations of Indian nationalism, the scars of colonialism, and the fever of Western education and technology. This is the more regrettable, since the author is practically concerned with "the besetting weaknesses of Hindu character—namely, an oversevere conscience

and an over-indulgent childhood—and is moved to prescribe a simple and sovereign remedy: 'let the id come out more freely, let the superego be less harsh, and let the ego be stronger.'"

GEORGE V. COELHO

Bethesda, Maryland

No Frontier to Learning: The Mexican Student in the United States. By RALPH L. BEALS and NORMAN D. HUMPHREY. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957. Pp. xi + 148. \$3.25.

This is one of a series of monographs resulting from grants by the Social Science Research Council through its Committee on Cross-cultural Education. Data were collected from Mexican students in the United States and returned students in Mexico: fifty-two were in the United States phase, ten of whom were interviewed intensively. Test data were collected on most of the rest. Case histories were developed for twenty-six returned students in Mexico. "Sampling" was not systematic, and the study was thus rather unambitious.

The authors use "the cultural approach": "the individual and social-psychological processes are set in a matrix of functionally related social institutions and cultural norms which give form and meaning to experience and to behavior. When individuals move into a different matrix, the perception of form and meaning and the appropriate responses . . . will be enhanced, limited, or directed by the original socio-cultural matrix of the subject" (p. 4).

The authors present first a general picture of dominant themes in Mexican culture and certain "emergent" themes. This is followed by an analysis of the cultural equipment the students bring with them, their adaptations and reactions to United States life, and their problems on returning, as revealed by interview and test data.

The similarity and divergence between the dominant cultural themes of the visitors' and the host's cultures bring order to much of the data collected; but this would not be sufficient if the cultural approach were not used in addition as a model against which *deviations* from the normal, expected patterns of cross-cultural phenomena can be tested. The population under study is itself made up largely of cultural deviants. This might be inferred from the background characteristics of the students, but, in

addition, they themselves express considerable disagreement with their own estimates of dominant Mexican ideologies. They also consider their ideas "less traditional" than those of most of their countrymen. Hence that most of them had difficulty in adjustment when they returned home to Mexico can be seen as prolongation and intensification of their previous alienation.

The analysis from a cultural standpoint seems less effective in the treatment of the students' opinions on and reactions to the United States experience. Their reactions seem sometimes idiosyncratic, resulting from specific individual experiences; sometimes they are what one would expect from the Mexican student's counterpart anywhere (e.g., unfavorable reaction to treatment of minorities); and sometimes they are clearly culture-related (e.g., the generally less close relationships of the American family).

Opinions and reactions that are not clearly culturally related are left hanging free of any theoretical support. Despite the small number of cases, it might still be that greater meaning would be brought to the data by attention to the psychological mechanisms through which opinions are formed and changed—as demonstrated by John Bennett's application of reference-group theory to the reactions of Japanese students and the effect of switches in reference groups on opinions and attitudes.

The authors make it clear that they are not attempting an "evaluation" of the Mexican exchange program, and the report provides, in a way, an example of the possible danger in treating it as an "evaluation." That most of the students had difficulty on their return might seem to support the frequently voiced fear that exchanges will increase the differences between the students and their countrymen and thereby decrease the chances that they will use their newly acquired knowledge effectively. But, in the case of the Mexican students, the deviation is seen to be in the direction in which the whole society is changing. Beneficial effects may be expected in the form of better leadership in social change, and this would be measurable only after a lapse of time. Though the findings as they stand are discouraging, there is a strong hint of solace for the future.

The authors' cautiousness is all to the good, and their demonstration of the effectiveness of a cultural approach in their modestly presented report is commendable.

ROBERT T. BOWER

Washington, D.C.

Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions. By EDWARD A. SUCHMAN, JOHN P. DEAN, and ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1958. Pp. 128. \$2.00.

This book attempts to summarize the existing knowledge of social science relevant to school desegregation, to indicate its implications, and to suggest areas for further research.

Part I, "The General Propositions and Their Implications," includes generalizations, hypotheses, and findings from, mainly, sociology and social psychology which are "most significant" for the purpose in hand. The first chapter enumerates propositions on social stratification, including principles of the achievement and ascription of status, social mobility, and stratified interaction. Among the implications the authors derive from the principles and propositions are: "Equal educational opportunity is a necessary condition for raising the occupational and social status of Negroes, but it is not sufficient in itself," and "Desegregation does not automatically entail mutual acceptance."

Subsequent chapters deal briefly with propositions classified under the headings: "Power in the Community," "Public Opinion and Propaganda," "Interaction and Communication," "Prejudice and Personality," and "The Minority Community." Each concludes with a discussion of the implications for desegregation. For example: "Desegregation at first will be overwhelmingly opposed by the general public. It therefore will have to be accomplished without the support of public opinion."

One wonders why the authors did not include in Part I a chapter on social change. Certainly, there are many propositions pertaining to it in the sociological literature that would be no less relevant than many which they did include.

In Part II, "Research on Desegregation," the authors note the wide gaps in our knowledge about race relations and feel that the present crisis offers fruitful areas and opportunities for research. They present a great number of suggestions, classified under such headings as "Cross-Community Comparisons," "Case Studies of School Desegregation," "Personality Studies," "Small-Group Analysis," "Action Research," etc. They touch upon the current status of research and the obstacles to be faced and suggest ways of surmounting them.

This book was designed for the social scientist engaged in or contemplating research and the professional practitioner involved in implement-

ing the Supreme Court's decisions. The former will find the book more useful than the latter, who may feel that the findings are hedged about with too many qualifications. This, of course, is not the fault of the authors but is a reflection upon the status of the field.

BREWTON BERRY

Ohio State University

Tornadoes over Texas: A Study of Waco and San Angelo in Disaster. By HARRY ESTILL MOORE. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958. Pp. xxiii+334. \$5.00.

This is possibly the most important document available to any who would plan realistically for disaster in cities. If nothing more, it hammers home the crucial role of communication.

The Texas research team had at its disposal a "natural" experiment: two communities with a common cultural pattern were subjected to the same type of disaster, yet with different results. There is also replication: one of the communities experienced a somewhat similar event a year later. A disaster provides a rare opportunity to observe and analyze spontaneous human behavior where there are no social definitions, but the Texas research group, unfortunately, failed to exploit it fully.

The early chapters are, in effect, discrete essays and studies from a variety of institutional perspectives: the family, the aged, economics, philanthropy, government, race, communication, and the mass media. The relationship between disaster and religion is covered in parts of three chapters. Not until chapter xi (of fifteen chapters) does the author reveal his analytic ability and insight. In three chapters (xii, xiii, and xiv), based on a handful of depth interviews, the student of collective behavior will find a mine of rich material. The full impact of fear on self-conceptions and definitions of the situation is conveyed through the expert handling of the interviews, which so clearly reveal that "fear is part of life in Lake View" (chap. xiii).

The author constantly apologizes (beginning in the Introduction) for not employing sophisticated statistical techniques. Yet in this case the depth interview is obviously the best tool. Toward the end of the volume, still apologetic, he finds himself "forced to conclude that the formally structured interview does not go deep enough for this type of research. The tone and

color in the open-end interviews gave life to the statistics caught in the schedule net, and often added dimensions not included in the schedule" (p. 308). But, still speaking of his best data, he says: "The value of these [his own] comments, then, comes from the application of a sociological point of view to material perhaps more properly belonging to another discipline [i.e., psychology]." He forgets that "material" does not belong to any discipline; it is the point of view which is disciplinary.

The ability of the American middle class to rebound, to recoup all that it may have taken half a lifetime to build, is demonstrated again by the Texas study: "These people displayed . . . a prideful ability to 'take it,' and a determination to build better lives on the ruins of their old ones" (p. 309). This volume provides one more illustration that man is never content with less than what he previously believed he ought to have. In view of this, it would appear that all Western civilization has to fear from massive retaliation is complete annihilation; as long as one man and one woman survive, they will not return to raw meat and caves.

IRWIN DEUTSCHER

Community Studies, Inc.
Kansas City, Missouri

Panic and Morale: Conference Transactions.

Edited by IAGO GALDSTON. New York: International Universities Press, 1958. Pp. xx+340. \$5.00.

Two conferences on morale and panic held by the New York Academy of Medicine and the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation are reported in this volume, but what was said at which is not made clear. A recurrent theme of the discussions is that morale depends upon access to "authentic and believable information" and that it is a great mistake for public officials to use mass communication "as a lever to raise or lower morale." Herbert Brucker observed that the yearning to do so is an occupational disease of those in charge of important public efforts such as prosecution of war.

The same note appears in Galdston's remarks that for the human being to move efficiently toward self-fulfilment he must know where he is and the direction and means of his progression. "The broader the spectrum of communication, the better is the basis for orientation and the more competently can the individual

deal with his reality situation" (p. 14). William J. Goode, spokesman for the sociologists, identified morale with "social cohesion" (p. 120) and proposed choice of membership, intensity of identification, absence of contradictory role demands, and group projection of plans for the future as possible social indexes of high morale. This was calculated to bring a rejoinder for the more individualistic psychiatrists and psychologists—and did so. Roy R. Grinker objected that such a view lost the individual by making him a mere interchangeable unit in the group (p. 129). G. M. Gilbert made explicit what seemed to be implicit in Grinker's remarks: that the clinical psychologist regards "human behavior as essentially a quest for security within a social context" (p. 152). Panic, he reasons, arises when one is no longer able to "adapt in terms of the mechanisms provided by the culture." This is very like the conclusion of Form, Loomis, *et al.* ("The Persistence and Emergence of Social and Cultural Systems in Disaster," *American Sociological Review*, XXI, 180-85).

As is necessarily true of any conference proceedings, this volume is uneven; it invites a cafeteria style of reading. It may be generally described as another volume arising from our current confusion, doubt, and anger.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

University of Texas

The Effects of a Threatening Rumor on a Disaster-stricken Community. By ELLIOTT R. DANZIG, PAUL W. THAYER, and LILA R. GALANTER. Washington: National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1958. Pp. xii+116. \$2.00. (Mimeographed.)

For reasons of which we become conscious with each recurring international crisis, military and civilian defense authorities have encouraged the intensive study of natural disasters at home in the past few years. Much of the study has been channeled through the Disaster Study Group of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. This inquiry into a rumor of a broken dam above Port Jervis, New York, at a time when the community was already badly battered by floods is the tenth of a series of publications so sponsored. Unlike the earlier reports, it is strictly limited to the gathering of information about the false report, after which a set of hypotheses were stated and tested. The general level of the study is indi-

cated by the hypotheses, which include the following propositions:

People who are responsible for others are more likely than other individuals to try to verify rumors.

People are more likely to believe and act on reports from official than from unofficial sources.

Those who have heard earlier rumors, just before the false report, are more likely than others to believe and act on it.

The behavior of individuals who get the report when part of an intimate group is more likely to be oriented to the group than is the behavior of those who are not.

Of the hypotheses cited, the first rated a chi-square significance between .05 and .10; the second wholly failed the validity test. The third and fourth hypotheses were not testable because of the absence of contrast in the sampled population. Thus, of four hypotheses, of which almost anyone would have assumed valid, only one received verification, and that was strictly limited. This, of course, is not to say that "almost anyone" was wrong in three of four cases; merely that this study does not demonstrate that he was right.

The authors state one conclusion quite positively: "Advice to flee . . . is completely uncorrelated with flight, both within and between the flooded and non-flooded areas of the city. Messages from official sources carried no more weight, behaviorally, than messages from other sources." This is a profoundly disturbing conclusion.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

University of Texas

Twenty Thousand Nurses Tell Their Story. By EVERETT C. HUGHES, HELEN MACGILL HUGHES, and IRWIN DEUTSCHER. Philadelphia and Montreal: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1958. Pp. xi+280. \$5.75.

The courtship between social research and the nursing profession has been carried on at the pace of a wartime romance but with a degree of understanding characteristic of a more stable and leisurely relationship. The American Nurses' Association (ANA) in 1950 agreed upon the broad outlines of a research program for studies on nursing functions, which they and other nurses' organizations implemented almost at once with money and with time, spent both

as participants and as subjects of the research. In a period marked by extensive research in the professions and in self-appraisals by professionals—physicians, engineers, social workers, and professors, to name some—the studies of the nursing profession are astounding by their sheer quantity, telescoped into so short a period, and are outstanding in the general quality of results.

Twenty Thousand Nurses is an interpretive history of that courtship, a selective comparison of thirty-four books and articles reporting research sponsored or stimulated by the ANA and the American Nurses' Foundation. In spite of the variety of types of nurses, of places where they worked, and of the methods used to study them, the comparability and overlap was considerable, in part doubtless because of the program of study established by the ANA; they knew what they wanted and at the same time made room for variation. (This alone in large-scale intensive research operation, is worthy of attention.) Comparability was also attained by the social scientists' having oriented their research by a few selected perspectives with which they were most comfortable and which were best adapted to the problem they faced—the role and function of the nurse, her professional self-images and involvement, formal and informal organizational structures, and role relationships in what Merton has called the "roll-set."

The volume has succeeded in catching the points of comparability between the studies and in casting them into major functional categories. It is possible, for example, to find compressed in some thirty pages the relevant conclusions of twenty research projects on the roles and relationships of the nurse. What is presented, however, is more than a simple collation. Rather, the data are marshaled to present an integrated and analytical comparison of findings.

Twenty Thousand Nurses can probably serve the sociologist in two ways. It is a sourcebook on the profession: the demographic characteristics of nurses and their families; the organization, careers, and commitments of nurses; typologies of professional nursing attitudes; and points of stress in their professional role. Second, the book can serve as an example in method, reporting as it does multifaceted research as concentrated in its focus as it was varied in method and participants.

Twenty Thousand Nurses very clearly marks

the end of the courtship, although I think it did so unintentionally. The studies of the last five or six years have documented the problems presented to the nurse in what the authors call the "long stride . . . taken toward professional autonomy." From this point, as they suggest, the nurse will have to do more of her own research because she is interested in finding solutions for the problems growing out of that move toward autonomy. The social scientist, on the other hand, wants to play a more disinterested role. Now, as earlier, his interest was more in doing research and dealing with "larger" questions of the professions generally than in solving immediate specific problems of the nursing profession. Now, as earlier, his goals can be very satisfactorily achieved by studying it. Now, however, the professional nurse has become "research-wise" herself, and she might find the relationship unsatisfactory because she believes the loyalty of the social scientist to be ambiguous. In any case, the courtship was beneficial to both participants, as *Twenty Thousand Nurses* has so adequately documented.

LEONARD REISSMAN

Tulane University

Medical Sociology—Theory, Scope and Methods. By NORMAN G. HAWKINS. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1958. Pp. xx+290. \$6.75.

This is an unusually puzzling book, painful and difficult to review. It is characterized by a facile scholarly style, by references to many interesting and relatively obscure sources, and by sparks of originality and vigor of analysis. At the same time it is uneven in method and scope, fails to recognize some of the outstanding basic contributions to the field which it purports to survey, and includes numerous examples of loose writing, inconsistency, and careless or erroneous interpretation.

The Introduction provides a historical sketch of medical sociology as a specialized field. There is a rich review of early references to socially oriented physicians and a reasonable summary of selected contemporary literature. But inexplicable and inexcusable is the failure to acknowledge the significant work of Bernhard Stern or the basic contributions of Parsons, Merton, and others.

Chapter ii is concerned with the delineation of an "informal," "open system" theory of be-

havior "suitable for medical sociology." Appropriately, Hawkins stresses the interaction of the social and cultural with the psychic, the biochemical, and the physiological, and his review of selected theorists is provocative. However, when identifying the emergence of a theory, the discussion becomes somewhat ethereal, and no clear concepts emerge.

A third chapter, "Age and Chronicity," provides some direct consideration of specific health problems. Along with discussions of tuberculosis and alcoholism (in research on which Hawkins was personally involved) are references to aging, several degenerative diseases, schizophrenia, circulatory disease, rheumatic illness, and gastric ulcer. While perhaps appropriate for a general text, this highly condensed material is underdeveloped as basic "medical sociology."

Chapter iv, entitled "Applied Science," begins with a commendable plea for continuity in the scientific approach to health problems, is primarily a routine discussion of methods in health research, and ends with references to "a new type of scientist—the generalist of medical sociology." The fifth chapter, "Community Relations," is again too abbreviated on subjects which, relatively speaking, have produced some of the richest research in medical sociology to date (stratification, role, status, folkways). It also contains the most blatant examples of misinterpretation (*re* Koos, p. 157) and non sequitur (the discussion of medical folkways, pp. 157–58). Chapter vi, "Methods of Analysis," provides an interesting discussion of statistics which has value as such but seems misplaced within the context of the book. The inclusion of a fourteen-page glossary and twenty-five pages of statistical tables in the Appendix is a disproportionate allocation of space.

This volume is something of a "first" and probably suffers from pressure to achieve this distinction. It is provocative and should be read by medical sociologists. Hawkins himself suggests that it will be "worthless to browsers, unintelligible to social workers, a disappointment for searchers after 'sophisticated technics,' and a glimpse into new worlds for the sociologist, physician, biostatistician, social psychologist, or anthropologist who has an interest in questions of health and disease."

ROBERT STRAUS

University of Kentucky

The Psychiatric Hospital as a Small Society.

By WILLIAM CAUDILL. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (for the Commonwealth Fund), 1958. Pp. xxii+406. \$6.50.

William Caudill has been concerned for a long time with the place of social science research in medicine. Most readers will be familiar with his summary of research in *Anthropology Today* and with some of his own research on the organization of the mental hospital, cultural factors in stress, and personality structure as related to culture. He has benefited from unusual opportunities for research in the United States and Japan.

His experience and theoretical interests show to good effect in the present book, which is more than a case study of the social structure and processes of a fifty-patient psychiatric hospital attached to a medical school. He contributes an excellent discussion and illustration of some of the ethical and methodological problems of participant-observer research and, in addition, an important restatement of certain problems in the transferring of social-anthropological field methods to an urban culture by a trained anthropologist of unusual sensitivity. The first set of problems has not had enough emphasis in these days of burgeoning participant-observer studies; the second set justifies the attention of sociologists, since it suggests clearly not only some of the possibilities but also some of the limitations of social-anthropological methods in studying developed urban-industrial societies.

Caudill's case study is in roughly the same pattern as that of Stanton and Schwartz (*The Mental Hospital*) but very different in emphasis and in some of the research techniques. The book opens with a description of the hospital's formal and informal systems of organization, beginning with a narrative description of the experience of a particular patient over a period of time. The patient's experience is used, in a way familiar to students of industrial flow charts, to focus and analyze the operations of hospital personnel during the process of hospitalization. Caudill then moves on to an analysis of the roles of various groups in defining experience as staff and patients. Next he makes an analysis of staff roles through the staff conferences which tie them together. In a fourth step, which occurred several years after completion of the first three, the author attempts to organize his experience to spell out its implications not only for hospitals but also for

other types of organizations. Throughout, Caudill maintains an objectivity and an attentive scrutiny of his own role as scientist which can only be described as relentless; much of the value of the book to sociologists interested in research derives from it.

As a specialized monograph on the mental hospital's organization and its consequences for staff and patients, Caudill's study ranks with the best. Whether the hospital should be seen as a "small society" or a special portion of a large society is debatable, but there is no debate about the general value of the study to sociologists who mean to do research. There are still very few thorough treatments of the detailed problems of personal research in particular systems of social organization and fewer still which attempt to set the problems within a consistent theoretical framework. This is one of them.

IVAN BELKNAP

University of Texas

Land of Choice: The Hungarians in Canada.

By JOHN KOSA. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957. Pp. vii+104. \$3.50.

There is a great deal of information packed into this small description and analysis of the processes of adjustment and assimilation of Hungarian immigrants in Canada.

The census of 1951 reported some sixty thousand residents of Hungarian origin. Immigrants from that country began to arrive in Canada in the 1880's and have continued to the present day. Over the years political and economic changes have affected both the flow and the social composition of arrivals: first, the poor, landless peasants; later, members of the ruling class, businessmen, and representatives of the learned professions. This study is based upon a sample of 112 Hungarian families, entirely from the poor classes, who had come to Canada prior to 1939, and who were residents of the Province of Ontario.

The author was well equipped to make such a study. He is himself a Hungarian who has passed through the vicissitudes of migration and assimilation, a graduate of the University of Budapest, and one-time teacher of social history and sociology at the universities of Budapest and Szeged. He is now assistant professor of sociology at Le Moyne College, Syracuse, New York. His knowledge of the cultural background of the Hungarian immigrants enables

him to add depth to his interpretation of events. He explains with clarity and insight how the subcultures from which the immigrants came, the norms of their social classes, and their sib loyalties affected their adjustment to Canadian society.

Nowadays, when it is fashionable to approach minority problems through the portals of prejudice and discrimination, it is refreshing to find a volume which emphasizes other important aspects of ethnic relations.

BREWTON BERRY

Ohio State University

Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion. By FREDERIC HERZBERG, BERNARD MAUSNER, RICHARD O. PETERSON, and DORA F. CAPWELL. Pittsburgh: Psychological Service of Pittsburgh, 1957. Pp. xii+279. \$7.50.

This is a collection of reviews of the literature on: demographic characteristics of satisfied and unsatisfied workers: age, sex, marital status, etc.; determinants of job satisfaction: intrinsic aspects of the job, supervision, wages, etc.; effects of job attitudes on behavior: productivity, turnover, absenteeism, and grievances; social factors, such as group cohesion and leadership, as determinants of job attitudes; supervision and job attitudes; vocational selection as a determinant of job satisfaction; and mental health in industry. Bibliographies averaging over two hundred items follow each chapter. They are thorough, well focused, and altogether impressive.

In general, the reviews are directed to the consumer of research rather than to the sociologist or psychologist. The ideal reader, in the minds of the authors, appears to be a personnel director of a large industrial organization, not himself an industrial psychologist, but interested in the present state of industrial psychology. They are of value to the sociologist in that they describe the areas in which research has been done, how far it has gone, and what has been found. They will not add much to his understanding of the work situation, except as they may present research new to him.

The first three, on determinants and effects of job attitudes, set a very high level. Organization is good, coverage is wide, and the summaries are intelligent. The review of research

on social aspects of the job, fourth in the series, suffers from an attempt by the authors to fit into a single framework studies made from different points of view. Work of the Tavistock Institute is quoted and used to show how the concepts of cohesion and group decision may be applied. Actually, the Tavistock group has been concerned with the social structure consequent on a given flow of work and with the way in which individuals' emotions are handled in it. The authors fail to see that this differs from the emphasis of the group decision studies, such as that by Coch and French, which are more concerned with affecting the worker's motivation through his group membership than with the emotional implications of his work situation.

On the whole, the authors fail to recognize when research is conducted from different theoretical views. In other respects, however, they have a tendency to be overgenerous with use of the word "theory": the question of whether workers' occupational interests change to fit the occupation they actually enter is described as posing "alternatives in interest theory."

The review of research on supervision returns to the level of the first three reviews. The review of research on vocational selection, next in order, is what one might term an interested summary. There is no question that the authors are partisan to vocational counseling, and they summarize research in a way which marshals support for their point of view. The final chapter, on mental health in industry, is as much a reasonable and informative original paper as it is a summary of research. It contains a subsection on alcoholism in industry and a much briefer statement on accident proneness.

For the sociologist, not its ideal reader, teaching or doing research on the sociology of work, the book is well worth having.

ROBERT S. WEISS

University of Chicago

Malthus et la population. By JOSEPH STASSART. Liège: Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Liège, 1957. Pp. 342. Belgian fr. 250.

The continued stream of publication on Malthus reminds us that the tradition of learned exegesis—biblical, Thomistic, and talmudic scholarship transferred to secular authorities like Marx, Weber, and Freud—is still preva-

lent, and still sterile, in social science. What difference, for example, can a discussion of Malthus make to the science of population today? He was technically behind his time when he wrote; he was incurably ambiguous; he was moralistic. Admittedly, such a figure could be fruitfully treated as a case study in the sociology of knowledge, as a problem in the assignment of credit for scientific discovery, or as a scientist with some still valid ideas. The first treatment would benefit one branch of sociology, and the second would help scientific motivation, but only the last would concern the field of population. Other ways of treating such figures—say, as authorities whose "true" meaning must be discovered or as moral teachers whose words must be perpetuated and re-emphasized—are devoid of scientific significance altogether.

Stassart's treatment is mixed, but his chief aim is apparently to find Malthus' true message: "What did Malthus say? What did he foresee? What counsels did he give? The principal object of the present work is to answer these questions" (p. 58). There are, for example, three pages on what Malthus meant by "vice" and many on what he did or did not advocate. The author does tell how Malthus' ideas fitted the economic conditions and intellectual currents of his time, but this part, being descriptive rather than analytical, is innocent of the sociology of knowledge; and some of it is used to justify Malthus by showing that certain of his ideas were "true for his time." Occasionally, Stassart discusses matters of priority—particularly with reference to optimum population and diminishing returns. Also the last part of the book, some ninety pages, deals with evidence for or against three Malthusian notions: that human populations tend to double every twenty-five years, that means of subsistence increase arithmetically, and that numbers tend to surpass subsistence. The naïveté of trying to verify such "propositions" is, to say the least, depressing.

Stassart's book is thus a scholarly and sympathetic analysis of Malthus' ideology. Lacking much originality, it synthesizes the main ideas in an already voluminous literature; but others have done this better. His analysis of what Malthus really said and how it fitted together is interesting; my only point is that it has nothing to do with the science of population. In purportedly testing Malthusian notions against the evidence, Stassart makes the mis-

take of getting caught in Malthus' own bad logic, of falling almost exclusively into the old sterile debate on food and people. The book is strangely an affair of words in a field where statistics and mathematics have played a distinguished role; it is also obsolete, dealing in an informal and literary manner with problems that have been far better handled with formal conceptual and technical tools.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

University of California

German Sociology. By RAYMOND ARON. With an Editor's Foreword by DONALD G. MACRAE. Translated by MARY and THOMAS BOTMORE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957. Pp. viii+141. \$3.50.

The treatment of German sociology to be found in these pages is clear, succinct, and very well balanced. For those who do not wish to take time to read Theodore Abel's *Systematic Sociology in Germany* (1929), Talcott Parsons' *The Structure of Social Action* (1937), and the many similar writings, it will be highly useful.

To be sure, it is now rather badly outdated; for all practical purposes it could have been written before World War II. The Appendix, covering less than twenty pages, really does not remedy matters particularly, and the Bibliography is too limited in range.

In short, it is quite impossible to get any idea of what *current* German sociology is like from this book, and it remains a mystery to the present reviewer as to why the English translators should have decided to put their time and effort on it, why the editor should have decided that it should now be presented to the English-speaking world (after all, French is an easy language), and why the Free Press should have decided to give it American circulation.

But, to repeat, for those who wish only a sketchy presentation of what is often referred to as "the classical period" of German sociology, this book will prove quite useful. The typography and paper are of excellent quality, albeit the smooth binding and the minute lettering on the spine does not make it attractive, much less readily identifiable on library shelves. There is no index, but perhaps this was deemed unnecessary for a work of less than a hundred and fifty pages.

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

The Community: An Introduction to a Social System. By IRWIN T. SANDERS. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1958. Pp. xvi+431. \$5.00.

Professor Sanders' writing is lucid and interesting, and he will instruct the typical student. At the same time, he has difficulty in demonstrating that his sociological specialty is an integrated system of data and concepts relating to an identifiable unit of study; this is true of many of our textbooks and is a difficulty that appears to be especially formidable in the "community" field.

Though the author announces he is studying "the sociological community" (p. 14) and at a few points (pp. 289, 354) verges on recognition of the distinctively analytic entity "the community," most of what he offers is a description of miscellaneous features of concrete population aggregates. It is difficult to discern wherein the material differs from what might be written by a political scientist or a social worker.

The discussion of age composition (pp. 29-30), for example, is not related to types of communities, and one may say the same of the descriptions of formal communication (pp. 65-66), values (pp. 80-81), social control (pp. 176-77), or stratification (chap. vi). In the latter chapter the distinctively community or local aspects of stratification are not distinguished from the societal aspects, nor are the processes of intercommunity mobility segregated from the local. In the same manner, the chapters on institutions are individually lucid and informative, but each could equally well appear in a conventional introductory text. As in other such books, the separate topics "pertain to" community life as anyone may experience it. They do not touch upon what is distinctive of family life or economic processes in the matrix of "community" relationships as contrasted with the life of American society at large.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

University of Chicago

Interdisciplinary Team Research: Methods and Problems. By MARGARET BARRON LUSZKI. New York: New York University Press, 1958. Pp. xxvii+355. \$6.00.

In 1951 and 1952 five conferences to consider problems of interdisciplinary research were held in conjunction with the annual meetings of five major professional societies. In each,

about twenty-five persons participated, representing mainly anthropology, psychiatry, psychology, and sociology but including a few from pediatrics, neurophysiology, physiology, internal medicine, and social work. The present volume, which the author characterizes as "a comprehensive case study of interdisciplinary research as it stands today" (p. 4), constitutes an extensive summary of their discussions.

The conference materials are edited and organized according to a plan designed to embrace the principal aspects of interdisciplinary research. The book presents a case study of an interdisciplinary project; describes how the participants characterize their own and the other disciplines as well as "some crucial emergent issues of interdisciplinary collaboration"; discusses problem selection and formulation, conceptualization, and design and methodology; considers recruiting, organization and leadership, and intra-and extra-team relations; and provides a cursory review of the strengths and weaknesses of interdisciplinary research as revealed by the material presented. An annotated bibliography of thirty-five pages is included as an aid to further exploration; none of this published material has been utilized in the book.

The book suffers from trying to achieve two incompatible objectives: to report faithfully and in detail the conference discussions and to provide a systematic treatment of the problems and methods of interdisciplinary research. The author has attained the first objective in providing an extensive account of how a large number of professionals view their experiences and problems of research, as well as how they view each other. Doing justice to this task, however, prevented successful realization of the second: the conference discussions were largely unstructured and exploratory (p. 3), and the resulting materials are hardly conducive to helpful, clear-cut suggestions and recommendations about how to do good interdisciplinary research. Thus the recommendations that terminate each chapter are frequently inconclusive and heavily qualified, reflecting the author's determination to present all views. Moreover, much of the discussion is concerned with problems, issues, and methods that are not characteristic of interdisciplinary research per se, are equally relevant to all research, and have been dealt with more effectively elsewhere in the literature.

OZZIE G. SIMMONS

Harvard University

Approaches to the Study of Politics: Twenty-two Contemporary Essays Exploring the Nature of Politics and Methods by Which It Can Be Studied. Edited by ROLAND YOUNG. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1958. Pp. viii+382+xxii. \$6.00.

This is a set of essays prepared for four conferences at Northwestern University during 1953-56 dealing with political concepts, political theory, analytic systems, and the community. The contributors include twelve political scientists, six sociologists, and four psychologists.

Although the book provides a sampling of views as to how politics should be studied, it is deficient in several respects. The contributions are insufficiently related to one another. Arguments between opposing schools of thought occur without consideration of one another; authors make parallel assertions about the same subject in different phraseologies and often simply talk past one another. Some contributions are not closely related to the study of politics; political scientists (probably the main audience of this book) would probably address this criticism, in varying degrees, to most of the contributions by the sociologists and psychologists. Granted the disciplinary differences in points of view, the papers are not likely to persuade the unconvinced of the usefulness of their approach to the study of politics.

Inevitably, the quality of the papers is uneven. Some have been published as journal articles; these are, for the most part, the most carefully written. Others are invited contributions by well-known social scientists; they are sometimes hastily prepared, conversational in tone, or inadequately documented. Much space is wasted on prolegomena. Often one concrete application of the method would be far more convincing than any amount of exhortation.

A final criticism: The following authors have been "created" by misspelling: Werner Sombard, Vladimir Ilyitch Ulganov, J. Thibault, Borgatia, A. J. Ayres, Karl Deutscher, Macaulley, George Simel, Mirra Kommarovsky, Reuel Denny, Juan Lenz, Richard M. Mathews (the last being in reality Donald R. Matthews; the title of his work is also cited inaccurately). The following "new" foreign words have been created: *Gegenwort*, *Das Capital*, *Methods* (in a German title); *Le Socialism*, *l'espirit*, *étrangères*. Also a few new or unintended English words: degression, Elizabethian, scientific tenent, consensus, customairly. Footnote num-

bers sometimes have no corresponding footnotes, and in two figures the captions are improperly arranged. All the footnotes to Rossi's article have been omitted.

Although Northwestern University did well to hold these conferences, it should not have published the papers without at least extensive revision by the editor and many of the authors. To permit reflective interchange of views, they should have been submitted to the appropriate journals. This would have subjected them to more careful scrutiny. It would have directed each to the proper audience and made it easier to find in the literature; cross-references might then have been supplied; the references would have had to be more nearly up to date; and, most important, it would have placed individual responsibility on the authors for content, presentation, and accuracy.

Parts of this book may be consulted judiciously by those who are interested in the relevant subjects. For example, on the organization of the curriculum and the discipline of political science, the articles by Morgenthau, Sherwood, M. Q. Sibley, Waldo, and Lindsay Rogers may be useful to the sociologist (but for this purpose I prefer Dwight Waldo's *Political Science in the United States of America* [UNESCO, 1956]). On the significance of political ideas and political philosophy in history Hartz, Watkins, and Friedrich are instructive. On the decision-making approach to political phenomena Snyder's paper is useful, as is Guetzkow's on small groups and Greer's on participation in mass society.

DUNCAN MACRAE, JR.

University of Chicago

Human Motivation: Probability and Meaning.

By FRED T. SCHREIER. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957. Pp. 247. \$5.00.

In 247 small pages Schreier has, for all practical purposes, written two books, one of which I believe to be fairly routine. The other may be an important contribution to social psychology.

He starts with the modest problem of the scientific explanation of "motivation" and then defines it as "the explanation of psychological phenomena by reference to psychological phenomena," a formulation which gives plenty of elbow room.

After warming up with a brief but lucid exposition of the concepts of causation, probabilistic explanation, and "understanding," in Weber's

sense, he attempts in 70 brisk pages to demolish the claims of learning theory, the theory of action, psychoanalysis, *Gestalt* psychology, social psychology, and, just for the fun of it, trait psychology. Although many of his criticisms appear cogent, the rapid swath which he cuts through entire schools and generations of scholars will hardly provoke the workers in these various vineyards to give up their quest.

The alternative Schreier proposes turns out to be statistical research! While the implicit suggestion that seminars in theory should substitute Pearson for Parsons appears to be, and is, a semantic slight of hand, his general point—that people today who want to explain specific behavior through research gain limited help from existing theories but are aided immeasurably, or perhaps measurably, by sophisticated research technique—cannot be rejected by anyone who has attempted practical research.

If this were all, the book could be discarded as another polemic on the false dilemma of theory versus research. However, in the second half of the volume, Schreier develops a highly original and rich set of techniques for the statistical analysis of attribute data. The development is formal (although the mathematics would not embarrass a high-school junior) and needs to be read rather than read about. It consists of a set of measures of association for zero order, partial, and multiple associations. These make a complete system in the sense that the mechanical application of the process just about wrings everything out of the data. Unlike the contributions of the statisticians (e.g., Yule and Kendall) and more like the contributions of the social scientists (e.g., Lazarsfeld and Kendall), Schreier builds his measures from substantive ideas about causal analysis rather than from formal models of measurement. Thus most of the indexes are directly interpreted in such terms as "the proportion of the effect which has been caused by A." In addition, the measures draw heavily on traditional logic and provide operational definitions of such concepts as "necessary" and "sufficient" condition.

The array of tools appears to have many suggestive possibilities, since most research workers are not intrinsically interested in "the per cent of the variance accounted for" but really want the answers to more concrete questions which often assume a model of cause and effect or stimulus and response (despite the unkind things Schreier says about learning

theory, it is the model which underlies his models). At the same time, there is an inevitable loss of generality, and for data which do not fit the causal models the indexes will produce nonsensical conclusions. In particular, from a technical point of view, most of the indexes involve the size of the marginals as one of the working parts, and, although this manages to use information which other indexes ignore, it also makes the use of the indexes extremely difficult with stratified samples and some cross-sectional designs.

It remains to be seen whether the system is too concrete and too much bound up with a narrow range of substantive problems for it to find general acceptance. However, a good case can be made that Scheier's own work supports some of his methodological ideas. His contribution can be traced back through Lazarsfeld and Kendall to Yule and Kendall. Although Kendall-less himself, Schreier's book is part of a cumulative intellectual development which is as important a part of the corpus of social science as are developments in pure theory.

The potential reader should be warned that the book has a number of typographical errors, including one in an equation, and should make sure that he obtains an errata sheet before plunging in.

JAMES A. DAVIS

University of Chicago

Vom Staatsroman zur Science Fiction: Eine Untersuchung über Geschichte und Funktion der naturwissenschaftlich-technischen Utopie ("From Novels of the Ideal State to Science Fiction: An Inquiry into the History and Function of the Scientific-Technical Utopia"). By MARTIN SCHWONKE. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1957. Pp. 194. DM. 16.

Schwonke's book would be valuable if it contained nothing but his list of about 130 utopian writings arranged by epochs from the fifteenth century to date and of works about such literature, also classified by topic. Its value as a work of reference is further enhanced by extensive notes and by the fact that the first part of the text gives a résumé of representative utopian works, also by type and epoch.

But it is much more than a work of reference. The author's aim is, as indicated in the title, sociological analysis. He makes a good deal of the notion of "other possibilities," of the idea

that things could be very different from what they are. The great expansion of the physical world brought about by the voyages of discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, combined with Copernican astronomy, suggested to many minds, he proposes, that the social order could also be different from that of the past. An impulse was given to the social imagination. The utopian authors combined a fanciful new social order with certain equally fanciful notions of what science would bring.

Much later, the great scientific developments of the nineteenth century gave a new impulse to fancy. Science fiction, with its conquest of space and time, burst upon the stage, followed by the Counter-Utopias written by people who feared the consequences of science and technology. In the Counter-Utopias it is a question not merely of whether the new world of technology will destroy old virtues but also of whether men can develop the new virtues necessary to deal with their new powers. One utopian suggests the possibility of creating a superior human race by scientific methods; another finds creatures much superior to us on other planets. Some Counter-Utopians see us all reduced to some apelike level by our own inventions.

The author treats systematically the relations of utopian thinking to eschatology, which is a much older way of expressing collective dissatisfaction and wishes. Schwonke has given us a significant contribution to the study of social myths (and notes that myths sometimes come true, although—as Sorel has said—not quite as expected).

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role. By NEAL GROSS, WARD S. MASON, and ALEXANDER W. MCEACHERN. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958. Pp. xiv+379.

Gross, Mason, and McEachern set themselves the task of exploring consensus in role expectations and the resolution of role conflict. For their medium they chose the relationships between school superintendents and school boards in half the school systems of Massachusetts. Long interviews were conducted with each administrator and each board member. We have at hand, then, an unusually sweeping and meticulous numerical analysis of many aspects of role conflict.

In the opening five chapters the authors expound the concepts of role, consensus, conflict, and related ideas. They emphasize particularly the ambiguity in conventional discussions of role expectation where little attention is devoted to lack of agreement among role definers; their discussion is a serviceable and often clarifying codification of a scattered literature—though marred by name-dropping. "The extent of variability in the role definitions of incumbents of the same position," however, has not been neglected to the extent they imply; we do have a considerable literature on immigrant children, delinquents, "conflict of laws," and "social control of business." Indeed, they pay little attention to parallel studies in educational administration.

From six interview schedules they combined items variously and ingeniously to form indexes of many aspects of the superintendent-board relationship. They first take up the macroscopic relationships (i.e., the comparison of viewpoints for the superintendents as one group and the members of all boards as another group), distinguishing interposition from intraposition situations. On 27 of 59 items showing no difference between the two groups significant at the level of .05 or better, there was relatively low consensus also within one or both groups, as was the case for 65 out of 91 items that did show a significant difference. It would be helpful to know the extent to which these results reflect attitudes within a few aberrant boards. From this part of their analysis, the authors conclude, for example, that each party tends to assign more responsibility to its own position, though each concedes greater responsibility for technically difficult than for easy tasks. Less accord is manifested on items relevant to their direct relationships than on items pertaining to third parties.

The two groups tended to manifest high or low consensus on the same intraposition items; doubtless it is sound to attribute the generally lesser variance among the superintendents to their more homogeneous training. Administrators and teachers in the larger school systems were accorded greater responsibility by their boards and lines of authority were stricter than in smaller systems—but these are really three aspects of one phenomenon.

For the microscopic approach consensus between the two parties was measured by the squared difference of the administrator's score and the average score of his board; in eight out

of ten instances the correlation between instruments was under .25. But, when consensus within boards is measured by the variance of responses to a given item or set of items, the maximum correlation on any two instruments is only .58, and eight of ten coefficients were under .50. One infers that the friendships, participation, and personal traits of the administrator have little to do with the perceptions of role, evidence for which must come mainly from each party's evaluation of the "performance" of the other. Much of the book, indeed, rests on correlations between these variances in judgments of board members and other features of the situation. A progressively longer board-superintendent association brings only slight convergence of views among board members, and this is little affected by homogeneity of education, income, or progressiveness of attitudes of the board. Boards whose members serve from civic motives rather than from being exponents of political factions are more homogeneous in their expectations as to how the superintendent should conduct himself—and conform more closely to his views of propriety. When the superintendent feels warranted in commending the board's views or policies, he feels more satisfied with his own position and career and his attitudes are more similar to the average board member's position. Boards whose opinions are more homogeneous evaluate their superintendent more favorably.

Three chapters are devoted solely to examining the modes of resolving role conflict. The balancing of attributed legitimacy of norms held by the board against the presumptive sanctions they might impose was explored by asking each administrator what he was expected to do and whether he conceded that this expectation was legitimate, what the consequences would be, and on what basis he would resolve any tension between legitimacy and sanction. The scheme for this part of the study was eminently workman-like, but many of the data appear unreliable, reasoning circular, and conclusions often trivial.

On the whole, the conclusions are not so impressive as the authors' ingenuity in running through the permutations of variables. The writing is wordy and often ambiguous. Hasty readers may not notice that the data are almost wholly verbal reports. At a minimum, it should have been possible to make detailed retrospective reviews of a small sample of actual board-meeting agenda. Much of the analysis rests sole-

ly on the superintendent's report of the attitudes of his board members. For example, where the board conforms to his statement of the standards he holds up for them, he evaluates the board highly, and, when he evaluates them favorably, he reports himself well satisfied with his job. Job-satisfaction scores, career-satisfaction scores, and worry scores of the superintendent are correlated with his acknowledged anxiety and with his awareness of being exposed to role conflict. But these variables are hardly independent, and these various ratings have a large halo.

Most of the relationships discovered by this expensive study are moderate in degree. The authors might well have checked key relationships early in the study and redesigned their instruments in the hope of getting larger correlations. If the true relationships in this administrator-board structure are very loose, the study hardly warranted so detailed a report. Perhaps, however, the relationships are really tight, and the authors simply failed to disclose them.

Finally, one may question the conceptions of similarity and disparity in attitudes held by the authors in common with many others who employ attitude scales. Take, for just one example, Item 8 of the scale for measuring expectations about the superintendent's performances (p. 331). If we divide the distributions of responses into positive and negative halves, we observe that there is a 65 per cent consensus between the two sets of respondents; yet in this item lies the largest mean difference between the two groups. Indeed, the differences in role conception reported by the authors appear to lie for the most part near the consensus end of the continuum. If more of the data had been on behavior, a considerable share of items doubtless would shift toward the other pole. One must ask what is the meaning of "significant" differences when these reach to only a small fraction of the difference possible within the structure of the instrument used.

This study, notwithstanding, contributes a genuine addition to our knowledge of school systems and of formal organizations. It documents the need for clarifying some of our ideas about roles and supplies a most ingenious scheme for exploring the patterns of mutual role expectations in groups.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

University of Chicago

Emotional Dynamics and Group Culture: Experimental Studies of Individual and Group Behavior. By DOROTHY STOCK and HERBERT A. THELEN. New York: New York University Press (for the National Training Laboratories), 1958. Pp. xviii+296. \$6.00.

Stock and Thelen have summarized fifteen pieces of research by members of the Human Dynamics Laboratory at the University of Chicago since 1950, when Thelen and his associates decided to use the concepts developed by W. R. Bion for the analysis of the dynamics of groups. Bion's concepts were used because they stressed the emotional side of group life. As a leader of therapy groups, Bion had observed that work in a group seemed to be supported, at any given time, by one of the basic emotional states of fight-flight, pairing, or dependency, and he suggested that each member had some degree of preference or "valence" for each emotional state. These concepts were elaborated by Stock, Thelen, *et al.* by differentiating four levels of work and by treating fight and flight as separate emotional states. These categories were then used to observe the process of interaction of summer training groups at the National Training Laboratories at Bethel, Maine, and other types of groups. Detailed methods of analysis were then developed along with testing instruments (sentence completion test and Q-sort) to be used in determining individual "valences" for each of the emotional states.

The present volume gives a complete overview of the authors' thinking and methodology. The five short chapters which introduce the sections and the two final chapters on implications for theory and research and implications for practitioners are especially rich in ideas.

Although more than a hundred category schemes have been proposed in the small-group literature, only one, Bales's, has had extensive usage. There is room for another, and one of the Bion-Thelen type should prove attractive to many who are studying therapy or near-therapy groups. However, despite all the work put into the Bion-Thelen system, some of the basic methodological issues, such as interobserver reliability and the underlying dimensions of the categories, remain relatively untouched. Since Stock and Thelen take an essentially clinical approach to their data, the validity of the method will probably be more apparent to readers of a clinical persuasion than to those who desire large samples and appropriate statistical

tests. Of the fifteen studies reviewed in the volume, six are based on a sample of one group, four of two groups, one of four groups, one of thirty-six groups, two of one individual, and one of twenty. In sum, the book is a good example of a working paper on a new point of view and a method which has promise.

A. PAUL HARE

Harvard University

Participation in Union Locals. By ARNOLD S. TANNENBAUM and ROBERT L. KAHN. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1958. Pp. xii+275. \$5.50.

This Survey Research Study of membership participation in four union locals in two Michigan cities was done in 1953-54. The locals ranged in size between 350 and 850 members, were themselves members of two CIO industrial unions in light-manufacturing industries, and have had histories of moderately amicable relations with management. Roughly matched in other respects, they varied in respect to participation of their members.

The study is largely based on an analysis of seven hundred and fifty questionnaires returned by samples of the members of each of the four locals. Much of the book is given over to comparisons of the more active with the less active half of the memberships of each local as to extra-union organizational memberships, various status characteristics, orientations toward management, social mobility, etc. Three chapters are devoted to a discussion of the structure of "control," the consistency and uniformity of individual attitudes and behavior, and the bearing of aspects of local leadership on rank-and-file participation. The last chapter summarizes the findings by drawing broad profiles of the active member and the active local.

The study is well and carefully designed, the data are rich, and the discussion abounds with stimulating ideas and suggestions. But, unhappily, its very real virtues create expectations that the analysis does not fulfil. The analysis and interpretation of the data are disappointing for several reasons. For one thing, a great potential strength of the study lay in the possibility of a systematic comparison of membership participation in the four locals; this would have allowed the authors to study the bearing on it of social and organizational context as well as of individual characteristics. But, while com-

parisons between the locals are constantly made, they are almost always made in terms of names; for example, actives differ from inactives in some respect in locals A and B but not in C and D. There is almost no discussion of *why*: the names of the locals conceal the characteristics which might explain the differences. And, while the locals are broadly characterized early in the book in a descriptive rather than analytic fashion, so that the reader can try to remember which local, for example, is the most militant, the authors make little effort to link characteristics with variations in the members' participation or other behavior in any systematic way.

Second, the study is unnecessarily hobbled by the way the data are reported. Most of the forty-eight tables reported compare "actives" and "inactives" within each local as to some individual characteristic. But many relevant questions which could be explored are simply left hanging. For example, the authors report that older people are more likely to be active but find only weak evidence for their hypothesis that the better educated are more likely to be active. At this point they speculate, plausibly, that "possibly the fact that older people have had less formal education partially explains these results" (p. 117). But the obvious three-variable tabulation which would test that proposition is not shown.

We are shown how active and inactive men compare in length of membership in the local rather than how men of varying lengths of tenure in the local differ in their activity. The statistical relationship between the two variables, participation and years in the local, is of course the same in either case, but the direction in which the distributions are percentaged has large consequences for the nature of the analysis. This percentaging within categories of the dependent variable results here in a series of tables showing various characteristics associated with participation—thus to a kind of profile of characteristics of active and inactive men. Percentaging in the other direction would have been more likely to lead to a series of explanatory propositions. This partly accounts for the disjointed quality of the analysis: independent variables are introduced arbitrarily and are analyzed *ad hoc*, without a web of related and mutually supporting explanatory propositions emerging.

Despite these strictures, the book presents much suggestive data on the social psychology of participation in trade unions and is recom-

mended to students of labor organization, political behavior, and industrial sociology.

MARTIN TROW

University of California (Berkeley)

Widows and Their Families. By PETER MARRIS.
("Institute of Community Studies," No. 3.)
London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958. Pp.
xi+172. 18s.

A pioneering British field study of bereavement, this is one of a series of sampling surveys of family structure and life-cycles in a working-class London community area financed by the Ford Foundation. Marris has undertaken to illustrate some consequences of widowhood rather than to determine how characteristic they may be of society as a whole. This limited goal has been achieved, and the results seem to justify the book.

The study's ostensible objective was not sociopsychological but social-economic: How were widows "managing"? They chafed under the fantastically complicated patch-quilt of "aids." The total of piecemeal measures as shown falls short of the "cradle-to-grave" coverage publicized for the welfare state of the Beveridge Plan. The legal-administrative measures implement irreconcilable policies in relation to needs, obligations, contributions, and rights, with characteristically confused compromises, overlaps, and gaps. (E.g., public insurance, though a self-supporting and self-respecting pittance, is rigid and resented; while "assistance," supplementing inadequate insurance benefits, is a true "dole" but, as administered, was found more humanly considerate.)

The sample is of only seventy-two cases. Case finding was handicapped by incredible defects and blockages in British vital statistics, e.g., the *Statistical Review* lumped divorcees and widows. But the range of husbands' wages, occupations, lengths of marriage, and widows' and children's ages, gives some weight to whatever findings were found to be frequent. The seeming lack of research design is offset by sensitivity of insight and careful interpretation, scrupulous logic, caution and honesty about methods, and clarity of communication unencumbered by jargon. The report is refreshingly free, too, of modern statistical window-dressing. Marris explains that he uses statistics "only where they can fairly represent the experience of my in-

formants, and many of the conclusions must remain speculative until they can be confirmed by a study of a much larger number of widows." However, in complex society with complex personalities, the variety and flexibility of alternate and ambivalent reactions, social controls, and combinations thereof is so great that there is nowhere as yet any study presenting percentages large enough to provide predictive probabilities. The patterns of adjustment to bereavement reported in this study include physical reactions; denials; assumption or perpetuation of roles; fixation versus escapism; blame, hostility versus relief or justification; loneliness, yet withdrawal; loss of status, resentment of rejection but courting rejection by apathy; futility, self-blame, guilt; acceptance; dependency versus desperate independence; and remarriage (p. 22).

As yet, no study has focused upon the sexual readjustment of bereaved spouses; Marris does not touch it in his chapter on remarriage. The psychological tensions and recovery patterns, which are reported are seen as at least equal in importance with the social effects and factors of readjustment (p. 23). The first half of the book contains chapters on grief, mourning, and primary-group interaction, which will mean more for American readers than will the chapters on circumstances peculiar to London.

In this study more interviews were refused than in the Institute's other family studies, partly because of a letter-writing experiment and partly because of the understandable resistance of mourners. The author recognizes a special problem in the interviewing: "For statistical purposes, it would have been better to find factual questions which could be used as criteria of emotional attitudes. But as yet too little is known about grief to make this possible: it may, indeed, never be possible" (p. 135). It proved easy, however, to approach most widows on socio-economic matters, whereupon more intimate material emerged, often spontaneously or by indirect suggestion. An interview outline but no standard question schedule guided the conversation—a strategy which the study demonstrates as effective in bypassing resistance. Thus it opens access to large-scale samples of bereaved families selected for homogeneity or for planned representativeness.

The study reveals the understandable isolation of American and British researchers, despite shared language; for example, Richmond's early study of widows is not cited here, nor is reference made to studies by Fulcomer and

others. That many of the reactions reported in American studies are independently confirmed by Marris adds some weight to such findings.

THOMAS D. ELIOT

Fontana, Wisconsin

The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison. By GRESHAM M. SYKES. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xx+144. \$3.75.

The first sociological volume on a prison in eighteen years, this probably will become a penological classic like its predecessor, Clemmer's *Prison Community*.

Sykes first analyzes society's demands on the prison, then dilemmas of prison authorities in meeting them, and not until the midpoint of his book, when he can view them as reacting to the orientations of their custodians, does he focus on inmates. The prisoner's alternatives in roles are either preying on fellow inmates or uniting in resisting the administration. The former is illustrated by what Sykes calls the "argot roles" of "hipster," "wolf," and "rat," the latter by the "real man." Recurrent crises are predicted because roles encouraged by custodians in inmates to promote internal order bring other conditions, intolerable to the public; yet, when prevented, they lead to the alternative roles of violence.

It is interesting to compare Sykes's work, reflecting Parsons-Merton influence, with Clemmer's, which follows the Park-Burgess tradition. Clemmer's material seems more valid because he describes how he counted it, but he looked at one feature of prison life at a time and explained it on an introductory sociological level. Sykes's perspective simultaneously on all parties in the prison's social system is unique, and his interpretation is profound, but one accepts his conclusions less confidently. One suspects that to both sociologists and inmates social types function as ideal types expressing aspects of behavior which actually are widely distributed and mixed. Sykes's ideal-typical analysis facilitates an epigrammatic style, and some flamboyant conclusions which more systematic observation and tabulation could qualify.

Dahrendorf's charge that system models lead to conservatism seems validated by Sykes's concluding admonition against expecting much reduction in repressiveness or increased reformation in the inmates of prisons and by his

rationalization of custodial practice in maximum-security prisons. However, comparing different prisons, and more rigorous empirical generalizations might be achieved through revealing functions.

D

University of Illinois

Studies of the Family, Vol. I. E. ANDERSON. (A Collection of Papers at the Seminar on "The Family and Social Order" Held at the Institute for Social Sciences, (1954.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1956. Pp. xi+287.

The fourteen essays in this collection cover a wide range of problems and attitudes. It is unlikely that Professor Ogburn, a socially sophisticated reader in 1911, wrote the Introduction to this volume; less, it is painful to have one of our members of our trade say that "the generalizations for which little evidence is given and for which satisfactory alternatives do not exist . . . should be taken as theory." Professor Burgess' closing chapter, "Crucial Problems in Family Research," only gives an overview of the contents of the whole book but exemplifies what is the book's greatest value, namely, the posing of important questions.

The relationship between the structure of the family and the structure of social systems is considered in a number of essays. Saal finds an inverse relationship between the degree of openness of the family and the degree of openness of the social structures, where "openness" means frequent association, in contrast to isolation and boundary-consciousness of a "closed" unit. Hansson in a wide-ranging study, "Dimensions of Primary Groups in Sweden," suggests a similar relationship between the isolation and individualism of the urban family, on the one hand, and the level of secondary group life, on the other. Bott, in a study of ordinary families, finds the relation of conjugal roles to the structure of the family into other social structures. Blad, writing on "Family and Social Change," restricts himself to consideration of a few variables, which he then uses

struction of a miniature theory of the social structure of communities whose inhabitants are experiencing urbanization, a type of theory which should be applicable to the repeatedly described social relations in the economically depressed community. Jean Morsa writes about a Belgian community which is in certain respects strikingly similar to Arnold W. Green's familiar description of a depressed western Massachusetts community, and J. Doucy discusses the field-work problems of the research project. He gives, among other things, a clear description of one apparently successful technique of "breaking into" a community. Particularly interesting is the discussion of the advantages of using pairs of interviewers.

König's characterization of sociology as *Ge-genwartswissenschaft* ("science of the present") is many times called to the reader's attention. Baumert's study of postwar families concludes that, in spite of the disturbances of the Nazi period and the war, the German family is developing in the same way as the family in other parts of the Western world. Burgess, Chombart de Lauwe, and Wurzbacher all are concerned with the development of the form of the family, the one in the United States, the second in France, and the third in Germany. Though largely descriptive, these studies give the reader a sense of theoretical development. König's article on occupational choice among girls from incomplete families deals with a different aspect of the relation of family to society. Family structure as an independent variable in the study of occupational choice clearly points to a range of sociological questions about occupational choice which have not received the attention they deserve. Nahas contributes a delightfully written report on a study of married life conducted in Iraq by a serious and socially conscious official, who culls from data with outrageous sample biases interesting and plausible nuggets of information.

The UNESCO Institute of Cologne has done a great service to the sociology of the family. Each of the articles is written in either English, French, or German, with summaries in the other two languages appended.

ARNOLD SIMMEL

Albany, New York

Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior.

By F. IVAN NYE. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958. Pp. xii+168. \$4.95.

When a new empirical study of juvenile delinquency proposes both a different theoretical orientation and a new methodological device, it must be of interest to the general sociologist. The new theoretical orientation in this study is an approach to delinquency by way of a social control framework. The new methodological device is the technique of "reported behavior."

The book is an analysis of family attributes and relationships as perceived by adolescents and delinquent behavior as they report it. The sample upon which the bulk of the analysis is based is 2,350 high-school students from three cities of from ten to thirty thousand in the state of Washington. Some use is also made of a sample of 515 rural and suburban midwestern pupils and another sample of institutionalized delinquents; the data were gathered by questionnaire. Of the many findings, those concerning broken homes, employment of mothers, spatial mobility, and family rejection (chaps. v, vi, vii, and viii) are especially interesting.

The general theoretical orientation is apparent in the following: "In general, behavior described as delinquent or criminal need not be explained in any positive sense, since it usually results in quicker and easier achievement of goals than the normative [*sic!*] behavior. The processes, agencies and relationships which prevent it are the subject of social control as applied to delinquency" (p. 5).

The social control framework is elaborated to include direct control (the manipulation of restriction and punishment), internalized control (the force of conscience), indirect control (a function of affectional identification with parents and other models of conformity), and a last subprocess—the availability of alternative means to goals and values. The preliminary discussion of other theoretical orientations is inadequate and confusing. The author's brief presentation of his own framework gives only the most meager clues to its relationship to other viewpoints. This is decidedly not a book one would assign to students for a discussion of theory—even of the author's own.

The methodological innovation is a technique for avoiding the difficulties of reliance on official statistics which employs a Guttman-type scale of delinquent acts reported by the respondents themselves. The scale is the dependent variable in most of the analysis. The author claims some important advantages of "reported behavior" over official records: that it eliminates the bias of official data, helps minimize the problem of

the temporal order of independent variables, and insures greater rapport with the respondent, for he has not yet been branded an official delinquent.

Serious doubts about the second advantage are readily admitted by the author. That there are real problems of bias in official statements and that we have long needed other sources of data on delinquency none can deny. But the author's main point of comparison, empirically and in his argument, is with institutionalized populations, where the bias is obviously greatest and where his technique should show to best advantage. Chapter iii offers the most detailed treatment of bias in a context of great importance to research on delinquency. Co-authored by James F. Short, Jr., and Virgil J. Olson, it deals with the relationship of socioeconomic status as measured by father's occupation and self-reported delinquency. (It is a revision of a paper published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII, [January, 1958], 381-89.) The conclusion is that no differences were found between class levels whether the scale or the original items are used. However, in the original pool of items there are relatively few that would be very frequent objects of police action or cause an individual to be labeled "delinquent." In addition, the item marginals are not given, so that we cannot judge whether for the more serious violations any variance is available. The authors state that three of the most serious items scaled with the seven used but were omitted because of "infrequent commission in the non-institutional population" (p. 14). It remains possible then that official bias is largely correlated with seriousness of offense. It is surely possible that "taken a car for a ride without the owner's knowledge," "defied your parents' authority (to their face)," "run away from home," and others are open to a number of quite different interpretations, depending on the respondent's social class.

The most serious offense on the scale is "taken little things (worth less than \$2) that did not belong to you." Clearly, the risk here is implicit of equating delinquency with misbehavior of the young. It might have been more in line with the theory of social control used in the book to have scaled delinquent acts not according to their frequency of commission by adolescents but according to the seriousness of the offense, using a population of adults. Furthermore, the seven-item scale forms a quasi-scale in the Guttman sense with a reproducibil-

ity of .80 for one subsample (other values are not reported). Image analysis was employed to "improve" the reproducibility. The improved values range from .963 to .980. Leaving aside serious doubts as to the applicability of image analysis to such a measure, we are left with an uneasy feeling about the supposed "unidimensionality" of the scale.

The book is, however, valuable for its many useful findings but even more so for its boldness and originality.

DAVID J. BORDUA

University of Michigan

Introduction to Difference Equations: With Illustrative Examples from Economics, Psychology, and Sociology. By SAMUEL GOLDBERG. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958. Pp. xii+260.

This book, intended for the reader with mathematical maturity but not necessarily training in calculus, presents techniques for the solution of difference equations. These methods are applicable to the construction of models for a wide variety of social processes. What these processes have in common is that they may be described as a succession of states of affairs occurring at equal discrete intervals, usually intervals of time. Although the major part of the book is devoted to purely mathematical considerations, the text also includes applications to economics (national income, inventory analysis, the cobweb theorem), psychology (learning models, the Weber-Fechner law), information theory, neural nets, panel interview studies, and kinship systems.

The potential usefulness of difference equations in sociology is great, but the examples that have been given so far of their use will probably not persuade more than a small fraction of sociologists, in whom, though knowledge of some statistics has become a legitimate expectation, knowledge of mathematics has not. It may not be long, however, before the availability of volumes such as this will encourage more study of the construction of mathematical models by sociologists. Among other publications that will encourage this development are *Finite Mathematics*, by Kemeny, Snell, and Thomson, and *Mathematics for Psychologists*, by Bush, Abelson, and Hyman.

DUNCAN MACRAE, JR.

University of Chicago

Abortion in the United States. Edited by MARY STEICHEN CALDERONE, M.D. New York: Harper & Bros. and Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1958. Pp. 224. \$5.50.

Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion. By PAUL H. GEBHARD, WARDELL B. POMEROY, CLYDE E. MARTIN, and CORNELIA V. CHRISTENSON. New York: Harper & Bros. and Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1958. Pp. xiii+282. \$6.00.

The Calderone volume reports the results of a conference on illegal and therapeutic abortion, held in June, 1955, under the auspices of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Included are chapters or sections on abortion in the Scandinavian countries, legal and illegal abortion in the United States, therapeutic abortion, psychiatric aspects of the problem, and the relation between abortion and contraception. Most of the conferees were medical doctors. Fortunately for sociologists, a fair amount of statistical data is presented, and these data, together with some excellent appendixes on American abortion and birth-control laws, will have value to those interested in criminology and in the family.

The volume by Gebhard *et al.* is the third of a proposed series published under the auspices of the Indiana University Institute for Sex Research, Inc., founded by the late Dr. Kinsey. It will probably be much less controversial than the first two. For one thing, its major topics—pregnancy, birth, and abortion—are limited in number, and the variables—age, marital status, education, decade of birth, and degree of devoutness—are fewer. Some of the figures on abortion will scandalize some (e.g., of the ever-married females, “one fifth to one quarter had had an induced abortion”), but such subjects as homosexuality and adultery are generally excluded. “It must be remembered,” state the authors, that “we did not set out to gather data specifically for a study of pregnancy and its outcome, we set out to gather data on sexual behavior. . . . Consequently this particular piece of research might be described as a study of data peripheral to our main interests.”

Even though the textual reading is unavoidably laborious in spots, there is no mistaking the statistical steps that were used. One could quarrel with the employment of age-specific rates (e.g., per hundred marital years) as applied, for instance, to the comparatively infrequent occurrence of spontaneous abortions; nevertheless, considering the non-random na-

ture of the sample, the authors have used a statistical organization that adequately fits their material. Other statisticians using the Indiana material would doubtless get the same substantive results, but the approach or emphasis might be sufficiently different to permit modified or diversiform conclusions. Such would be true of almost any large-scale sociostatistical study, and it is unfair to criticize the Indiana approach for what is essentially a definitive statistical form. It is not an easy matter to handle several dozen variables in a punched-card analysis, and it is to the credit of the Indiana team that the data are both consistently and resourcefully handled.

The present report—and apparently the future ones as well—is based on personal interviews, the bulk of which were gathered during 1940–49. Most readers are well aware that the Indiana data do not comprise a random sample; that the material is derived from those willing to give their sex histories; and that the sample is heavily weighted in favor of the northeastern, urban, Protestant, upper educational segments of the population. Of the 5,293 white non-prison females who make up the main body of the present study, for example, 82 per cent attended college, as compared with 13 per cent of the urban white females. This bias remains the weakest part of the Indiana undertakings. To the full credit of the authors, the limitations of the sample are clearly spelled out and repeated at frequent intervals; if unwarranted generalizations come to be drawn, blame must be placed on others.

The relative absence of moral judgments will go far to making this book less controversial than the first two reports. The authors do take a comparatively soft view of abortion, but their personal feelings are stated matter-of-factly and do no overly obtrude. The authors hold, for example, that the unmarried mother does not get a fair deal in our society; however, having made their position clear (pp. 30–31), they go on to present data on the single woman, free from personal predilection. Subsequent chapters contain tabular and graphical material on the married woman, the previously married woman, the Negro woman, and the woman in prison.

The third Indiana report contains much valuable material for sociologists interested in criminology, demography, and the family. It is difficult to believe that abortion is as widespread as its figures suggest; if it is, one must

think of American women as marsupial. On the other hand, the burden of proof—realistically if not logically—rests on the challengers, and, until better studies are forthcoming, the figures here will probably be quoted as extensively as those in the previously published Indiana reports.

WILLIAM M. KEPHART

University of Pennsylvania

The Fertility of American Women. By WILSON H. GRABILL, CLYDE V. KISER, and PASCAL K. WHELPTON. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958. Pp. xvi+448. \$9.50.

Trends in Birth Rates in the United States since 1870. By BERNARD OKUN. ("John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," Series LXXVI, No. 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. Pp. 203. \$3.50.

The Fertility of American Women is an indispensable sourcebook for anyone interested in fertility trends and differentials in the United States. It organizes very well a great mass of empirical data from official sources. Most of the detailed statistical data are for the period beginning with the last part of the nineteenth century, but the authors provide an excellent summary of what is known of the trends from Colonial times through the nineteenth century. Most of the book consists of an exhaustive analysis of differential fertility. Chapters cover "Residence, Nativity, and Ethnic Groups," "Occupation," and "Education," with an omnibus chapter on characteristics for which the available data are more limited: the wife's labor-force status, income, rental, and religion.

Since fertility trends are not fully meaningful except in relation to marriage trends, a separate chapter is devoted to the relationship between fertility and various aspects of the marriage pattern, in addition to some consideration of marital status throughout the book. To a significant extent the recent "baby boom" is found to be the result of a "marriage boom" and of changes in the spacing of children in marriage.

The book provides evidence that there is no single "best" measure and that different measures of fertility serve different purposes; in several important instances a significant trend or differential is found with one measure but not with another. However, where this is not the case, some of the analyses go

over the ground with several different and seem needlessly repetitious. On most important chapters contains a proof of the cohort fertility approach. For succinct statement of the meaning of fertility, there are excellent illustrations; this historical approach helps to answer questions as "Are families becoming

Interpretative statements are made in places in the book, but the analysis of empirical relationships in terms of social theory is not an important feature. This excellent volume provides a body of significant empirical relationships which greatly facilitate theoretically oriented research. The book will also be valuable in a number of applied fields.

Okun's monograph is a useful contribution to demographic history. He analyzes the decline of fertility in forty-seven of the states in relation to several widely held hypotheses about its causes. His most important contribution is the demonstration that the decline of fertility of the white population is not to be explained simply by the shift from rural to urban areas but mainly by declines within the urban, rural non-farm, and rural farm sectors. This does not mean we must reject urbanization as variable; it does negate the idea that urbanization is caused mainly through the transfer of population from one sector to another. In a separate chapter evidence is given of a significant correlation between fertility decline and rural-urban population transfers among non-whites.

Okun's work was made possible by the construction of population data series as part of a monumental project on population distribution and population growth directed by O. L. Kuznets and Dorothy Thomas. The monograph illustrates how useful analyses can be made by independent scholars once the basic data series are constructed by a research group.

RONALD F

University of Michigan

France Defeats EDC. Edited by DANIEL L. HAYES and RAYMOND ARON. New York: Praeger, 1957. Pp. xii+225.

The European Defense Community, created by Premier Plevin in 1950, was given a vote of confidence by the French National Assembly in October, 1950. But a

and ironical fact with which the authors of this book wrestle is that, four years later, EDC was rejected by the same legislative body without even the dignity of a debate.

Public events sometimes evoke a range and depth of emotion far exceeding anything appropriate to the issues. One is easily led to see a correspondence between the unfolding of such events and the psychological processes tapped by projective tests. The objective dimensions, facts, and alternatives are often as unstructured as the clinician's test stimuli, and the affect generated just as much out of tune and keeping with innocent reality. On several counts, it is interesting to draw the parallel a little further.

For one, the various authors (all competent French politicians, journalists, or social scientists) hark back time and again to the "instincts," "collective conscience," "subconscious passions," or "affective impulses" raised to the surface by the issue of the European Defense Community. When no other explanation can be given for the inconsistencies, strange bedfellows, paradoxes, ins, outs, and about-faces of the debate, then it is that Psyche is brought in. For another, the mixture of elements in the EDC proposal is not unlike the blend of colors, shapes, and adjacencies of ink-blot pictures. The plan to integrate the armed forces of France, Italy, Benelux, and, above all, Germany was for the French at once a matter touching on their relations with the United States and the Soviet Union, on the question of a politically integrated Europe, on their competitive position in securing contracts to supply the armed forces, and, most deeply, on their ambivalent and highly charged feelings about Germany. Inevitably, much of the French debate failed to join issues, each participant dwelling on his own fears and preoccupations as the true and only way of defining the problem.

In the book itself, too, only the psychological theme carries over from one chapter to another—yet never in a serious way, since the writers merely invoke psychological terms. It is left to Lerner, the American editor, to suggest that the separate or aggregated sentiments of the French people are far from the whole story and that to understand the final rejection of EDC may even require going outside French territory. Beginning with the United States' commitment to defend the Western allies with all its disposable weapons as a starting point, one can, he finds, trace a rational path either to

French acceptance or to French rejection of EDC. It is Lerner, rather than any of the eight French contributors, who says in so many words, "Rationality still operates at the level of French policymaking."

NATALIE ROGOFF

Bureau of Applied Social Research

Introduction to Statistical Reasoning. By PHILIP J. MCCARTHY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1957. Pp. xiii+402. \$5.75.

Though elementary, this text is not easy. The author does not cover advanced techniques, yet he assumes more intellectual ability than many students possess. He introduces the student to the basic notions of statistical inference, illustrating his abstract discussion with material taken from survey research and from social science publications and thus appropriate to statistics courses in sociology. There is little attention to experimental design and analysis, a gap which some teachers may find annoying.

McCarthy covers most of the topics that are standard fare in an elementary statistics course. He begins with descriptive statistics but carefully introduces the problem of inference at an early stage. When he discusses sampling, he tends to avoid symbols. His explanations are clear. Simple random sampling is emphasized; he does not assume any knowledge of probability, developing formulas from enumeration of possible outcomes. Considerable space is devoted to the pi-square distribution and linear regression and correlation and less to non-parametric techniques than one would expect.

This is an excellent textbook for use in schools where the students need not be spoon-fed. McCarthy does not allow his desire to interest the student to interfere with the orderly development of the topics, and the result is a well-integrated and provocative textbook.

SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH

University of Washington

Welfare Services in a Canadian Community.

By D. V. DONNISON. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958. Pp. vii+200. \$5.95.

This is a description of ten different welfare services provided in an Ontario community of 13,000 people by agencies ranging from the churches to the Children's Aid Society. The

study, completed in 1955, was carried out by three research workers during three months of field work and included a house-to-house census of 198 people, during which questions about unemployment, proper social assistance, and attitudes toward the existing services were asked. The account is thoroughly readable, descriptive, and dull. One interested in the more or less public and measurable details of the constitutions and activities of the Lions or the Rotarians, the Victorian Order of Nursing, or the Red Cross, as these do their work in Brockville, will indeed be rewarded. One interested in the inner meanings that attach to the provision or acceptance of various services to the public, or in an account of the change from remedial to preventive concerns, that Donnison himself points to, will be disappointed.

In a wider setting the book seems pointless—a great pity, for Canada is in many respects an understudied society. It is written in complete isolation from all preceding work on the function and administration of voluntary and statutory welfare organizations. We would really have learned something if Donnison had

confined himself to a searching case study of the contributions and difficulties of one of the services he briefly surveys, say, the Children's Aid Society. He might then have shown how administrators, workers, and board members in fact define their work, what they contribute to a community, and how misperceived, in different ways, these people are by others together with whom they constitute a city that, in turn, is anything but independent of other communities.

How it came about that Donnison never asks why we have welfare services at all; how the available body of social theory must be amended, if it must, in order to include their analysis—these are the only clear questions which the book poses. It does so despite itself. After all, he intended "to see the whole machine, what it does, how it works, and where it is going." Such seeing cannot spring from a local chronicle.

KASPAR D. NAEGELE

*Center for Advanced Study in the
Behavioral Sciences*

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IN THIS ISSUE

Cyril S. Belshaw, of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of British Columbia, has just returned from a year's field work in Fiji. He contributes to this issue a discussion of the difference in meaning given to the concept of "values" in anthropology, where it is concerned with ethics, from that in sociology, where it is more apt to be referred to action, somewhat after the usage of economics. He concludes with a scheme for their empirical identification.

That the behavior of jurors varies, on the whole, according to sex and education is established by an analysis of their deliberations in the course of a mock trial. This research is the work of Rita M. James, research associate on the Jury Project of the University of Chicago Law School.

Social stratification becomes significant in societies in which private standards differ from political, as in modern capitalistic states with no hereditary aristocracies or with aristocracies which have never been reconciled to democracy and in totalitarian nations. This is the argument of Howard M. Brotz, of the University of Minnesota's Department of Sociology.

Persons with authoritarian personalities are affected by the pressure of group opinion, as are also those of the opposite type. Experiments establishing the facts are reported in this issue by Ray R. Canning, of the Department of Sociology at Brigham Young University, and James M. Baker, a doctoral candidate at the University of Utah.

A mathematical statement of the relation between the administrative structure and the physical complexity of the technological process was tested on eighty-two non-industrial production organizations, selected so as to provide a range of cultures. This is contributed by Stanley H. Udy, Jr., instructor in sociology at Yale.

Jack P. Gibbs, a research sociologist in International Urban Research, University of California, and Walter T. Martin, associate professor of sociology, University of Oregon, tested Durkheim's implied hypothesis: that the suicide rate varies inversely with degree of status integration in ethnic groups in several provinces of Ceylon. They find the proposition valid and go on to explore further the association of culture and self-destruction.

The will to preserve segregation in the American South is interpreted as a function of the proportions of Negro and white in the local population. This interpretation is the work of

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David M. Heer, who is currently in the Social Statistics Branch, Population Division, Bureau of the Census.

Departures from the ecological pattern found in American cities may be explained, in the case of the city of Oxford, England, by the presence of the University and its amenities, which anchor the "upper" strata in the city's center. This contrary state of things is reported by Peter Collison, tutor in sociology, and John Moge, university lecturer, both of Oxford.

The circumstances under which the once-decisive influence of German sociology declined and eventually the American variety, particularly its empiricism, became ascendant, are described by Kenneth K. Morioka, assistant professor of sociology, Tokyo Educational University, and Jesse F. Steiner, professor emeritus of the University of Washington and for many years an advisory editor of this *Journal*.

Leo A. Goodman, professor of sociology and statistics, University of Chicago, presents techniques for estimating "individual correlation," such as that between color and literacy, from ecological data. His special interest is the analysis of social phenomena through rigorous, logical, mathematical, and statistical exploration.

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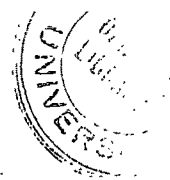
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THE IDENTIFICATION OF VALUES IN ANTHROPOLOGY

CYRIL S. BELSHAW

ABSTRACT

The paper examines the connotations of the term "value" as it has influenced recent anthropological thought. Current usage, leaning heavily on ethics and world view, is concerned with ideas and orientations rather than with action. Anthropological usage, unlike the sociological or philosophical, has ignored the approach of economics, which is concerned with values revealed in action. A system of values cannot be described empirically without assumptions about the presence or absence of values. An ideal scheme is presented, showing the steps necessary to identify values and the difficulties of this as an empirical procedure.

This paper sets out to examine some of the notions of "value" which are current in anthropology, to relate them, and to consider the problems they set for the empirical identification of values in historical cultures. The treatment aims not at an exhaustive presentation but at highlighting a number of issues somewhat neglected in anthropology. I shall use some economic concepts which, while useful to clarify thought, suggest that the field is scattered with traps which we are unable, at the moment, to avoid.

The most systematic and influential exponent of a theory of value in anthropology today is undoubtedly Kluckhohn, who has gone so far as to state that values constitute systems which should be a subject of inquiry just as are cultures and social structures.¹ In most cases, however, this degree of systematic abstraction is not achieved, and values are thought of as elements of culture or of social structure.

In Kluckhohn's thought two separable ideas are brought together. In this presentation they are distinguished, and a third is added which, however, Kluckhohn rejects.

The essence of the first, the Type A approach, as expressed with great clarity by Nadel,² is that values are *ideas about* worthwhileness. As Nadel states, the conceptual index may vary (using scales such as "good—bad," "desired—not desired"). Such values are significant because of a relationship to action or potential action. Kluckhohn holds that a value is a *conception* relating to a code or standard. It implies the desirable—but just any kind of desire will not do: it must be justified morally, by reasoning, by aesthetic judgment, or by some combination of these.³ Kluckhohn's Type A notion of value is thus more restricted than Nadel's; it covers a narrower range of judgments and preferences. But Kluckhohn does explicitly recognize that value implies choice ("selection").

Now Type A values are largely, as Firth

¹ C. K. M. Kluckhohn, "Value and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action," in *Toward a General Theory of Action*, ed. Talcott Parsons and E. A. Shils (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 395.

² S. F. Nadel, *Foundations of Social Anthropology* (London: Cohen & West, 1951), p. 264.

³ *Op. cit.*

puts it, concerned with *ideals or expressions* about the dictates of moral obligation.⁴ The expressive feature is often uppermost in Kluckhohn's thinking, and he is quite explicit about the means available for identifying them. It must, he says, be possible to conceptualize the value and express it verbally.⁵ The expression will be made either by the actor himself or by the anthropologist *who gains the actor's acceptance or rejection of the formulation*. In other words, values are abstract qualities attaching to verbal statements.

Although Type A values may range widely (including aesthetic judgment, for example), they specifically include, and are sometimes considered to center upon, ethical or moral judgment. Despite this, it is interesting to note that the two most exhaustive recent accounts of the ethical systems and moral codes of a preliterate people make only passing reference to values, and, if reference to values were removed from their argument, the argument would not suffer. (This suggests at least the possibility that we could do without the Type A notion of value, since its reference is covered by other terms.) Brandt holds that common usage demands that values should be related to standards of permanence and goodness or desirability.⁶ Dictionary definitions do not support his idea of ordinary usage, and it is not at all clear as to how desirability, worthwhileness, and goodness are to be distinguished and related. Ladd, following Kluckhohn, regards moral values as a part of values in general.⁷ Both Brandt and Ladd are interested in systems of ideas.

Common usage, however, as found in the

Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, speaks of ethical value in terms of "esteem for its own sake" and "intrinsic worth." Here at least the social scientist must reject common usage, since ethical judgment involves preferences and the relegation of some alternatives to an inferior position of esteem. So that even ethical values, as all values of Type A, must relate to judgments about degree and scale.

The Type B approach to values is normally present in the same argument that uses Type A. Firth draws attention to Type B values as "social imperatives . . . the basic assumptions of a society."⁸ Brandt talks of relative permanence,⁹ and Ladd quotes with approval statements about value interests as "wider and more perduring."¹⁰ Kluckhohn, writing primarily of Type A values in relation to a theory of action, points out their relevance for a Type B analysis. He conceives of Type A values organizing "a system of action," shows that individual values must adjust to goals, the maintenance requirement, and the interests of the actor, of other individuals, and of the sociocultural system, and adds that "values add an element of predictability to social life."¹¹

Nadel puts the Type B method in a nutshell: "When we take the respective forms of behaviour to be instances of a 'value,' we understand that here such-and-such an idea of worthwhileness is *consistently applied* to the various occasions of acting."¹² If we include ideal statements or reaction to projective tests as behavior, Kluckhohn's application of his analysis to social systems falls within this category. For he is concerned with finding consistencies in behavior, relating them to ideas about worthwhileness, and deducing valuational themes which apply to whole cultures or subcultures. (There is of course an obvious danger of circularity here. If values are identified as persistent themes of worthwhileness, one

⁴ Raymond Firth, *The Study of Values by Social Anthropologists* ("The Marett Lecture" [London, 1953]). Cf. *Man*, CCXXXI (1953), 1-8.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 397.

⁶ R. B. Brandt, *Hopi Ethics: A Theoretical Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 38-39.

⁷ John Ladd, *The Structure of a Moral Code: A Philosophical Analysis of Ethical Discourse Applied to the Ethics of the Navaho Indians* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 62-63.

⁸ *Op. cit.*

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

⁹ *Op. cit.*

¹¹ *Op. cit.*

¹² *Op. cit.* (Italics mine.)

cannot *explain* persistent themes by reference to them, since they are the same thing.)

The method, with its emphasis upon ideas and concepts, and upon the anthropologist's interpretations of consistency, is a sophisticated and highly technical advance upon the older approaches to themes in culture, to ethos, and to cultural patterns. A few minutes spent with Mead and Métraux,¹³ Bateson,¹⁴ Honigsmann,¹⁵ and Benedict¹⁶ reveal that, although there are many important and subtle differences of emphasis, their gross concepts can be translated into Kluckhohn's framework. A major characteristic common to all these investigators is their search for unifying or organizing gross cultural categories built upon psychocultural premises. Sometimes the new phrasing of the Type B approach seems to move very far indeed from the Type A requirement of verbalization recognizable to the actor. Kluckhohn's themes, such as "determinate—indeterminate," "unitary—pluralistic," and "autonomy—dependance," are highly abstract and seem to be interpreted directly from behavior without the intermediation of Type A values or indirectly from behavior through Type A values.¹⁷

In short, Type B is recognizably related to values when, as Firth¹⁸ says of Ruth Benedict, there is "an explanation of dominant traits of civilization in terms of cultural choice." But when choice and scale are left out, and we have dominant theme alone, we

have left values far behind, and the reader must perform extra acts of interpretation to think of them. Theme implies values, but the act of thematic model-building removes the variable of choice from the anthropologist's purview. This is an important way of contributing to theory, but it should not be allowed to conceal the fact that the identification of value should be related to evidence about choice and scale. If this were not so, and we had theme alone, we would not need the concept of value but could rely solely on concepts such as ethos or theme.

The third, or Type C, approach begins with the analysis of individual preferences as expressed through behavior (whether or not verbalized by the actor). Firth's review of values in anthropology suggests its importance alongside the others.¹⁹ Kluckhohn rejects it and, in rejecting it, describes some of its elements very well:

A cathexis is ordinarily a short-term and narrow response, whereas value implies a broader and long-term view. A cathexis is an impulse; a value or values restrain or canalize impulses in terms of wider and more perduring goals. A football player wants desperately to get drunk after his first big game, but this impulse conflicts with his values of personal achievement and loyalty to teammates, coach and university.²⁰

The Type C approach would regard this as a conflict of possible objectives, reflecting the presence of inconsistent values, each with a different valence and potentiality for being translated into action. The actual choice in the light of behavior would be a reflection of the dominant value subscribed to by the actor, given the specific circumstances surrounding the action. The approach is neutral between "more perduring and less perduring," since the emphasis upon more or less in this matter is itself a matter of valuation. If the football player gets drunk despite the opposition of coach, teammates, and university, this would, according to Type C, represent the valuation at that

¹³ Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux, *Themes in French Culture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1954).

¹⁴ Gregory Bateson, *Naven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936).

¹⁵ John J. Honigsmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* ("Yale University Publications in Anthropology," No. 40 [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1949]).

¹⁶ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934).

¹⁷ C. K. M. Kluckhohn, "Toward a Comparison of Value-Emphases in Different Cultures," in *The State of the Social Sciences*, ed. L. D. White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ "Value and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action," *op. cit.*, p. 399.

time and place and would show that, in spite of the importance the player may attach to these others, there are elements in the situation which cause him to pay the price, such as it might be.

These three approaches to values have been set out to emphasize the importance of scale and degree, on the one hand, and the relationship between worthwhileness and preference, on the other. The concept here advanced is close to common usage and to technical usage in fields such as music, painting, and economics. Value implies worth, and worth cannot be thought of intransitively; we ask, "Worth what?" In its simple form this implies a conception of equivalence, which in turn implies measurement. Measurement by direct equivalence is impossible in many contexts; where this is so, rank order takes its place.²¹ This point of view is essential to the legitimate use of the concept in such a way that it does not conflict with other concepts already established in technical anthropological usage.

We may now turn from this threefold classification to examine the conventional materials available for anthropologists in their attempts to identify the values of individuals or cultures, to place the values in the scale of preferences, and thus to assign an importance and a weight to them.

One set of data which Kluckhohn would emphasize consists of individual statements about worthwhileness of conduct and goals, related to a conception of the world around the speaker cast in a moral frame of reference. In the first place, the field worker can elicit statements of theory (e.g., descriptions of ideal conduct), and he can record comments which imply judgments of worthwhileness in response to normal situations. An example would be a mother scolding her child, or an old man commenting on the behavior of a neighbor's son. He can also use projective tests and like techniques to imply a basis of personality, and therefore a framework of moral judgment, without the subject

being aware of what he is revealing about himself.

This approach is necessary in the search for values, but by itself it does not identify them. Verbal statements can be interpreted as rationalizations justifying one's course of action despite knowledge that the action runs counter to the mores. They may be used to discredit or approve of another person's conduct, not on the moral grounds stated in the text, but for some social reason not stated in the text. Nevertheless, precisely because they are rationalizations, they are so formulated as to be likely to appeal to the moral views of at least some of the hearers. This implies that the speaker is reflecting to some extent what he believes to be the current mores of the community (or, in carelessly set up field situations, of the anthropologist). Does this mean that the rationalizations describe values? Certainly, with appropriate interpretation, they reflect something which may roughly be described as the "value tone" of the community; but this is only one side of the medal.

Projective tests circumvent objections based upon rationalization but do not avoid others. Quite apart from the effectiveness or otherwise of the tests in obtaining defined psychological information (a question which I am not competent to discuss), projective tests and verbal statements have certain common merits and disadvantages. They do reveal some potential goals, principles of conceptualization, and ideal ordering among ends. They do not put the actor to the test of his actions, making him responsible for actual choice, with all its consequences visited upon him. Although there may be a connection between ideal values and psychological characteristics, on the one hand, and the valuations of living persons in historical context, on the other, it is not a simple correspondence. Prediction of human choice on the basis of ideal statement or psychological characteristic is, for several reasons, likely only under very limited circumstances. First, each situation being complex and unique, the analyst cannot foresee the effective variables; this observation affects social time

²¹ Cf. *Oxford Shorter English Dictionary*.

prediction in general but cannot be allowed to prevent the formulation of theory. More serious is the second reason: both ideal statement and analysis of projective test are abstractions which do not take into account such matters as discounting the pain of future situations and, for this reason, do not with certainty anticipate the likely concrete judgment from the point of view of the actor himself. There is a very close similarity here to parties of political opposition (including those in colonial territories), which, when faced with responsibility in government, may develop markedly different corporate personalities.

A second analysis, which can build upon the former and which is particularly related to Type B values, is to construct a "system of values" for a culture. The statistically or morally normal values of the culture are here based on statements about individuals. Precisely the same reservations need to be made as for the first type of analysis, but there are other difficulties.

In societies with few authoritarian, theological, or theoretical devices, what weight is to be given to differences in ideas and viewpoints? Sometimes it is possible to state that authority leans to one view and that there are sanctions against others. Again, it is possible to introduce deliberate imprecision, indicating that variation of certain degrees is tolerated. Sometimes, as with Gluckman, conflict and disagreement are shown to have functional implications.²² But sometimes the concepts of national character, basic personality, and world view—all of which concepts imply systems of values for cultures—push the exploration much further, seeking dominant principles, even in complex societies. Such examinations are worthwhile, particularly as theoretical models to be argued about, but they are clearly oversimplifications if they are meant to refer to historical societies. The trend toward the concept of modal personality, permitting a spread of characteristics, has not been sufficiently used as an analogy for the treatment

of national character, world view, ethos, values, and like concepts which may be distributed throughout culture according to structural, idiosyncratic, or other principles.

A third approach is concerned with an abstraction of the working principles of a culture or the relation of cultural processes to an ideal model. On the one hand, verbal statements or observed behavior are treated abstractly to provide, for example, a structural frame of reference. On the other, verbal statements or observed behavior are related to an a priori frame of reference which describes the normal operation of a society or culture in relation to assumed goals of maintenance, equilibrium, mental health, and the like. In either case an external standard of value may be applied (just as when "more perduring" was used in a different context as a criterion of value). We can speak of an institution as "important" because not only do people adhere to it but it fits in with a social purpose. This teleological functional approach has had its significance for our society. It has countered the thoughtless reformer by providing a basis for the analysis of a presumed purpose in apparently irrational custom and conduct. But it has also led to an arid relativism which seems to assume that all behavior gives evidence of equal value. But the aridity is more apparent than real. It is based on a weak handling of social models. Merton's concept of dysfunction²³ and Leach's of a normal disequilibrium,²⁴ though they are by no means ideal correctives, offer promise of new models which at least put the question: When does value exist, and how much? It is necessary to ask this question, for now in social theory (as distinct from points of view about social work) we have to ask ourselves whether this or that institution has a negative function in the workings of society or whether it represents a force opposed to others. But even this approach does not offer a technique for assessing the raw material upon which it is

²² Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949).

²⁴ E. R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma* (London: Bell, 1954).

²² Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955).

based or for identifying particular values to place them in the operational context of the model in use.

A fourth scheme is possible. It focuses primarily upon the identification of particular values (rather than value in general), so that their significance for social and cultural processes may be deduced on a firm base of data. This will be a disappointing scheme, since there are probably as many pitfalls as in any other. It offers one advantage over others, and one only: it endeavors to trace the steps needed in order to state categorically that a specific cultural group places a known value upon a given item. If my conclusion must be that in strict terms we cannot provide the evidence in an operational form, we may nevertheless endeavor to approximate it and improve both analysis and technique. Above all, the statement of complexities may do something to reduce a sometimes overconfident optimism.

The approaches so far considered have centered upon characteristics of individuals or cultures. Sometimes they are expressed verbally, sometimes they are inferred from casual or manipulated behavior, and sometimes they are inferred from or stimulated by custom. One cannot conceive of a value without an expression of the goal envisaged. Thus a moral precept, for example, is important because it expresses a goal; if it did not relate to behavior in this way, it would have no significance as a value. Thus a significant element in the anthropological treatment of value so far is that it purports to elucidate goals. Whether an author sets out to present a "value system" or to analyze the customs, culture, or social structure of a particular people, the end result is a statement of goals. In the case of a value system, more weight, if it is true, may be given to the description of an ethical or philosophical set of ideas to which people relate their goals; but, unless the ethics or philosophy do come down to earth in this fashion, we have ideas only and not values.

Insofar as goals are verbalized or inferred from non-situational data (e.g., by projective

tests or from dreams, myths, or statements of ethical theory), they are only potentially achievable. The costs of achievement, and the bearing of competitive goals, weighted for value, cannot be assessed accurately from such data. There is therefore one set of goals which are not achieved by means of current behavior. For these one may adopt the standard economic term, "potential demand," implying that what persons say or think they want, or what the outsider infers they want from unconscious motivation, represents a potentiality of action only which might, in fact, never be achieved. Potential demand is largely represented by hopes, desires, moral judgments, and unconscious motivations.

It is clear that forecasting the manner in which potential demand is or is not translated into reality is an extremely tricky business and is not likely to be accurate or possible save in small-scale units of short-term analysis, in cultures known to be static (and seldom do we really *know* this), or in parts of culture for which reward and cost are readily quantifiable and are known and relevant to the actors as well as the observers. Cost is of the utmost importance to the analysis, just as is the competition of values for prepotence, and most treatments of value in anthropology completely fail to take cost into account as a variable of significance.

The role played by cost can be seen even more if we examine the bearing of descriptive field-work studies upon the identification of value. It might be assumed that, since such studies describe what people actually do, that is, the *effective* demand of a culture, they would reflect current wants and preferences and hence the operation of valuation in a specific cost situation. In other words, field-work studies should describe values for a given place and time.

Whether field-work studies can do this precisely is doubtful, but some progress can be made by recognizing limitations in the current approach. The first requirement in empirical value study is weighting by quantity; it would be tempting to say "measurement." Clearly, we cannot measure such

matters as religious satisfaction directly, but sometimes we can determine how frequently persons are involved in initiations or in magical rites, and it may be possible from that to make suitable, though limited, deductions. Fortunately, such detail is becoming more and more a criterion of good field work; but, unfortunately, many writers who deal in values or in cultural themes turn their backs on this kind of weighting as if it were unimportant. The idea, the principle, is the datum to be obtained by the most direct approach, counting smacks of statistics, economics, and materialism.

I do not contend that counting or measurement imply objectivity or that counting and measurement are the essential methods of science. Some problems are beyond our reach; for other problems an undue stress on counting and measurement may be unnecessary or dangerously misleading. And the study of values is the study of some quantitative aspects of cultural qualities. Value implies worthwhileness, which implies degree, which implies scale, which is compounded of quantity and measurement. Furthermore, statements about the characteristics of a population are essentially quantitative, for they imply that the appropriate proportion of the population shares the characteristics. Such quantitative judgments to the required degree of precision may be achieved without *actual* counting or measurement; but, unless we know and state our margins of error, we are left with subjective inference. Again, this may be useful; however, there is always the danger that subjectivity creeps upon authors unawares.

But measurement, whether exact or inexact, is only another step toward assessing valuation. It involves primary difficulties which would have to be removed before the objective could be achieved. The first is to construct a scale. When economists speak of market value, they indicate measurement according to price (which may be manipulated or constructed in such a way as to correct for inflation and similar distortions in the monetary unit of measurement). For

cultural aspects as a whole, such a scale is hardly possible. Physical measurement involves using an artificial device on which the symbols of the criterion are marked; the criterion may be a parallel characteristic (say, length) which applies equally to the artificial device and to the object measured, or it may be responsive to forces resulting from a process set in motion (say, as measured in a voltmeter or balance). Economic measurement is in a sense responsive, for it occurs as a result of processes; where value is concerned, it is indirect. It is assumed that, the more worthwhile an object (to the market), the more people are prepared to meet the cost per unit. This is precisely the element of analysis which is lacking in anthropology.

In point of fact, this extension of analysis does not go far enough. Market value is a particular subvariant of our genus; it reflects certain valuations, but it does not represent the whole range of valuations, nor is it valuation per se. And we cannot accept money or any other tangible good as the relevant element in price if we are to compare values throughout a culture. There is only one resource which is given up every time an action is undertaken, that is, which can be regarded as a universal cost element in valuation: *time*. And, paradoxically enough, although economists accept the notion that time is a resource, it enters infrequently into anthropological discussions of resources.

But it is not possible, without a great deal of difficult calculation, to convert every element in cost into a time equivalent. Such a computation would mean, for example, stating that an act of religious ceremony involved hours of attendance and performance from the participants, plus the sacrifice of foods which themselves possessed a certain time-price, plus the use of certain ceremonial objects, depreciation of which involved a certain time-price. Clearly, the arithmetic involved would be extremely difficult, but not quite impossible, and at least the steps are available for verbal analysis. It should be pointed out as an aside that this is getting close to a labor theory of value,

which has been rejected by most economic theorists; but the analogy is superficial, since the labor theory of value is concerned with the explanation of prices, supply, and demand, whereas our cultural theory of value is an attempt to state what things and modes of behavior are regarded as worthwhile in a culture as a whole and not merely in the market.

There is an obvious objection to the argument so far: no one-to-one relationship exists between the quantity of time given to achieve a goal and its value. The criticism applies to any other form of assessing cost as well and is the reason why market value cannot be taken as equivalent to cultural value. A possible way around this difficulty is suggested by the proposition that an index of value, or worthwhileness, is the degree to which persons are prepared to give up an objective, or to consume more of it, because cost conditions (translated into time-price) have changed. This proposition leads to the notion of *elasticity of demand*, which draws attention to the responsiveness of demand, or goal achievement, to variations in costs. When translated into cultural terms, it suggests that for every goal there is a ratio between a movement in the quantity of the end product achieved and a movement in the total balance of advantage-disadvantage appropriate in the relevant situations. If an actor wants something desperately, he will be prepared to achieve it in at least the same quantity as before, even though the costs of achievement rise, and this is a reflection of the value of the goal to him; he does this by reducing the actual achievement of other objectives, even though their cost of achievement may have fallen. By following through ratios in these kinds of ways, the anthropol-

ogist would lay bare the ramifications of choice and would assess value by showing how much persons are prepared to hold onto the goals they want or to give them up in response to changing conditions. An empirical exercise of this kind would be difficult and would of necessity involve diachronic studies.²⁵

Clearly, the practical difficulties of using the tool to provide neatly measured quantities are insuperable. We simply do not have available the techniques which would enable us to measure units of cost and consumption in such fields as religion and aesthetics, let alone responsiveness to changes in time-price.

Since this is so, what are the conclusions? In straightforward conventional field-work analysis we imply values but do not describe them. Normally, two related but quite separable things are described: effective demand across the total range of institutions and the ideational content of potential demand.

This does not mean to say that we are unable to approach the objective a little further. With a slightly different orientation of field work, we could present new data bearing upon the problems mentioned above, though still without the precision of agreed measurement. In the future, field work should pay much more attention than hitherto to costs of achievement of existing goals and to responsiveness on the part of groups to alterations in costs, for these are essential elements in a concept of value.

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²⁵ C. S. Belshaw, "Revaluation of Time in a Papuan Community," *South Pacific* (Sydney), VI (1952), 466-72, and *Changing Melanesia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 133-52.

STATUS AND COMPETENCE OF JURORS¹

RITA M. JAMES

ABSTRACT

Variations in the performance of real jurors of differing socioeconomic status who were deliberating on a mock trial were assessed. Male jurors participate more actively than female, and participation varies in direct ratio to length of education. Jurors spend 50 per cent of the time exchanging personal experiences, 25 per cent on procedural questions, 15 per cent on reviewing facts of the case, and 8 per cent on the court's instructions. The more educated give relatively more emphasis to procedure and instructions; the less educated to testimony, personal experiences, and opinions. Jurors appreciate participation in their fellows, apart from education. No significant differences were observed between the more- and the less-educated jurors in their ability either to influence other members of the jury or to be persuaded by them.

The determining of eligibility for jury service has been a problem of the legal profession since the inauguration of the jury as an integral part of our legal system. In recent years a series of cases concerned in part with the basis of jury selection have come before the courts.² The nature of the controversy over jury eligibility may be illustrated by Supreme Court and appellate court decisions, the former emphasizing representativeness, the latter, qualifications:

The American tradition of trial by jury, considered in connection with either criminal or civil proceedings, necessarily contemplates an impartial jury drawn from a cross-section of the community. This means that prospective jurors shall be selected without systematic and intentional exclusion of economic, racial, political, and geographic groups [Mr. Justice Murphy in *Smith v. Texas*].

Nobody contends that the jury list must be a sample of the whole community. Minors and the aged are excluded, as are the infirm and those of unsound mind, and practically so are all the exempt. . . . Not only does the law exclude those groups we have just men-

tioned, but it excludes those who do not satisfy the very modest financial minimum still retained; and those also who cannot pass an examination as to the other prescribed qualities—intelligence, character, and information [Judge Learned Hand in *United States v. Dennis*].

Those who believe that the jury should be representative of the total adult population frequently urge criteria of jury service paralleling those of voting. They argue that the two are comparable instances of popular participation in a democratic society. Those, on the other hand, who believe that the jury should be composed of persons who have shown themselves to be capable of carrying out the assigned task compare the jury to the judge and argue that special qualifications are necessary. Locating the jury somewhere in between the voting public and the judge helps us to state the problem more concretely. It is true that, if we consider the functions jurors are expected to perform, there does appear to be a closer affinity with the judge than with the voting public, in that jurors are expected to decide problems that are dependent upon points of law. The similarity between jurors and voting public is not so dependent on function as it is on the principle that representation in law and government is a right of all citizens of a democratic society.

Those in favor of establishing criteria of competency have the additional obligation of presenting evidence of a significant relationship between competency and socio-

¹The data upon which this article is based come from the experimental jury project at the Law School of the University of Chicago, where the author is a research associate.

²*Smith v. Texas*, 311 U.S. 128, 130 (1940); *Fay v. New York*, 332 U.S. 261 (1947); and *United States v. Dennis*, 183 F.2d 201. In addition, see W. S. Robinson, "Bias, Probability and Trial by Jury," *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 73-78; and John H. Wigmore, *American Judicature Society*, XVII (January, 1914), 15-17.

economic characteristics. Thus far there have been no data to indicate that restricting persons eligible for jury service on the basis of social or economic characteristics would have the effect of upgrading the level of jury competency. If, on the other hand, they argue that competency is unrelated to socioeconomic or demographic considerations, then they are obliged to suggest a tool for predicting competency that would have no implication for selection but which could be utilized after the jurors are already in the pools. Some gross notions of incompetency are already controlled, such as age, residence, physical or mental incapacity, and literacy; but no additional bases for delimiting competence have been suggested.

TABLE 1
RELATIVE PARTICIPATION BY
EDUCATION AND SEX
(Per Cent)

Education	Male	Female	Combined
College.....	14 (23)*	10 (9)	13 (32)
High school...	9 (31)	7 (20)	8 (51)
Grade school..	4 (27)	5 (9)	4 (36)
Combined....	9 (81)	7 (38)	8 (119)

* Frequencies are in parentheses.

The data relevant to the problem of representativeness as against competency to be presented here have been gathered and analyzed as a part of the experimental jury research at the Law School of the University of Chicago. We shall present indexes of the performance of jurors of a range of status. Our aim is not to assign grades to jurors. We have not formulated correct responses to the resolution of a problem, nor have we determined beforehand what the right verdict in a given case should be. In fact, we are almost wholly concerned with differences, by status, in the performance of jurors. In this article we shall report our findings for three types of behavior: the content and quality of jurors' contribution to the deliberation; the quality of the contribution as perceived by fellow jurors; and ability of jurors to withstand, accept, or succumb to group pressure. In addition, we seek knowledge of the relative perform-

ance of persons, classified by status, as they reach consensus in a face-to-face group, both to illuminate a little-studied phenomenon of stratification and to provide a factual basis for procedural decisions in the management of juries.

The two hundred and forty jurors to be discussed in this article heard a criminal trial in which a plea of insanity had been entered in defense of an act of housebreaking. They were selected at random from the jury pools of the Chicago and St. Louis Circuit and municipal courts. Their instructions were: "Today you will listen to a recorded trial and deliberate, just as you would on any other case." Before the trial began, they were asked to fill out a questionnaire eliciting the same information as that obtained by lawyers during the pre-trial, or voir dire, examination.

The deliberations of ten of the twenty juries who listened to the case have been transcribed, and their content has been analyzed.³ Each "burst" of speech was scored into four mutually exclusive categories: originator recipient; content usage; verdict implication; and active-passive quality. The analytic unit, a "burst" of speech, is the successive remarks of a speaker before he is interrupted by another. A measure of participation was obtained as a by-product of the content analysis. Differences in performance attributable to status will be sought by comparing thirty-two jurors with college educations with thirty-six jurors who went no further than grade school. In the final section, when the number of jurors increases from one hundred and twenty to our full set of two hundred and forty (12×20), the two groups we are comparing increases from thirty-six to seventy-six and from thirty-two to fifty-eight.

It is the male jurors and jurors with a college education who participate most in the group discussion (Table 1), corroborat-

³ These deliberations were selected so as to maintain the proportion of "Guilty" and "Not guilty by insanity" verdicts obtained under the alternative instruction forms for the full set of twenty deliberations.

ing the relationship between participation and status previously reported of civil actions.⁴ In the previous paper we reported that, in jury deliberations, participation is an indicant of power, that high participation and high status are positively correlated, and that jurors with high participation are perceived by their fellows as helpful during the deliberation. In this article, using a different set of juries, we shall examine the quality of participation to provide further information on the competence of jurors, according to status.

The categories described below were evolved to parallel this conception of the jurors' task. Members of the jury were instructed by the court that they were to deliberate on a case until they arrived at a unanimous verdict. During the deliberation they were expected to review accurately the testimony they heard, share with their colleagues relevant personal experiences, and, when necessary, accurately apply the rule of law given to them by the court. The categories employed are:

1. *Reference to the court's instructions.*—A speech is scored "instruction" when it refers to any phase of the instruction which the court has read to the jurors, informing them which law is to govern them in their deliberations. Such a reference may be accurate or inaccurate. [Accurate—Inaccurate.]

2. *Reference to the testimony.*—A speech is scored "testimony" when it refers to any fact which was brought out during the trial. Such a reference may be accurate or inaccurate. [Accurate—Inaccurate.]

3. *Opinion on the facts of the case.*—A speech is scored "opinion" when it refers to a juror's opinion on some piece of information which was brought out during the trial. It may be pertinent or not. [Pertinent—Non-pertinent.]

4. *Experiences from personal and daily life.*—A speech is scored "experience" if it refers to an event or opinion not mentioned during

the trial or if it is not based on information brought out during the trial. It is an observation or an opinion emanating from the juror's experience which he carried with him into the courtroom. It may be pertinent or not. [Pertinent—Non-pertinent.]

5. *Procedural.*—A speech is scored "procedural" when it is concerned with the form or movement rather than the substance of the discussion. A comment concerned with keeping the discussion going is scored "facilitative," while a comment which hinders it is scored "disruptive." [Facilitative—Disruptive.]

It is plausible to believe that college-educated persons are probably accustomed to formal group discussion; business conferences, for example, may well be part of their daily work activities. On the other hand, persons with grade-school educations who work as manual laborers or who are housewives will probably find their roles in the deliberation relatively new and uncomfortable. How do these predispositions affect the quality of their participation as jurors? Do highly educated jurors respond more to the rule of law; that is, do they spend more of their time on the court's instructions? Do they assume greater responsibility for maintaining an orderly discussion and therefore devote more of their comments to procedure? Do less-educated jurors lean more heavily on insight derived from personal experiences, thereby participating more in opinion and experience?

The figures in the "Combined" column (Table 2) show that jurors spend at least half their time exchanging experiences and opinions either directly or indirectly related to the trial. About a quarter of the time is spent on procedural matters, and, of the remaining quarter, 15 per cent is spent reviewing the facts of the case and 8 per cent on the court instructions. Jurors with grade-school educations differ significantly from jurors with high-school and college educations in that they place greater emphasis on the substantive categories concerned with testimony, personal and daily life-experiences, and opinions based on the trial and less on procedure and instruction. Jurors with high-school and college educations

⁴F. L. Strodbeck, R. M. James, and C. Hawkins, "Social Status in Jury Deliberations," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (1957), 713-19; reprinted in E. Maccoby, T. Newcomb, and E. Hartly (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958), pp. 379-88.

are similar to each other, save for the fact that the former contribute fewer comments in the "opinion" category.

We reported in the earlier paper that the foreman was usually a person of higher social status than his fellow jurors. In these deliberations six of the foremen had a college education and four had a high-school education. In addition, the foreman contributed a disproportionately high percentage of his comments to the instructions and

al or informational contribution, we asked: "Is this accurate?" (i.e., "Does the statement appear in essentially the same context in the trial or the judge's instructions?"). Of each opinion we asked: "Is this pertinent?" (i.e., "Does the comment have implications for solving the group problem?"). And of each procedural comment we asked: "Is this facilitative?" (i.e., "Does it keep the discussion moving toward consensus?"). If differences do exist in the

TABLE 2
RELATIVE CONTENT USAGE BY EDUCATION*
(Per Cent)

CONTENT CATEGORY	EDUCATION			COMBINED
	Grade School	High School	College	
Instruction.....	6	8	8	8
Testimony.....	18	15	15	15
Personal and daily life-experience....	26	22	21	22
Opinions on trial.....	32	27	30	29
Procedural.....	18	28	26	26
Total	100	100	100	100
Bursts.....	766	3,092	2,024	5,882

* [$\chi^2_{8d.f.} (.99) = 20.1, \chi^2 = 40.88 P < .01.$]

TABLE 3
QUALITATIVE CONTENT USAGE BY EDUCATION
(Per Cent)

CONTENT CATEGORY	EDUCATION		
	Grade School	High School	College
Instruction (per cent accurate)*.....	41	68	60
Testimony (per cent accurate).....	71	78	78
Personal and daily life-experience (per cent pertinent)	61	55	57
Opinions on trial (per cent pertinent).....	78	82	83
Procedural (per cent facilitative)†.....	74	74	80

* [$\chi^2_{2d.f.} (.99) = 9.2, \chi^2 = 11.39 P < .01.$]

† [$\chi^2_{2d.f.} (.95) = 6.0, \chi^2 = 7.61 P < .05.$]

procedure. When the foreman's participation is removed, the total chi-square contribution is reduced, but the lesser participation of the jurors with grade-school education in the procedural and legal categories remains significant.⁵

Along with observing the substance of the participation, we were interested in providing some bases for evaluating the quality of each contribution. Does the contribution have a positive or negative implication for carrying out the jury's task? Of each factu-

quality of contributions, are they attributable to variations in the jurors' education?

Perhaps the most striking fact about Table 3 is the high percentage of accurate and pertinent comments made by all the jurors in each category, especially in the categories concerned with the recall of testimony and in the opinions derived from the facts of the case. Even the level of pertinency of comments based upon personal experiences does not fall below 55 per cent; only in the references to court instructions is there a cell below 50 per cent. The ac-

⁵ $\chi^2_{8d.f.} (.99) = 20.1, \chi^2 = 33.13 P < .01.$

curacy of the grade-school jurors' interpretation of the court's instructions is significantly less than that of the high-school and college jurors; and the concern for facilitating the group discussion is significantly greater in the college-educated jurors than in any of the others. There are no significant differences in pertinency of opinion or accuracy in recall of testimony.

As noted, there were two other categories into which each burst of speech was scored: the verdict implication and the active-passive quality of the comment. In contrast to the adversary tone of the trial, more than half of the jurors' contribution to the deliberation is the exchange of information and opinions that has no immediate implication for or against the defendant. The neutral comments predominated in all three groups:

Education	Per Cent Neutral
College	60
High school	68
Grade school	60

While high-school jurors do tend to make slightly more neutral comments, the differences among the three groups are not significant.

Concerning the active-passive dimension, which is based upon whether the comment represents an idea or opinion or mere agreement with a previous speaker, there is the following distribution:

Education	Per Cent Active
College	64
High school	64
Grade school	50

$$\chi^2_{2 \text{ d.f.}} (.99) = 92, \chi^2 = 36 P < .01.$$

While at least 50 per cent of the contributions to the deliberation have been scored as active, the grade-school jurors' contributions are significantly less so than that of the others.

The differences based on education described in the content analysis do not fully determine the quality of the deliberations. This type of analysis does not, for example, describe the process whereby the inaccurate

comments of one juror are corrected by another; or the relative attentiveness with which different comments are received; or how the timing of a comment is likely to effect the final decision. For these reasons the information in the content analysis was supplemented by consideration of the ratings jurors received from their fellows on the post-deliberation questionnaire.⁶ In the previous paper, as well as more generally in the literature on small groups, level of participation is reported as being positively associated with votes received. In the present case we wish to determine if the same relative amount of participation produces comparable votes for jurors of different educational levels.

TABLE 4

ACCEPTANCE RATING BY PARTICIPATION
RANK AND EDUCATION

PARTICIPATION RANK	EDUCATION		
	College	High School	Grade School
1-2-3.....	6.4 (15)*	6.4 (13)	7 (2)
4-5-6.....	3.6 (9)	3.6 (13)	4.1 (7)
7-8-9.....	4.5 (6)	4.1 (12)	2.3 (12)
10-11-12...	3 (1)	2 (13)	.7 (16)

* Frequencies are in parentheses.

Table 4 indicates two things. Jurors who rank first, second, and third in participation receive the highest rating; jurors who rank tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, the lowest. In addition, the less-educated jurors who are in the top half of the participation ranking receive a slightly higher rating than the more highly educated jurors of the same rank, while less-educated jurors in the bottom half receive a lower rating than their more-educated colleagues.

In the American system each juror is expected to have a vote in the decision, and in most jurisdictions, especially in a crimi-

⁶ Within each jury, half the jurors were asked to circle the location on the seating chart of "the four jurors whom you feel really helped the group arrive at a verdict." The other half were asked to circle the seats of "the four jurors whom you feel you would like to have serve if you were on trial." The sum of the votes received is the acceptance score.

nal case, the verdict must be unanimous.⁷ Phrased as they are, these two requirements leave unresolved the difficult question of what a juror is (or, as is more frequently the case, a group of jurors are) to do when he finds himself at odds with the more pervasive opinions of the group. Is he expected to abide by his own convictions even if by so doing he "hangs" the jury? Or should he concede to the wisdom of his colleagues and resolve his differences in favor of the majority? This is a difficult decision, especially since the members of the jury may have argued for several hours, and both sides may have presented reasonable argu-

for being reasonably persuaded or for holding one's own position.

To examine better the problem of persuasion and coercion, we first divided the two hundred and forty persons who sat on the twenty criminal juries into five mutually exclusive patterns based on verdict.⁸

Taking first just those whose individual pre-verdict concurred with the group, we asked: "Within each jury how many of their fellow jurors was it necessary to win over before the group arrived at a unanimous decision?" We then examined, jury by jury, the number in the opposition, keeping separate the educational groups.

TABLE 5
VERDICT PATTERNS OF UNANIMOUS AND HUNG JURIES

DESIGNATION	Pre-deliberation	VERDICT PATTERN	
		Group	Post-deliberation
		Unanimous Juries	
1. Concurred.....	{ NGI*	NGI	NGI
	{ Guilty	Guilty	Guilty
2. Pressured.....	{ NGI	Guilty	NGI
	{ Guilty	NGI	Guilty
3. Convinced.....	{ NGI	Guilty	Guilty
	{ Guilty	NGI	NGI
Hung Juries			
4. Reversed.....	{ NGI	Hung	Guilty
	{ Guilty	Hung	NGI
5. Resisted.....	{ NGI	Hung	NGI
	{ Guilty	Hung	Guilty

* NGI = Not guilty by reason of insanity.

ments and may be in agreement concerning the facts they have heard. Which jurors fulfil more appropriately the role expectations—the jurors who concede to their colleagues or those who stand resolute in face of strong opposition? The court tells members of the jury that cases which result in a "hung" jury are usually retried, which is costly. On the other hand, the court also tells the jurors that a quotient verdict in civil cases (i.e., a verdict that is reached by taking the average of the award favored by each of the twelve jurors) is not a proper verdict. In other words, the norms are broad and ambiguous enough to provide support

⁷ The unanimity rule applies to a wide range of civil cases; where it does not apply, a strong majority of jurors, nine or ten of the twelve, is required.

As indicated in Table 6, the greater the number of jurors in the opposition, the less the likelihood of winning them over. This seems to hold across educational categories with minor fluctuations. When the juries are divided almost evenly, college-educated jurors appear to be slightly more effective persuaders; but, when the opposition is either very strong or very weak, the jurors with a high-school education are most effective. Grade-school persons appear to be consistently, but not significantly, less effective.

⁸ Two jurors did not fit into any of the categories because the pattern of their verdicts was:

Pre-Verdict	Group	Post-Verdict
NGI	NGI	Guilty

We believe that this somewhat illogical pattern may be attributed to a coding error, and, in the absence of any other explanation, they have not been included.

tive in winning over dissenters to their views. It appears then that the relative incidence in the juror-opposed categories is not significantly different; and thus the remaining patterns of verdicts may be viewed simultaneously.

The combined percentages (Table 7) show that almost half of the jurors, 46 per cent, had in fact reached consensus before the deliberation began and that during the discussion an additional 29 per cent were persuaded, at least to the extent that a unanimous verdict could be reported. In

son for rejecting the null assumption of equal representation in all verdict patterns.

The indexes of competence reported in this article have been derived from the experiences of twenty juries all of whom were exposed to the same criminal trial, involving a plea of insanity. The fact that the defendant committed the act of housebreaking was stipulated at the outset by the defense attorney. Much of the testimony that the jury heard was by expert witnesses—in this case, psychiatrists. The jurors'

TABLE 6
PER CENT "CONCURRED" JURORS BY EDUCATION AND OPPOSITION

NO. OPPOSING JURORS	Grade School	EDUCATION High School	College	COMBINED
0-4.....	76 (25)*	81 (37)	77 (13)	79 (75)
5-6.....	29 (31)	31 (45)	43 (28)	34 (104)
7-11.....	17 (12)	33 (27)	21 (19)	26 (58)
Combined....	14 (68)	48 (109)	43 (60)	237†

* Frequencies are in parentheses.

† Three jurors did not check both of their individual verdicts; thus there are 237 rather than 240 respondents.

TABLE 7
JURORS BY VERDICT PATTERN AND BY EDUCATION

CATEGORY	Grade School	EDUCATION High School	College	COMBINED PER CENT
Unanimous Juries				
Concurred.....	44	48	43	46 (109)*
Pressured.....	9	6	15	9 (21)
Convinced.....	16	23	18	20 (47)
Hung Juries				
Reversed.....	9	2	5	4 (11)
Resisted.....	22	21	19	21 (49)
Combined.....	100 (68)	100 (109)	100 (60)	(237)

* Frequencies are in parentheses.

addition, it may be noted that jurors in each educational group are randomly distributed across the categories. There is no tendency for any group to be overrepresented in the concurred, pressured, or convinced groups; nor is there a tendency for any class of juror to be overrepresented in the hung juries. The above statement is accurate with one slight exception. In the reversed group, that is, persons who participated in hung juries but who shifted their individual verdicts during or after the discussion, there is some tendency toward the overrepresentation of grade-school jurors. However, since they comprise only 4 per cent of all jurors, there is no adequate rea-

task was to determine whether or not the defendant should be held responsible for his actions; and, unlike the typical criminal trial, his guilt was not disputed.

Whether this kind of case with its heavy dependence on psychiatric information is the most suitable instrument for testing the relative performance of jurors of different status has not been demonstrated. One could argue that the specialized testimony would make it an extremely sensitive instrument for evaluating status differences. On the other hand, national surveys indicate that the general public's knowledge of psychiatry is very limited.⁹ To the extent

⁹ Shirley A. Star, "The Place of Psychiatry in Popular Thinking" (paper given at the annual

that the jury is representative of the general public and does not include the professions, one could expect that the differences in performance would be relatively slight. We do know that the task jurors were asked to perform in this case was a special one, considering the wide variety of tasks jurors are expected to perform. It is premature and unwise to generalize until further work has been carried out on civil and other types of criminal trials.

Concerning this set of data, the general and most significant impression that we are left with is that all jurors, regardless of status, indicate a real concern for carrying out the prescribed task in a thorough and conscientious manner. During the deliberation the evidence presented in the trial is reviewed and evaluated. The personal experiences of individual jurors are taken into account, and the discussion maintains a degree of tentativeness quite unlike the adversary nature of the trial. For the fear that, although the jury numbers twelve, the decision, or basis of power, rests with one or two "strong men" we found no substantial ground.

Grade-school jurors speak less frequently in the "instructions" and "procedural" categories, and, when they do speak, their remarks are significantly less accurate and more disruptive. In addition, grade-school jurors' contributions are more frequently passive than are the contributions of their more-educated colleagues. Nevertheless, jurors who are high participators are rewarded by their fellow jurors without regard for their educational attainment. To this extent, the participants in the deliberation set the standards. Participation is valued, and those who are allowed by the group to contribute to producing it are rewarded. Those who hang back or who are forced out of the discussion receive few votes; and, among the low participating, combination of low participation and low education results in low acceptance.

It is when we turn to the institution to

supply indexes of competency that our task becomes considerably more difficult. The directives from the court are broad and ambiguous enough to legitimate a great variety of behavior. For example, the responses of jurors in the "pressured" category might be interpreted by the court to mean that these jurors were shirking their responsibility, as formulated: "Each juror shall have an equal vote, and the decision must represent the unanimous thinking of all the jurors." Or they might be interpreted as acting wisely and rationally; recognizing that it is impossible to convert the others to their view, they fell in with the majority verdict rather than hang the jury. Then, given the opportunity, they expressed their differences in private. The responses of jurors in the "concurred" category might be interpreted by the court to mean that they were assuming a disproportionate share of the responsibility for determining the verdict or that the effect they had on their fellow jurors was untestable. The responses of jurors in hung juries might be interpreted by the court as a failure on the part of some to enter the deliberation with an open mind, or they might be taken to mean that, having listened and weighed carefully everything that was said during the deliberation, they could not in good conscience relinquish their own position. The experimental finding tells us that, whatever the interpretation, it is applicable to jurors irrespective of education, since there is no tendency for the college or the grade-school jurors to be overrepresented in any category.

In attempting to derive indexes of competence, we have not, as trial lawyers might have done, examined the relative strength of the defendant's in contrast to the prosecution's case, nor have we attempted to determine the "just verdict." We have gone instead to the deliberations themselves and derived measures of competency unrelated to the substantive issues of the case and based on a concept of the jury as confronting a problem whose solution they are to determine by means only broadly prescribed.

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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND THE POLITICAL ORDER

HOWARD M. BROTZ

ABSTRACT

Social status and stratification are examined in relation to the political order, seen as the hierarchy of political interests or of public respect. Social status and stratification, in their modern sense, are then presented as based on the respect which individuals grant each other in private life. They become meaningful conceptions in a society when there is a divergence between privately held standards and those which prevail politically. The functions of social stratification are then discussed, which include the maintenance of intermediate authority. A scale of three examples of this authority is presented.

Although the study of social stratification has made tremendous progress in the last decades, there still remains, as specialists in this field have noted, a theoretical difficulty. There are certain types of individuals or groups whom it is extremely difficult to fit into the main status hierarchy of a community in a convincing and unambiguous way.¹ Minorities as a whole and individual members of them, whose status in outside social circles is marginal by virtue of their origins, are prominent examples. Of even greater theoretical significance, however, are those familiar cases of individuals who have great political authority but lower social status. How is one to rank, for example, a governor who is openly a member of a minority which is excluded from elite social clubs? He might not even be able to afford, politically, to join one of these clubs were an invitation to do so proffered.

The usual way of resolving this difficulty is, in practice, to describe the society in terms of discrete hierarchies—a status hierarchy, status hierarchies of subgroups, hierarchies of authority and power. Within limits this will work very well. If individuals who are marginal members of minorities, such as assimilated members of the minority upper classes, cannot be clearly placed within the main status hierarchy, at least their marginality in their relations with the minority can be clearly described, as numerous studies have shown.

Nonetheless, as a general theoretical ori-

entation this is far from satisfactory; it abandons what is most valuable in the theoretical rationale of the central importance of social stratification, that is, the understanding that a society must have some over-all principle that establishes what is respected and that even the presence of conflicting standards in itself exhibits a principle.

As is readily understandable, theoretical difficulties will have empirical repercussions. In the absence of a comprehensive principle that adequately explains the precise relationship of the crucial hierarchies of social status and political authority to each other, one is without adequate guidance in determining how decisive each is in shaping the structure and character of the society. Without such a principle there is no brake against the mutual reduction of these hierarchies to each other, although this has predominantly been in the direction of reducing authority to status, that is, treating the former as a criterion of the latter.

This reductionism, if pressed to the logical extreme, could lead to such conclusions as that it is more important to be the president of a private university than to be president of the country. And, in general, the whole sphere of status may be invested with an importance which it may not possess. If people "count" socially and have little or no influence in setting the tone of that society, one cannot simply regard their status as an unequivocal index of their importance without begging the whole question of what it means to "count." Furthermore, from within the perspective of a status hierarchy, conceived of as the main hierarchy to which

¹ John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, *Social Stratification in the United States* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954), p. 27.

all others are reduced, one is compelled to be silent about or to minimize the importance of such things as class conflicts which press for a solution in political terms. There has always been an uneasy lack of articulation in American sociology between the approaches of Warner and Lynd.

Is there a way of untying the Gordian knot without cutting it? Is there a way of interrelating the various hierarchies in the society without fundamentally reducing them one to the other? I suggest the following approach as an alternative, which, though provisional, has already proved useful in actual research.

Social stratification may be best understood by relating it to the political context in which it arises and is maintained. This political context is the sphere in which various interests—the poor, the rich, the middle class, religious factions, minority ethnic groups—compete for a share of political authority, for the power, that is, to establish what is publicly respected in that society. The outcome is a hierarchy of all the interests which effectively claim some right to be heard in determining this hierarchy, which becomes thus a measure of their political strength. The recent changes in the segregation laws following upon the northward migration of the Negro are a convenient case in point. The claims of the Negro can no longer be ignored because he is now a political force to be reckoned with. Yet the fact that he cannot be elected to governorships, let alone the presidency, must equally be taken into account in estimating his political strength at a given time.

This hierarchy, which is characterized in its essential respects by the kind of political interest which dominates it, is the political order. Such, for example, would be plutocracy, aristocracy, or democracy in its older political meaning. In this sense it is not primarily defined by a set of legal-institutional arrangements or by an equality in the direct management of political affairs from public offices. (These, in any but the smallest societies, must always remain in the hands of a minority of the people.) It is

defined rather by a distribution of political power within a broad civic body—rather than a narrow one based, for example, upon a high property qualification—which distribution will be reflected in the interests advanced in the public arena, the kind of men selected for public life, and the moral and cultural standards these men uphold.

Within a range democracies can vary in the composition of the politically predominant class. As Lubell has shown, the middle class in the United States holds the balance of political power. Its strength, as measured by its ability to establish the standard for participation in public life, is shown in an interesting way by his analysis of minorities. None of the American minorities, as he makes clear, was aroused into political protest when it was at the very bottom of society and its grievances were heaviest; nor have sheer numbers been sufficient for political power. The Mexican-Americans in the Southwest are a sizable group. Yet, economically depressed in the lowest stratum of society, they are politically inert. For a minority to become conscious of itself as a political entity and of its right to enter the public realm, make political claims in its interest, and elect public officials from within its own ranks, it must have some foothold in the middle class, with all that this implies in terms of educational, economic, and social qualifications.² In this sense the political order establishes the attributes of the "first-class" citizens and is, in fact, constituted by the kinds of men who are the first-class citizens.³ As understood in this way, the political order is more comprehensive than and prior to any other hierarchy and for two reasons which are really the reciprocal of each other.

The first is that the attributes of the first-class citizens, of those who can hold their heads up in public with all the self-confidence of a ruling class, of those whose attri-

² Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956), pp. 79–85.

³ Cf. T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 1–85.

butes are not handicaps to them in public life, will be the standards that are really respected in that society. This is the import of not having to conceal one's attributes and qualities. A self-made man in a society dominated by self-made men has an altogether different bearing than he would have in a hereditary aristocracy. By the same token, an aristocracy which rules can affect tastes in a way which it can hardly do when after a democratization the very remnants of its position are suspect. If power, in short, is ashamed to become visible, it cannot exert moral authority. To the extent, then, that a group is publicly authoritative and its standards and outlook are the ruling principles, it sets the tone for the whole society. Just as a single institution will be influenced by the example of the men who direct it, so will the entire institutional fabric of a society be affected by the kind of men who are held in public respect and whose standards can never be simply ignored. Even those who privately despise the standards of the ruling class do so all the more because they have to acknowledge in some way its authoritative position.⁴

The second reason is simply the political implication of the above: this is, that from within the perspective of human societies as political societies, the composition of the body of first-class citizens cannot help but be the crucial internal political question. It is, in fact, *the* political basis of civil wars and revolutions. When one considers the central role of moral evaluation in social and political life, it must follow that human

beings cannot be neutral about the kinds of men in their society who have genuine, public authority and about the things for which they stand. Even a man who seeks martyrdom above all other things, though this is hardly the model for political activity, would have to admit that he requires a political framework in which authority cares about his opinions.

If the political order, then, is the public or authoritative distribution of respect, social stratification is based on the rank or esteem which individuals grant each other in an essentially private sphere. It is thus to be contrasted with every form of authoritative determination of rank, prestige, legal status, privilege, honor, or dishonor—by political, legal, or ritual sanctions—where the respect with which an individual will be treated is commensurable with and based upon his political strength. Such, for example, would be the deference granted to an absolute monarch who holds the power of life and death over his subjects or, at the other extreme, the public humiliation of powerless groups regarded as pariahs, where they are not allowed to use the ordinary wells or drinking fountains or are required to wear a distinctive garb. Similarly, we may regard the stratification of a caste system or an estate system as the political order, noting that political action which is or nearly is revolutionary in character is usually required to bring them to an end.

In sharp contrast to this, social status in its modern and, perhaps, essential meaning and the correlative conceptions of social stratification, social equality, and social inequality constitute an independence of the political order. They arise as meaningful elements in the life of a society and, significantly, as conceptions of it⁵ when there

⁴ A complete analysis of this problem cannot be attempted here. It may suffice, simply to indicate the direction which the analysis would have to take, to note the implication of the difference between purely private power and public authority—of the differences, for example, between a leader of a political party or faction with armed men at his disposal and a general of an army or between a presidential candidate and the man as president. In each of the latter cases the man can raise a moral claim to rule, by virtue of the fact that he can speak as a representative of the whole, which the former cannot. By empirical observation one would then have to show how clearly this moral claim is the basis of respect in the constitution of human societies.

⁵ The earliest date in the English language for the term "status," meaning social standing, is 1820 (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Tocqueville, to my knowledge, does not use the term "social equality" at all. For Bryce, however, it becomes a problem to clarify the meaning of the term "equality" and to distinguish between its political and social forms (James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* [2d rev. ed.; London: Macmillan & Co., 1889], II, 615–26).

is an important divergence between what some sizable group regards as ideal and the kind of men who have either political authority or the wealth which it is possible to accumulate within that political framework.⁶ Wealth, because of the universal admiration it commands and the power it makes possible, is something about which political beings can never be neutral. The implications of this are seen whenever aristocracies are displaced from power or come into competition with a rising bourgeoisie. Class distinctions, based on their qualifications in the past, are generated and invested with seriousness as a way of ridiculing the ascendant class to which they would have been oblivious in the period when they firmly ruled. By the same token, in every capitalist democracy there is a chronic divergence between the political dominance of the average man and the self-esteem of the successful man, let alone those who have pretensions to a hereditary, aristocratic status.

Now no society can so control a man's mind that it can prevent him from making a private judgment about the worth of himself and others, and very few men, if any, do not think that they are better than they are actually treated. Insofar as these facts are at the root of social stratification, it is thus rooted in the private character of thought and in the workings of vanity and pride, hence in human nature itself. But, for social stratification to emerge, it must be more than completely private or subjective. It must be "social." It must, that is, rest upon shared opinion which thus presupposes some institutions or more or less informal groups to fix them and be their carriers. This, in turn, presupposes a political

order which permits freedom of association for informal groups and voluntary associations—freedom not merely in a formal legal sense but in the additional sense of freedom from those social pressures which would make it impossible for the groups to hold together. The fact that the freedom is constituted by the political order, however, means that the very independence of that order is derivative. Social stratification is derivative not merely because its very reason for coming into existence is that it is a reaction against a specific type of political order. More fundamentally, it is because it requires political freedom to exist at all and thus presupposes a specific political framework. This particular framework is the liberal state.⁷

Now the most clear-cut manifestation of social stratification is, of course, the formation of social classes which takes place when people have the freedom to choose those with whom they will associate and those whom they will marry—choices which are not dictated by any political necessity. This organization of private life reaches its apogee in "Society," which in its pure form looks as though it is completely separated from the "state." This thus echoes the distinction between state and society which is the main tenet of liberal theory of the nineteenth century. In its pure form, as it exists for all practical purposes in the United States, outside the diplomatic circles in Washington, and in France,⁸ it is completely

⁷ Some of the difficulties of contemporary stratification theory arise from the fact that it has universalized in concepts what are only the particular properties of this type of society. L. A. Fallers, in an unpublished paper, "Despotism, Status Culture, and Social Mobility in an African Kingdom," explicitly deals with the problem of analyzing the stratification of a society which lacks the very idea of social strata as understood in the West. This use of the comparative method to become aware of possible ethnocentricity in the conceptions of a theoretical framework itself and, hence, of the possibility of a more comprehensive understanding of these conceptions is a novel and important contribution.

⁶ They thus presuppose, as an ultimate cultural precondition, a society in which the idea has taken shape that there are ideals of this character or, more specifically, moral-political standards with which to judge the distribution and use of wealth and power. Cf. Edmund Burke's analysis of the way in which the manners of chivalry formed the character of modern Europe (*Reflections on the Revolution in France* [New York: "Everyman's Library," 1910], pp. 73-74).

⁸ Cf. Herbert Luethy, *France against Herself* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), p. 38.

autonomous, completely independent of any political pressure in determining its members. Otherwise it would lose its private character. As such, it determines its own rules of admission to its private circle—one form or another of a convivial set—and in so doing confers social status or standing. All social qualifications—wealth, birth, personality, education, even political authority itself—are translated by it, which in practice means its private ruler, in independence of the political order and as freely as it wishes, into its own qualifications for admission. To conform completely to the pure type, it would have to have the right to exclude any one whom it wishes.⁹ It would thus be impossible in a perfect despotism where the despot would fear the existence of any autonomous groups as a threat to his power.

What does social stratification “do” in modern societies? As may already be evident, the point of view underlying this analysis is that the basic integrative structure of a society is the political order. This is the locus of all serious claims in the society, which by virtue of the nature of social and political life cannot be concerned with the right to the friendship or the convivial association of another. Friendship, in other words, when it becomes politically compulsory, is no longer friendship. When social distinctions, however, become matters of public treatment, such as the right to enter public schools, the right to public employment, and even rights in quasi-public situations such as the right to enter restaurants, then these distinctions are capable of becoming serious and, hence, political issues. Thus the way in which all the serious and conflicting claims are resolved, whether they are in some degree harmonized or whether they have traveled such a course that they can be settled only by an appeal to force, gives to a society whatever inte-

gration it possesses. As suggested by Hobbes and others, a distinguished society is one which is on the brink of or actually engaged in civil war. To the extent, then, that the political order is the integrative structure, we may say that statesmanship, tact, and diplomacy are the integrative or political arts.

In the light of this we may say that the functions of social stratification, conceived now as the formation of private groups and voluntary associations, are twofold. The first is to provide a depoliticized “escape” from the political order in the creation of a sphere which is on the surface of things independent of that order. Tocqueville has stated this in a way which goes to the heart of the matter:

No state of society or laws can render men so much alike but that education, fortune, and tastes will interpose some differences between them; and though different men may sometimes find it their interest to combine for the same purposes, they will never make it their pleasure. They will therefore always tend to evade the provisions of law, whatever they may be; and escaping in some respect from the circle in which the legislator sought to confine them, they will set up, close by the great political community, small private societies united together by similitude of conditions, habits, and customs.

The Americans, who mingle so readily in their political assemblies and courts of justice, are wont carefully to separate into small distinct circles in order to indulge by themselves in the enjoyments of private life. Each of them willingly acknowledges all his fellow citizens as his equals, but will only receive a very limited number of them as his friends or his guests. This appears to me to be very natural. In proportion as the circle of public society is extended, it may be anticipated that the sphere of private intercourse will be contracted; far from supposing that the members of modern society will ultimately live in common, I am afraid they will end by forming small coteries.¹⁰

This is confirmed by the ambiguity of social stratification. Everyone knows who

⁹ Unlike the registers of titled nobility in Europe, one's name can be dropped from the *Social Register* on the grounds of conduct. The only “politicized” *Social Register* is that of Washington, D.C., which automatically lists the President, all United States Senators (but not Representatives), etc.

¹⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Francis Bowen (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945), II, 215–16.

the President is. By the same token every enlisted man knows who is an officer. Where he will be punished for not knowing, it is no longer a "social" distinction. By contrast, practically no one knows who the leaders of "Society" are except those who are actually in it. There is, thus, no need for mutual agreement about the precise standards of social status except within a class and those classes adjacent to it. The bases of precise social distinctions within a circle, the things that are really esteemed and regarded as worthy of prestige, may not only be unknown but for all practical purposes be inconceivable to people in distant circles. What, for example, does a policeman in London know or even care about the relative social standing of the colleges in Oxford? What does an enlisted man think about the standing of an officer, as such, in the officers' club? Even servants can have, what are from their employer's point of view, very strange notions, indeed, about the social status of the family to which they are attached. Along these lines almost all the difficulties which have legitimately perplexed specialists in this area have arisen from the initial assumption of a unitary status hierarchy. As the theory of reference groups and research on them, among other things, has so abundantly confirmed, this cannot possibly exist in a large, complex society. What exists is a multiplicity of circles which are linked together by personal contacts and the mass media. The result of this is that from within the various circles there are different perspectives of the stratification system and, hence, different hierarchies.¹¹

This is not to suggest that there are not broad areas of agreement upon standards within the society as a whole. Where agreement is genuinely clear cut and widespread, however, such as there is in the United States upon respect for the attributes of middle-class status, it will invariably be an aspect of the political order or of something

which competes with government for its political functions.¹² Respect for these attributes, in other words, would not be so clear cut or widespread were they not publicly authoritative, if the middle class, that is, were not really the first-class citizens.

The methodological implication of the above is that the analysis of social stratification must be "repoliticized" in order to bring out its essential features.¹³ Only by making the composition of that class which publicly and, hence, effectively sets the ruling standards in the society the focal point of analysis can one avoid one of the chief conceptual difficulties of much of stratification theory, namely, reified fragmentation of subgroups from the society as a whole. For example, to return to the question of minorities again, granted that they may to a great degree live in their own social worlds, have their own internal criteria of prestige, and altogether do not "fit" into the non-minority status hierarchy of the community as a whole, the fundamental fact still remains that middle-class members of such a minority, and, of course, the group as a whole when it becomes middle class, can make a political claim to be treated as first-class citizens, which completely breaks through the boundary of the community. The minority, in other words, becomes inte-

¹² Cf. Churchill's remarks: "The East India Company's Army of Bengal had long been of ill-repute. Recruited mainly in the North, it was largely composed of high-caste Hindus. Brahmin privates would question the orders of officers and N.C.O.s of less exalted caste. Power and influence in the regiments frequently depended on a man's position in the religious rather than the military hierarchy. . . . This was bad for discipline" (Winston Churchill, *A History of the English-speaking Peoples* [London: Cassell, 1958], IV, 67).

¹³ Cf. Ralf Dahrendorf, *Soziale Klassen und Klassenkonflikt in der industriellen Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1957), pp. 144-45, whose analysis points to similar conclusions. Cf. also in this respect the important words of caution of R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset against the danger of any approach which, by denying that political claims and interests may have a rational or reasonable ground, explains away the facts of political life ("Political Sociology," *Current Sociology*, VI, No. 2 [1957], 82-85).

¹¹ W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), p. 19.

grated or politically linked in the decisive respect to the main axis of the society which is obscured by regarding its social life as the basis of the exhaustive conceptual framework. All in all, one may say that only in the light of the authoritative character of the political order can the essentially private, ambiguous, and non-authoritative character of much of what takes place in the sphere of social class stratification be seen as such. Unless the latter is fitted into the more comprehensive conceptual framework, it becomes almost impossible to account, first, for the political weakness of upper social classes as classes and, second, for the fact that their very emphasis on status is a reaction to their loss of genuine authority.

The second aspect of social stratification concerns its political functions. These are to provide a sphere in which a group or class can arise and maintain itself as some type of intermediate authority in the society as a whole. This would be a class which, in spite of its lack of a ruling position, still has sufficient self-confidence, respect, and coherence openly to oppose the ruling standards set by the political order. Briefly, we examine three possible varieties of such authority.

The first type is that which exists in a capitalist democracy without a hereditary aristocracy, such as in the United States. There the members of the upper social classes as well as the clergy, educators, and those members of the professional classes in general who still have the bearing, the style of life, and the outlook of the older professional man, even though they must bow politically to the middle class, still can make a moral claim to be heard. On the one hand, there is considerable respect for these groups among the middle class as a whole by virtue of its religious heritage as well as the heritage of Western civilization in general. On the other hand, these groups, by virtue of the freedom they possess, accept the democracy in a way which they were not prepared to do in 1800 when the election of Jefferson appeared to them like the beginning of mob

rule.¹⁴ In fact, it would be fair to say that they have forgotten that there ever was once such an issue. For both these reasons, even though they are not publicly authoritative on a national level in the same way in which they set the tone of eighteenth-century New England,¹⁵ they cannot be simply dismissed. With the exception on the federal level of certain enclaves within the civil service, which in any event, as the attack by McCarthy showed, hardly have the coherence of the British civil service,¹⁶ their sphere of influence has been the local community.¹⁷ Much of this influence is the purely private power that wealth makes possible that can be exerted not only locally but nationally as well. With this we are not concerned in this analysis. What is of interest here is merely the extent to which they do wield influence and power that is not purely private but does have a moral foundation, that is to say, the extent to which they enjoy consent.¹⁸ In general, one may offer the provisional hypothesis that, the larger the city, the less authoritative will these groups be in any issue that involves a conflict about a democratization, such as, for example, on the lowering of school standards. In these respects such groups have their greatest influence in the smaller suburban communities, where the dominant tone is set by the upper middle class.

A second type of such power is that which existed in prewar France and Germany, where the upper classes which had been displaced from power by a democratization, and inflamed furthermore by ideological cleavages, never fully accepted the parliamentary regimes. From their positions in the civil service and more particularly in

¹⁴ Henry Adams, *The United States in 1800* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Great Seal Books, 1955), pp. 59-60.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁶ R. N. Spann, "Civil Servants in Washington," *Political Studies*, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3 (1953), 143-61 and 228-45.

¹⁷ E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958).

¹⁸ See above, n. 4.

the army, they exerted what power they possessed to destroy these regimes.¹⁹

A third type is that which exists in a totalitarian society. In view of the absence of freedom, it is more a potential than a normal feature of the society. What is of interest in the present context is the way in which groups, such as the economic managers in Soviet Russia, can develop an *esprit de corps* and certain non-ideological standards of political behavior oriented toward administrative, technical expertise. As such, these conflict with the methods of the autocratic dictatorship, which, relying for its support upon the ideological party, prefers such demagogic techniques as the "crash

drive" to raise production levels in industry. Though these groups can become influential when the autocracy is weakened, their political strength relative to that of the party politicians is indicated by the triumph of Khrushchev, the party leader, over Malenkov, who sought a base of support in the more educated, professional bureaucracy. Nonetheless, the general problem of whether such groups can exert influence within the regime promises to be one of the most interesting lines of research about stratification in totalitarian societies.²⁰

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²⁰ Cf. Myron Rush's penetrating analysis of the tension between the party and the state bureaucracy in Russia in "The Economic Managers," *New Leader*, April 11, 1958.

¹⁹ Luethy, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

EFFECT OF THE GROUP ON AUTHORITARIAN AND NON-AUTHORITARIAN PERSONS

RAY R. CANNING AND JAMES M. BAKER

ABSTRACT

Differential effects of group pressure upon subjects with authoritarian and those with non-authoritarian personalities were measured by subjecting individuals to three laboratory experiments in autokinesis. They were first tested alone to establish individual norms, then in small-group situations designed to exert social pressure toward extreme judgments, and, finally, individually again. Both groups were influenced significantly by the group pressures. The mean estimate of light movement increased more than 100 per cent among the non-authoritarian and more than 500 per cent among the authoritarian. The effect of group pressure did not appear to mount with successive trials but, once established, remained relatively effective even in the final individual tests.

A laboratory experiment was conducted to test the differential effects of group pressure upon authoritarian and non-authoritarian persons.¹ Autokinesis was used to test individuals' judgments when alone as compared to when in a group situation. Group pressure was exerted on one member by the other four of a five-man group who had been coached previously by the experimenter as to their responses. The experimental situation left the subject, the only naïve member, to face a conflict between his own judgment and the apparent judgment of all the others.

HYPOTHESES

First, based upon the findings of Moore, Asch, Sherif, and others, it was expected that most subjects would be affected markedly by group pressure. The degree and statistical significance of influence were further concerns of the experiment.

Second, the authoritarian persons were expected to be affected to a greater degree by group pressure than the non-authoritarian. Adorno included "constant fear of not being like all others" and "inclined to submit blindly to power and authority" in his description of the authoritarian.

Allen found that Mormons were more

authoritarian than certain other groups, as measured by scores on the Adorno scale. And between his two ideal types he noted the following differences based upon the Gough Adjective Check List:

The original hypothesis implied that differences in self-perception would fall along the lines of the authoritarian tending to accept his world and go along with it, whereas the non-authoritarian would be more inclined to see himself rebelling, questioning conventional values, and taking a more complicated and individualistic view of the world. Differences found are in general compatible with this hypothesis.²

These tendencies of the authoritarian toward conventionality and greater need for conformity sustained the second hypothesis: that he would be influenced more by group pressure than would the non-authoritarian.

Third, on the basis of Asch's experiments³ and the principle of summatory stimuli, it was expected that group pressure would mount with successive trials in the group tests.

Fourth, the experimenter assumed that group pressure would remain relatively effective in the second individual test following

¹ Mark K. Allen, "Personality and Cultural Factors Related to Religious Authoritarianism" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Psychology, Stanford University, 1955), p. 80.

² Solomon Asch, "Opinions and Social Pressure," *Scientific American*, CXCIV (November, 1955), 31-35.

³ James M. Baker, "An Experimental Study of the Effect of Group Membership on Authoritarian and Non-authoritarian Personalities" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, Brigham Young University, August, 1957).

the group test. Sherif's discovery that subjects were influenced by other group members without being aware of it⁴ indicates the possible internalization of group norms, a process which theoretically could account for a subconscious carry-over to the next set of individual judgments.

METHOD

Authoritarian-non-authoritarian personality scales were completed by 234 introductory sociology students, and subjects were then selected who were representative of each classification. The scale had been validated previously for Mormons by Allen,⁵ utilizing items drawn from their religious beliefs. Therefore, actually, it measured religious authoritarianism. A good distribution of scores resulted. The fifty students at each extreme of the distribution were selected as representatives of the authoritarian and of the non-authoritarian. Twenty were selected randomly from each group to be used for testing group pressure.⁶

Each of the forty subjects was tested in three autokinetic tests—an initial individual test, a group test, and a second individual test. Each subject was given ten trials in each test. The distance from the subject to the stimulus light was ten feet, and the time interval of illumination was five seconds.

In the first and third autokinetic tests, the

⁴ Muzafer and Carolyn W. Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1956), pp. 251–57.

⁵ Allen's scale of religious authoritarianism used the techniques and concepts underlying the Adorno scale but was made up of items related directly to Latter-day Saints, who comprised 97 per cent of Brigham Young University's student body in 1953–54. He used five successive questionnaires, using an item analysis on each in order eventually to get those items which were the most discriminating. This scale was then validated by having mature judges select individuals of their acquaintance who fitted a verbal description of the authoritarian pattern and its opposite. When the persons selected were given the scale, the results were highly significant.

⁶ No statistically significant differences in autokinetic perception were found either by sex or by age.

subject's opinions were measured when he relied on his own judgment. In the second, the subject was subjected to group pressure; all others of the group had been coached to report greater distances than he expected. The change in scores, then, from the individual to the group test was used as an index of the group's influence upon him. After the group test was completed, he was tested again with autokinesis. His scores in this second individual test indicated whether he was still being affected by group pressure.

In the group test each member was instructed to respond by number. In this way a specific order of response was maintained, with the subject always responding last. The "judgments" of the coached members concerning how far the light moved were that it was a great distance, with a mean "estimate" of 36 inches. This high figure was in contrast to the subject's mean score in the individual test: 4.2 inches. The coached members took care to vary their responses on each trial to allay suspicion.

FINDINGS

All subjects experienced the autokinetic illusion. Changes between scores on the individual and on the group test showed conclusively that the majority of the subjects were influenced by group pressure, thus substantiating the first hypothesis. The mean scores of the subjects in the group test more than tripled those in the individual test, a difference significant beyond the .001 probability level.

Comparisons between subjects with authoritarian and those with non-authoritarian personalities validated the hypothesis that the authoritarian would be influenced to a greater degree by group pressure than the non-authoritarian. Both groups were affected markedly by group pressure. The mean scores of the non-authoritarian on the group test were more than double those on the individual test (11.2 and 5.5 inches). This difference was significant beyond the .001 level. But the mean scores of the authoritarian on the group test were more than five times greater than scores on the individual

test (21.4 and 4.2 inches), a difference significant to the .0001 level.

However, the results of the group test did not clearly validate the hypothesis that group pressure would mount in successive trials. Subjects were influenced markedly by group pressure on their first trial, but the effect was relatively consistent throughout the remainder of the group tests. When the ten trials were all considered, a slight overall increase toward the group norm could be seen. But there were obvious dips in the plotted line.

The last hypothesis was that the effect of group pressure would continue in the second individual test, although to a lesser degree than in the group test. Results show almost exactly what was expected: the mean scores were about halfway between the mean scores of the other two tests. Both types of personality tended to react similarly on the second individual test, the authoritarian again being influenced to a greater degree (14.9 inches for the authoritarian, 6.8 inches for the non-authoritarian) by group pressure.

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THE STRUCTURE OF AUTHORITY IN NON-INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION ORGANIZATIONS¹

STANLEY H. UDY, JR.

ABSTRACT

A quantitative index is developed of the degree of physical complexity of any technological process, comprising three factors: tasks, specialization, and combined effort. A hypothesis is then developed which broadly predicts, from this index, the number of levels of authority in the production organization carrying on a given process. The hypothesis is then tested by a cross-cultural analysis of 82 non-industrial production organizations and found to be sustained.

If, in any rational administrative organization, co-ordination of diverse roles is secured by means of a system of authority, some general relationship between work complexity and authority structure should be discernible. This paper arrives at a tentative statement of such a relationship on the basis of a comparative analysis of 82 non-industrial production organizations taken from 44 different societies. The two variables studied are the degree of complexity of the technological process, on the one hand, and the number of levels of authority in the production organization, on the other.²

A technological process is here defined as the sum total of physical activities performed on raw materials in order to produce a given product. Non-industrial technological processes, in particular, are often carried

on by organizations which assemble, perform part of the process, disband, assemble again at a later date, perform the next part of the process, and so on until the work is completed. Each successive part of a technological process performed during one such period of organizational assembly will be referred to as a task. Each task, in turn, consists of one or more operations. An operation is any physical performance on the raw material which leaves the material in a condition such that it can remain untended without any further immediate change occurring in it from purely physical causes. Different operations making up the same task are performed sometimes simultaneously and sometimes in succession. Operations performed simultaneously will be said to be specialized relative to one another. Effort is required to perform any operation. Whenever such effort is exerted by several persons working in unison according to some established rhythm, combined effort will be reported.³ The degree of complexity of any technological process will be measured in terms of tasks, specialized operations, and effort, in a way to be explained presently.

¹ Revised version of a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, April, 1958.

² The data were collected from the Human Relations Area Files, supplemented by additional ethnographic materials, and constitute part of a larger sample of such organizations used in a broader comparative study of work organization in primitive and peasant culture. See the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Organization of Production in Nonindustrial Culture" (Department of Economics and Sociology, Princeton University, 1958). Of the 321 examples in the larger sample, only the 82 cases used here contained sufficient information for the present analysis. For a discussion of the Human Relations Area Files see G. P. Murdock, C. S. Ford, *et al.*, *Outline of Cultural Materials* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1950).

³ This conceptualization was suggested by various classifications used in economic history and industrial engineering. See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 225-26; Carl Bücher, *Industrial Evolution* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1912), pp. 252-80; and W. H. Ireson and E. L. Grant (eds.), *Handbook of Industrial Engineering and Management* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), pp. 291-92.

A production organization is any social group engaged in carrying out a technological process. Any production organization has, among other features, some structure of authority (i.e., institutionalized power exercised by one person over the actions of another).⁴ In any given production organization, persons who are an equal number of positions removed from the top of the hierarchy will be said to occupy the same *level* of authority. Thus different production organizations may have varying numbers of levels of authority.

The essential reason commonly alleged for the presence of several levels of authority in large administrative organizations is a limitation on the number of different items to which any person can give his attention at one time. This limit in turn fixes some maximum number of subordinates that can be effectively supervised by a single administrator and thus results in the familiar pyramid-shaped authority structure with several levels. The actual possible number of subordinates may vary widely from one situation to another, but the maximum possible number of items of attention, in principle, remains the same. Exactly what this number is has been a topic of considerable discussion and conjecture in the literature on administration. Various figures have been proposed on the basis of experimental psychological evidence and everyday experience; Urwick sets it explicitly at six. Under the implicit assumption that each individual supervised constitutes one item of attention, Hamilton also gives six. Similarly, DeJong gives five, Kendall five, R. C. Davis three to seven, and Dale three to six.⁵

Five is the largest number consistently alleged by all these writers. For want of a more sophisticated procedure, we shall thus take five as a valid maximum span of attention, on the basis of the available theoretical literature. If this estimate is valid, organizations with three or more levels of authority would be required where more than five items of attention are to be handled.

For each of the 82 cases studied an organi-

zation chart was reconstructed from the ethnographic description, showing the number of levels of authority present. Similarly, in each case, a process chart was prepared indicating the number of tasks present, the number of specialized operations in each task, and the kind of effort involved. It was reasoned that technological complexity would be related to number of levels of authority through the intervening variable of attention. Each separate task, each specialized operation, and the maintenance of combined effort was assumed to require one unit of attention, with an extra unit of attention allocated residually to adjustment to unpredictable situational influences. Thus the total amount of attention, A , required by any technological process, is given by the expression

$$A = t + s + c + 1$$

where t = the total number of tasks, s = the maximum number of specialized operations ever performed at once, and c = 1 or zero, depending on whether combined effort is ever present, or always absent, respectively, in the entire process.

⁵ L. Urwick, "Organization as a Technical Problem," and V. A. Graicunas, "Relationship in Organization," in L. Gulick and L. Urwick (eds.), *Papers in the Science of Administration* (New York: Institute for Public Administration, 1937), pp. 54 and 183-87; Sir Ian Hamilton, *The Soul and Body of an Army* (London: Arnold, 1921), pp. 229-30; Albert deJong, *Die Menselijke Factor in de Bedrijfs-huishouding en de Bedrijfseconomische Problematiek* (Leiden: H. E. Stenfort Kroese, 1954), p. 113; H. P. Kendall, "The Problem of the Chief Executive," *Bulletin of the Taylor Society*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (1922), 40; Ralph C. Davis, *The Influence of the Unit of Supervision and the Span of Executive Control on the Economy of Line Organization Structure* ("Bureau of Business Research Monographs," No. 26 [Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1941]), p. 3; Ernest Dale, *Planning and Developing the Company Organization Structure* ("Research Reports," No. 20 [New York: American Management Association, 1952]), p. 51. For a general review of this literature the author is indebted to an unpublished paper by Arthur J. Kover, a graduate student at Yale University, entitled "Some Factors Affecting the Span of Control in Bureaucratic Organizations" (1957).

⁴ Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53.

If the above arguments are correct, the following proposition will hold:

Any technological process with $A > 5$ will tend to be performed by a production organization having three or more levels of authority; conversely, any technological process with $A \leq 5$, will tend to be performed by a production organization having fewer than three levels of authority.

A corrected chi-square test tends to confirm the hypothesis:

	Three or More Levels	Fewer than Three Levels
$A > 5$	28	5
$A \leq 5$	3	46
$Q = +.97$	$\chi^2 = 48.68$	$P < .001$

Comparison of the above results between different culture areas failed to reveal any significant differences, and inclusion of only one case from each society led to no change of over-all outcome.⁶

Although this effort is certainly very

crude, the results suggest that the variables employed may be highly strategic in the relationship of technological process to formal organizational structure. In particular, they suggest a more fruitful approach to the problem of optimum span of control than is provided by a consideration of size of organization alone. Concentration on the variables indicated and the use of data of a different nature might well lead to the development of a model of greater scope and sophistication from which the number of levels of authority in a formal organization could be predicted on a continuous basis from known facts about technological complexity.

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⁶See George Peter Murdock, "World Ethnographic Sample," *American Anthropologist*, LIX (1957), 664-87. A list of the societies used in the present study, together with a documentation of the 82 cases employed, may be procured by writing the author at 1965 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

STATUS INTEGRATION AND SUICIDE IN CEYLON

JACK P. GIBBS AND WALTER T. MARTIN

ABSTRACT

The theory of status integration, a further development of Durkheim's work on social integration, provides a quantitative measure which makes it possible to test the following theorem: The suicide rate of a population varies inversely with the degree of status integration. This was tested in ethnic groups and provinces in Ceylon. The support provided for the theorem raises questions about the utility of the concept of culture in explaining variations in suicide rates. It also indicates that suicide rates in Ceylon conform to Durkheim's "egoistic" model rather than the "altruistic."

In an earlier paper the writers have presented a theory designed to account for differences in the suicide rates of populations.¹ Their theory of *status integration* is firmly grounded in the classical work of Durkheim on the subject,² but it goes beyond him in that specific empirical referents are designated for the independent variable and that mathematical procedures for measurement are set forth.

The theory consists of a series of inter-related postulates which lead to the following major theorem: *The suicide rate of a population varies inversely with the degree of status integration in that population.* This theorem has been shown to generate a number of specific hypotheses capable of being tested for a great variety of populations, such as countries, states, races, age and sex categories, marital statuses, and occupations.³

In the briefest of possible terms the theory of status integration relates to the patterns formed in the statuses in a population and their effects on a particular type of behavior. The theory rests on the basic assumption that within a population the roles of any particular status tend to conflict with the roles of some statuses more than with

others. From this point of view the occupancy of a given status is incompatible with the occupancy of another status to the extent that conformity to the roles of one interferes with conformity to those of the other. It is further assumed that individuals move in and out of statuses, voluntarily or otherwise, in such a way that two statuses with highly conflicting roles are occupied simultaneously less often than are two statuses that have less conflicting roles. Thus the extent to which two statuses are actually occupied simultaneously is deemed to be directly proportional to the degree of compatibility between them. If two statuses are often occupied simultaneously, they are designated as being highly integrated. As an example, should it be found that, in a given population, 90 per cent of the persons in age group *X* are married and that the corresponding figure for age group *Y* is only 35, then age status *X* is deemed to have a higher degree of integration with the status "married" than does *Y*. Since each and every person occupies a configuration of statuses, the over-all status integration in a population is a function of the extent to which the occupancy of statuses conforms to a predictable pattern. In the case of maximum status integration, it would be possible to predict without error any unknown status of an individual if all his other statuses were known.⁴

¹ Jack P. Gibbs and Walter T. Martin, "A Theory of Status Integration and Its Relationship to Suicide," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (April, 1958), 140-47; "Status Integration and Suicide: A Sociological Study" (a monograph submitted for publication).

² Émile Durkheim, *Suicide*, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951).

³ "Status Integration and Suicide," *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁴ For a more complete explication of the theory see Gibbs and Martin, "A Theory of Status Integration and Its Relationship to Suicide," *op. cit.*, pp. 140-43. Some possible methods of measuring extent of status integration are described *ibid.*, pp. 144-45.

THE EXPLANATION OF VARIABILITY

When we say that the theory of status integration is intended to account for variability in suicide rates, we mean that the theory should stipulate the conditions under which suicide rates will be high or low and specify them so clearly that knowledge of status integration will make it possible to rank populations accurately in terms of their suicide rates. This, while not novel, is markedly different from the explanation characteristically followed in the study of suicide rates. When an explanation of variation in these rates has been attempted—and many writers have been content just to describe the variation—the explanation has usually been *ex post facto*. Witness the various attempts, including those of Durkheim,⁵ to explain in terms of subjective traits the observed differences among single, married, widowed, and divorced persons. It is clearly easier for these writers to speculate about differences once the differences are known to exist. A persisting case of *ex post facto* reasoning is the use of *anomie* as an explanation of variation in suicide rates. It remains to be demonstrated that the presence or absence of *anomie* can be specified objectively by a person operating outside his own familiar society *before* he knows the magnitude of the suicide rate.⁶ It is imperative, of course, that the independent variable be measured independently of the dependent variable if a true test of predictive power is to be made. Where, in contrast to the predictive test, the data are simply allowed to stimulate speculation and conjecture on the part of the investigator, the

resulting explanation, no matter how intricately conceived or emotionally satisfying, remains purely verbal. All too often such explanations cannot even be rejected by others except on equally emotional grounds, since they are so formulated as to defy empirical test.

Just as the ability to predict differences correctly in suicide rates has been hampered by a reliance on purely verbal explanations of an *ex post facto* character, so has it suffered from misconceptions about culture as an explanation of human behavior. A statement to the effect that culture explains variability in suicide rates actually says very little. Only when a specific pattern of behavior is suggested as the determinant of suicide rates do we have a truly scientific theory. Exponents of the cultural explanation are not inclined to point to anything specific, however, and, when they do, the explanation takes on an *ad hoc* character. Thus anthropologists have been known to offer explanations of suicide in particular populations, but the explanation is never stated as though it could be applied to other populations.⁷ We need not seek far to find the reason for this preference for *ad hoc* explanations among anthropologists.

So timid and wary has the modern anthropologist become, lest he commit the fallacies of the comparative evolutionary ethnologist of the nineteenth century, that the very thought of comparative analysis, of "the comparative method," strikes him with terror. We are reminded repeatedly, by functionalists and non-functionalists alike, that each culture must be viewed as an integrated whole and that no cul-

⁵ Durkheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 272.

⁶ In a recent instance the investigator after observing that high suicide rates were characteristic of both the highest status and the lowest status in occupational categories explained these high rates in terms of *anomie*. On an *ex post facto* basis this was possible, since it was merely necessary to stipulate that the *anomie* resulted in one case from extreme "envelopment" but in the other from marked "dissociation" from society (Elwin H. Powell, "Occupation, Status, and Suicide: Toward a Redefinition of Anomie," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII [April, 1958], 136-39).

⁷ See, e.g., Henry L. Maine, *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1888), pp. 335-36; Verrier Elwin, *Maria Murder and Suicide* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. xxi-xxii; Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), pp. 189-222; Cornelius Osgood, "Tanaiana Culture," *American Anthropologist*, XXXV (October-December, 1933), 714; George Devereux, "Mohave Soul Concepts," *American Anthropologist*, XXXIX (N.S.) (1937), 422; and Alexander Leighton and Charles C. Hughes, "Notes on Eskimo Patterns of Suicide," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, XI (Winter, 1955), 327-38.

ture traits or institutions may be understood apart from a given cultural context. Thus comparative studies are viewed as unscientific adventures, reminiscent of an outmoded era in cultural anthropology.⁸

Rather than being a sign of methodological sophistication, this antigeneralization bias of the anthropologists is anything but scientific. For one thing, it has not been demonstrated that cultural variables are integrated to the point where cross-cultural uniformities are necessarily precluded. Furthermore, the demand that an explanation be accepted without reference to cross-cultural comparisons is tantamount to judging its adequacy on the basis of personal opinion in preference to a general test. Above all, for any field of study to lay claim to being a science, an attempt to formulate empirical laws is imperative regardless of obstacles or failures.

From the point of view favored here in the present paper, a major goal of social science is the development of cross-cultural generalizations or laws of human behavior. This aim is obviously incompatible with the view that behavior is determined within each society by the latter's unique nature. To demonstrate that the goal is not unrealistic, however, the theory of status integration, which was developed largely in research on a society with a European-Christian tradition, is here applied to an analysis of suicide rates by ethnic groups and provinces in an Asian country. While even a very successful demonstration in this single case would not prove the theory's general applicability, it would nevertheless raise some questions about the uniqueness and relativity of culture.

As a country within which to test the major theorem, Ceylon is of particular interest for several reasons. First, it can hardly be called a Christian-European nation in spite of prolonged contact with Great

Britain.⁹ Second, it affords an opportunity to examine the suicide rates of ethnic groups with conspicuous cultural differences.¹⁰ Third, an analysis has already been reported¹¹ in which the conclusions appear to be the exact opposite of what would be expected in the light of either Durkheim's work on "egoistic" suicide or the present theory, that is, that "the suicide rate will vary directly . . . with the degree to which a society is structured."¹² This apparently ex post facto explanation calls for a re-examination of suicide rates in Ceylon within the framework of the status-integration theory. No tests, however, can be considered a replication of the earlier analysis, since no procedure for measuring the "closeness" or "looseness" of a social structure was described by the proponents of the idea.

The first test of the major theorem makes use of the 1946 suicide rates for ethnic groups in Ceylon as presented in Table 4

⁹ For an up-to-date analysis of Sinhalese society see Bryce F. Ryan and Murray A. Straus, "The Integration of Sinhalese Society," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XXII (December, 1954), 179-227.

¹⁰ "The population of Ceylon is composed of ten ethnic groups between each two of which are long-standing and deep-seated differences, in spite of many similarities. Although these groups are often referred to as 'races,' with one or two exceptions the differences between them are mainly cultural" (Jacqueline H. Straus and Murray A. Straus, "Suicide, Homicide, and Social Structure in Ceylon," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII [March, 1953], 465).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 461-69.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 469. Durkheim's general position is clearly stated: "So we reach the general conclusion: suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of the social groups" (Durkheim, *op. cit.*, p. 209). His assertion of a direct relationship in the case of "altruistic" suicides, those that occur "when social integration is too strong," is in accord with the Strauses' conclusion. The latter proposition appears to be simply a special case of Durkheim's general position, however, and one for which he offered very little systematic support. The task is the same in either case—that of testing the relationship between integration and suicide rates, and in neither case can a test be made until the empirical referents of social integration are designated and an appropriate measure devised.

⁸ David Bidney, "The Concept of Value in Modern Anthropology," p. 698, in A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

of the Strauses' article.¹³ In order to make this test, extremely simple measures of marital integration were computed (Table 1).

The figures in this table represent the proportion of males and females in two selected ethnic groups occupying each marital status. For example, the proportion of unmarried males is .6368 for Sinhalese, and the proportion of married females for the Ceylon Tamils is .4253. The $\Sigma\chi^2$ at the bot-

.9609, have a greater degree of marital integration than do the Ceylon Tamils, with .8788.

In Table 2 are presented measures of marital integration for males, females, and the total population along with the corresponding suicide rate (S.R.) for each of the ethnic groups of Ceylon in 1946. Before making the tests it should be noted that a situation very unfavorable to testing pre-

TABLE 1
MEASURES OF MARITAL INTEGRATION
BY ETHNIC GROUP, CEYLON, 1946*

MARITAL STATUS	SINHALESE		CEYLON TAMILS	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Unmarried.....	.6368	.5383	.5760	.4544
Married.....	.3374	.3804	.3800	.4253
Widowed.....	.0247	.0800	.0411	.1163
Divorced.....	.0011	.0013	.0029	.0040
Sum of proportions ($\Sigma\chi$)	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
$\Sigma\chi^2$ †.....	.5200	.4409	.4779	.4009
$\Sigma\Sigma\chi^2$ ‡.....	.9609		.8788	

* Source of marital data: Ceylon, Department of Census and Statistics, *Census of Ceylon, 1946* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1952), IV, 1, Table 1.

† Measure of marital integration (M.M.I.) with sex-ethnic group status.

‡ M.M.I. with sex for ethnic group.

TABLE 2
MEASURES OF MARITAL INTEGRATION (M.M.I.) AND SUICIDE RATES (S.R.) PER
100,000 POPULATION BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP, CEYLON, 1946*

ETHNIC GROUP	MALES				FEMALES				TOTAL			
	M.M.I. (1)	Rank (2)	S.R. (3)	Rank (4)	M.M.I. (5)	Rank (6)	S.R. (7)	Rank (8)	M.M.I. (9)	Rank (10)	S.R. (11)	Rank (12)
Sinhalese.....	.5200	1	6.9	6	.4408	4	2.9	3	.9608	2	4.9	5
Ceylon Tamils.....	.4779	5	12.6	3	.4009	6	8.6	1	.8788	7	10.6	3
Indian Tamils.....	.4755	6	9.8	4	.4322	5	5.7	2	.9077	5	7.9	4
Muslims.....	.4924	3	2.5	7	.3981	7	1.6	4	.8905	6	2.1	7
Burghers and Eurasians.....	.5105	2	9.5	5	.4414	3	0.0	6	.9519	3	4.8	6
Europeans.....	.4732	7	133.2	1	.4461	2	0.0	6	.9193	4	80.0	1
Others.....	.4818	4	23.6	2	.4875	1	0.0	6	.9693	1	19.5	2

* Sources: suicide data, courtesy of Jacqueline and Murray Straus; marital data, Ceylon, Department of Census and Statistics, *Census of Ceylon, 1946*, IV, 1, Table 1.

tom of each column is the measure of marital integration (M.M.I.) for that particular sex-ethnic group combination, and the $\Sigma\Sigma\chi^2$, the sum of the male and female measures, is the measure of marital integration with sex (M.M.I.) for a given ethnic group. In Table 1 the Sinhalese, with a measure of

vaills. First, the M.M.I.'s are extremely simple measures of status integration, since they give no consideration to parental, religious, age, occupational, and other important statuses. Furthermore, in a country as small as Ceylon the total suicide rate for a single year is based on so few cases that it lacks stability. Finally, rates in such a country, when computed for subcategories of the population, are extremely unstable.

With these considerations in mind, the tests can be made by computing a rank-difference coefficient of correlation (ρ)

¹³ The various tests reported here were greatly facilitated or, in some instances, made possible by the generous co-operation of Jacqueline and Murray Straus, whose interest in the theory of status integration led them to encourage its application to their Ceylon data.

between each of the paired M.M.I.'s and S.R.'s. In the case of males, rho between the ranks shown in columns (2) and (4) is $-.75$. For females the rho between the ranks of columns (6) and (8) is $-.68$. Relating the M.M.I.'s of each category to the total S.R.'s. results in the following rho's: males (cols. [2] and [12]), $-.71$; females (cols. [6] and [12]), $+.61$; and total population (cols. [10] and [12]), $+.18$. Of the five tests, three produced results in the direction predicted by the major theorem.

The second set of tests was made in an identical manner, except that the data pertain to the nine provinces of Ceylon. Data corresponding to those used in the earlier

1921 M.M.I.'s by sex were related to the S.R.'s of the total population, the computed values of rho were: males, $-.54$; females, $-.21$; and total population, $-.43$. The rho between the male M.M.I. of 1921 and the male S.R. of 1946 was $-.57$. The corresponding value for females was $-.43$.¹⁴

Every test presented to this point has suffered from the relative instability of suicide rates based on a very few cases. Only after the tests had been completed did the writers obtain data which made it possible to compute rates on a more stable basis. Mean annual suicide rates were then computed for the combined years 1946-49 but only for provinces, since the necessary data

TABLE 3
MEASURES OF MARITAL INTEGRATION (M.M.I.) AND SUICIDE RATES (S.R.)
PER 100,000 BY PROVINCE, CEYLON, 1946*

PROVINCE	MALES				FEMALES				TOTAL			
	M.M.I. (1)	M.M.I. Rank (2)	S.R. (3)	S.R. Rank (4)	M.M.I. (5)	M.M.I. Rank (6)	S.R. (7)	S.R. Rank (8)	M.M.I. (9)	M.M.I. Rank (10)	S.R. (11)	S.R. Rank (12)
Western.....	.5123	2	14.2	1	.4369	5	2.2	4	.9492	4	5.7	5.5
Central.....	.5049	6	2.7	8	.4414	3	1.3	8	.9463	5	5.3	7
Southern.....	.5299	1	13.3	2	.4418	2	.9	5	.9717	1	3.6	9
Northern.....	.4629	9	7.1	6	.3972	8	1.7	6.5	.8601	9	11.9	1
Eastern.....	.5051	5	6.7	7	.3857	9	0.0	9	.8908	8	6.5	2
Northwestern.....	.4885	7	10.8	4	.4228	6	3.9	1	.9113	6	6.1	4
North Central.....	.4777	8	11.2	3	.4156	7	3.3	2	.8933	7	5.7	5.5
Uva.....	.5091	4	2.5	9	.4408	4	1.7	6.5	.9499	3	4.8	8
Sabaragamuwa.....	.5104	3	9.7	5	.4489	1	2.6	3	.9593	2	6.4	3

* Sources: suicide data, courtesy of Jacqueline and Murray Straus; marital data, Ceylon, *Statistical Abstract of Ceylon, 1952* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1952), pp. 30-40, Tables 20-21.

tests are shown for the provinces (Table 3). When the test is made by sex, the following results are obtained: males (cols. [2] and [4]), $+.32$; and females (cols. [6] and [8]), $+.15$. Where the M.M.I. of each category is related to the S.R.'s of the total population the following rho's result: males (cols. [2] and [12]), $-.51$; females (cols. [6] and [12]), $-.58$; and total population (cols. [10] and [12]), $-.69$. Again only three of the five results are in the direction predicted by the major theorem.

During the early stages of the analysis it appeared that data were not going to be available for computing measures of status integration for 1946, the year of the Strauses' analysis. At that time measures of marital integration for ethnic groups for 1921 were computed by the same method as reported for the 1946 M.M.I.'s. When the

were not available for ethnic groups (Table 4).

If it is true that unstable suicide rates presented an unfavorable test situation in the tests reported, the values of rho obtained using the 1946-49 rates should be higher than those obtained in the corresponding test using rates based solely on the cases in 1946. This is indeed the case,

¹⁴ An attempt to relate measures of status integration for one period of time with suicide rates characterizing the population twenty-five years later was made only because the theory holds that changes in status integration ordinarily occur very slowly. In this case the rho's between the 1921 M.M.I.'s of ethnic groups and the corresponding 1946 M.M.I.'s turn out to be as follows: males, $+.89$; females, $+.57$; total population, $+.75$. While it might be argued that this degree of stability would not exist in dynamic Western societies, the stability of their suicide rates suggests that there, too, status integration changes slowly.

as the following values of rho demonstrate: males, $-.80$; females, $-.67$; and total population, $-.87$. In this case, the relationship measured is that between the suicide of the total population (Table 4) and the M.M.I.'s of males, females, and total population, respectively (Table 3). Unfortunately, while the number of cases in 1946-49 is large enough to provide a relatively stable suicide rate by sex, data for the total population only were found.

The predictions made of the direction of the relationship holding between measures of marital integration and suicide rates in

TABLE 4
MEAN ANNUAL SUICIDE RATES PER
100,000 POPULATION BY PROVINCES,
CEYLON, 1946-49*

Province	Suicide Rate	Rank
Western.....	6.1	5
Central.....	6.7	3
Southern.....	4.6	9
Northern.....	14.0	1
Eastern.....	6.3	4
North Western....	6.0	6
North Central.....	6.8	2
Uva.....	5.4	8
Sabaragamuwa.....	5.9	7

* Sources: suicide data, Ceylon, *Statistical Abstracts of Ceylon, 1951* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1951), Tables 46-54, pp. 78-95; population figures used in computing rates, Ceylon, *Census of Ceylon, 1946* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1951), I, Part II, 1.

ethnic groups and provinces in Ceylon were not invariably right. Two points deserve major emphasis, however: first, the theory generated specific propositions so phrased that empirical tests could be made and, second, out of eighteen rho's computed, fourteen were in the predicted direction. Failure to provide unvarying support for the major theorem must be evaluated with due consideration for the unfavorable testing situation. Without restating the limiting factors, it can be emphasized that the improvement in one single area—the stability of the suicide rates—resulted in considerable increase in the size of the rank-difference coefficients of correlation. All things considered, the tests do appear to provide general support for the theory.¹⁵ This being the case, there are a number of important implications.

First, although not demonstrated conclusively in this short paper, it appears that even a very simple measure of status integration may account for variation in the suicide rate in provinces and ethnic groups of an Asian country as well as in Western countries. Furthermore, such an analysis does not provide, even by inference, any support for the theory of altruistic suicide—a direct relationship between social integration and suicide rates. Since the measure used pertains solely to the patterns of status, without regard for the cultural factors frequently advanced as explanations of suicides (e.g., norms, values, traditions, customs), questions must be asked about the dictum that, since human behavior is explained by culture, and culture is unique for each society, consequently, cross-cultural explanations of behavior are impossible.

It can be argued, of course, that the theory of status integration cannot explain variations in suicide rates precisely because it does not take into account such indispensable cultural factors as values and customs. This argument is highly reminiscent of the outcry when it was proposed that the phenomenon of burning could be accounted for without reference to phlogiston, the mystical element hitherto held to be essential to combustion. Quite clearly, however, the goal of parsimony in science discourages the use of factors in an explanation merely because of sentimental attachments or even because they have shown themselves to be faithful servants in other connections. In evaluating this argument, it should be remembered that in the two analyses of suicide rates in Ceylon, one including a careful appraisal of cultural patterns and the other ignoring them for the measurement

¹⁵ Measures of marital integration tend to be higher for males than for females even though males have higher suicide rates than females. The theory's apparent inadequacy is a direct result of using a simple measure of status integration rather than a comprehensive one. A measure which incorporated major statuses other than marital status would be expected to result in females having higher scores than males. For example, females undoubtedly would have greater occupational integration than males.

of one specific aspect of the social structure, it has been shown that exactly opposite conclusions on the direction of the relationship between the structure of society and the rate of suicide were reached. Furthermore, it was the measure that ignored the usual culture factors that demonstrated ability to predict the rank of suicide rates.

It can also be argued that the application of the theory to Ceylon did not really cut across cultures, since the culture of Ceylon has been greatly influenced by long exposure to that of a Western society. This is a difficult argument to answer, partly because it contains an element of truth, and partly because the same observation can be made regarding any country whose census and vital statistics make a cross-culture analysis possible. All that can be said in rejoinder is that similar tests have been made in several countries whose cultural dissimilarity is as great as possible, selection of them being from among those countries that were sufficiently advanced to offer certain types of statistical data.¹⁶ The variability permitted by this single limiting factor seems sufficiently great to rule out the possibility that the theory works in various countries merely because they have basically the same culture. Surely, sociologists should not cease to look for cross-cultural generalizations simply because of an arbitrary and stifling edict handed down by the "culturologists."¹⁷

Beyond this, the findings appear to dem-

¹⁶ "Status Integration and Suicide," *op. cit.*, *passim*.

onstrate once again the dangers involved in relying even a little upon purely verbal *ex post facto* explanations. With all due recognition of the contribution made by the Strauses in their reports of the social structure of Ceylon, the value of the concept of "closeness" and "looseness" of social structures must be questioned. This concept, which they borrowed from Embree, can be useful in demonstrating its ability to explain variability in human behavior only after empirical referents have been specified and appropriate measuring procedures designated. Until this is done, even the findings reported here do not refute the assertion that suicide rates vary directly with "closeness," since this concept is too amorphous either to prove or to disprove. It does seem clear that, if the assertion is valid, eventual measures of closeness will be found to vary inversely with measures of status integration. It seems more likely, however, that the spongelike nature of the concept and the lack of any concrete measure led its users to a conclusion that could not hold up when a quantitative measure was available.

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¹⁷ That the bias against generalization has not swept the entire field of anthropology is attested by the work of Leslie A. White, George P. Murdock, Julian H. Steward, and A. L. Kroeber. On the sociological side, Austin L. Porterfield has been a consistent advocate of cross-cultural theories with respect to suicide (see his "Suicide and Crime in Folk and in Secular Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII [January, 1952], 331-38).

THE SENTIMENT OF WHITE SUPREMACY AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY¹

DAVID M. HEER

ABSTRACT

The will to preserve segregation among white southerners is held to be a direct function of the social and economic gains resulting therefrom and an inverse function of the guilt engendered by contact with the value system outside the South. The socioeconomic gain is held to vary directly with Negro density, and the degree of guilt inversely with the proportion of the white population living on farms. Confirmation of these hypotheses is provided by analyzing, through multiple and partial correlation, the percentage of the vote received in South Carolina counties by the states rights Democratic candidate in the 1948 presidential election.

The community studies of southern race relations by Dollard, Powdermaker, and Davis and the Gardners² did not consider ecological differences in the pattern of Negro-white relations and of the ideology of white supremacy. Despite the importance of this topic, not until V. O. Key's *Southern Politics* appeared in 1949 were these differences generally acknowledged.³ Key conclusively demonstrated that much southern political behavior is highly correlated with the proportion of the local population that is Negro.

In this paper, the ecological approach initiated by Key will be used to test two hypotheses concerning the determinants of the strength of the idea of white supremacy among white southerners.

The first hypothesis has four propositions and is as follows:

I. The gains to the white race from segregation result from subordinating the local

Negro population both socially and economically.

II. The more such persons who can thus be subordinated, the greater is the gain, both social and economic, to the white race.

Proof of the differential economic gain is that the larger the local percentage of Negroes, the greater the income differential between Negroes and whites. The 1950 Census figures for the forty-three Standard Metropolitan Areas contained in the eleven former Confederate states show a negative correlation ($-.71$) between the proportion of Negro population in the Standard Metropolitan Area and the ratio which the median income of Negro males there bears to the median income of white males.⁴ Moreover, with regard to the differential social gain, since social status is relative, the more persons there are who can be defined as beneath one in social status, the higher one's own status becomes. Thus the advantages accruing to southern whites at the expense of the Negro as a result of segregation should be directly proportional to the percentage of the population which is Negro.

III. This gain is appreciated either consciously or unconsciously by the whites.

IV. Therefore, it should follow that the

¹ This article, a condensation of the writer's unpublished Harvard College honors thesis, "Caste, Class, and Local Loyalty as Determining Factors in South Carolina Politics," is a revised version of a paper delivered before the 1957 annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society.

² John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937); Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (New York: Viking Press, 1939); Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

³ V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949).

⁴ Blalock has recently given further proof of the relationship between the density of Negro population and the extent of economic discrimination against Negroes by whites (see H. M. Blalock, Jr., "Per Cent Non-White and Discrimination in the South," *American Sociological Review*, XXII [December, 1957], 677-82).

will to preserve segregation varies, all other factors being equal, with the proportion of the population which is Negro.

The second hypothesis is the inverse of the first. Its four propositions are as follows:

I. Values in the rest of the United States are opposed to the practice of segregation by the white south.

II. Inasmuch as there is contact between the South and the rest of the nation through mass media and otherwise, this opposition should discourage the efforts of white southerners to preserve segregation in the South. Evidence for this proposition has been provided by Tumin, whose study of Guilford County, North Carolina, shows that readiness for desegregation varies directly with amount of exposure to mass media, most of which originates in northern states.⁵

III. White southerners' contacts with the values of the rest of the nation are more prevalent in urban areas than in rural areas.

IV. Therefore, it should follow that support for the continuance of segregation varies, all other factors being equal, with the proportion of the white population living on farms.

The 1948 presidential election offered an excellent opportunity to confirm or reject the two hypotheses. In that year the long-smoldering conflict between the northern and southern wings of the Democratic party over the question of civil rights for minorities reached a climax. After the Democratic National Convention approved the northern-sponsored civil rights plank, all the Mississippi and half the Alabama delegation walked out in protest. On July 17, 1948, the states' rights Democrats, mostly from Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina, nominated for President of the United States the governor of South Carolina, J. Strom Thurmond, and for Vice-President the governor of Mississippi, Fielding Wright. This convention heard outcries against the threat of Negroes being admitted "to our homes, our theaters,

and our swimming pools."⁶ Presidential electors for the "Dixiecrat" ticket appeared in all the southern states, and in the November election Thurmond carried Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana—the four states having the highest percentage of Negro population in the nation.

From the tenor of the campaign waged by the states rights Democrats, it is obvious that they sought support in large measure from those most threatened by the civil rights proposals in the national Democratic platform. Thus, if the two hypotheses are valid, one would expect the percentage of votes for Thurmond among whites, as an index of the intensity of the sentiment favoring white supremacy to vary, all other things being equal, both with the percentage of the total population which was Negro and with the percentage of the white population of rural-farm residence.

It has been observed by Key⁷ and Heard⁸ that in every southern state the vote for Thurmond was strongest in counties with the largest proportions of Negroes. But confirmation for the hypotheses could be obtained only if other factors which might also influence zero-order correlations were held constant. Certain circumstances which might be responsible for a spurious association suggested themselves. For instance, it could reasonably be presumed that the Democratic candidate, Truman, would enjoy support among industrial workers, especially if they were unionized. It is also well known that the Negro population is relatively sparse in the industrial areas of the South. Furthermore, farm tenants might be more strongly attracted to the national Democratic party than the more conservative farm owners. In addition, there was the problem of determining the attitude of Republican voters toward civil rights. And, finally, of course, there was the Negro vote itself. A test of the hypothe-

⁵ Key, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

⁸ Melvin M. Tumin, "Exposure to Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXI (1957), 237-51.

⁸ Alexander Heard, *A Two-Party South?* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), p. 256.

ses requires isolating the ecological correlates of the white vote alone.

South Carolina and Mississippi were the only states in which all the factors could be held constant. In both, Negro voting was extremely rare and the Republican vote negligible. Because of the writer's greater familiarity with the political situation in South Carolina, statistics relating to this state rather than to Mississippi were used to confirm the hypotheses.

South Carolina was the only state without the secret ballot. Moreover, it required a poll tax of one dollar to be paid thirty days before the election as a prerequisite to voting. In addition, the requirement that prospective voters satisfactorily read and interpret the United States Constitution was enforced in a discriminatory manner. All this undoubtedly helped to cause the very low turnout; actual voters constituted only 12.2 per cent of the potential voting population (defined as all persons, both white and Negro, over twenty-one years of age).⁹ These factors also insured that almost all voters would be white.¹⁰

Certain additional facts lead to the conclusion that those who did vote were primarily of the middle class. First, the total vote in the 1948 Democratic primary, in which payment of the poll tax was not a prerequisite, was more than twice as large as the vote in the 1948 general election, suggesting that inability to pay the poll tax may have kept many "poor whites" away from the polls in the general election. Further evidence that persons voting in the primary but not in the general election were likely to be "poor white" is provided by the correlation between the percentage of Negroes in the county and the ratio of the general election vote to the Democratic primary vote. This correlation is .64.¹¹ In South

⁹ The number of persons in the potential voting population is that existing in April, 1950, as tabulated by the 1950 Census.

¹⁰ Key, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹¹ Figures from the 1940 Census are the basis for computing these coefficients. This research was completed before the 1950 Census had been published.

Carolina the "poor whites" are generally most numerous in counties with the lowest proportion of Negroes; in counties with a high proportion of Negroes more of the whites are middle class. Thus a high proportion of Negroes denotes a low proportion of "poor whites" in the white population.¹² Consequently, the higher the proportion of "poor whites" in the white population, the greater the excess of voters in the primary over voters in the general election. The election in South Carolina was an overwhelming victory for Governor Thurmond, who received 72.2 per cent of the vote. President Truman received 24.1 per cent, Dewey 3.8 per cent, and Wallace 0.1 per cent, and Norman Thomas received one write-in vote. But the margin of victory for Thurmond was by no means uniform across the state: he had 98 per cent of the vote in his home county, Edgefield, and only 33 per cent of the vote in Anderson County, a Piedmont county with a small Negro population and many textile mills.

South Carolina's statistics on voting were used mainly because they could automatically hold constant the effect of two factors: the Negro¹³ and also the Republican vote.

¹² In speaking of "middle class" we mean those who rate above average in local socioeconomic status. Proof that in counties with a high proportion of Negroes more of the white population is of the middle class than in counties with a low percentage of Negro population may be found in the fact that, in the twenty-nine South Carolina counties whose proportion of Negro population in 1950 was above the average for the state, the ratio of median income of white families and unrelated individuals in 1949 to the median income of all families and unrelated individuals (of both races) was 1.69; in the remaining counties, on the other hand, it was only 1.22. Thus in the first group of counties the white population is collectively considerably above the total population in economic status, while in the second the median economic level of the whites is only slightly higher than that of the total population.

¹³ Even the actual Negro vote would probably not affect any of the correlations to be discussed, because in counties of densest Negro population the proportion of Negroes who actually voted is less than in the counties of lesser density of Negroes. Thus the Negro vote as a percentage of the total

To provide, however, that all other factors be equal would necessitate holding several additional factors constant in the partial correlations.

First, we may consider the "friends-and-neighbors" effect, always a good predictor of South Carolina's elections.¹⁴ Politicians are likely to build up a personal following—mainly in counties near where they were born and raised—which is indifferent to political issues and stays loyal in election after election. One means of holding this factor constant is to parcel out the percentage vote received by Thurmond when he first ran for governor in the Democratic primary of 1946. But this is not enough. At the time of the election there were rumors that Senator Olin D. Johnston was working secretly against Thurmond's candidacy for the Presidency, although Johnston never openly disassociated himself from his candidacy. To offset any effects of Johnston's possible secret work in behalf of Truman, the percentage received by Johnston in his campaign for the Senate in the 1944 Democratic primary was also held constant.

There now remained the necessity of holding constant the effect of some of the political issues of the campaign unrelated to the race question. It was generally conceded that Thurmond, in addition to representing "white supremacy," was supported by opponents of Truman's economic program of the Fair Deal. Conversely, persons for whom the Fair Deal promised important economic benefits would not be likely to vote against it merely to express their sentiments on the race question. To hold constant the variable of economic conservatism, it was decided to control the estimated percentage of white wage-earners in manufacturing among the total urban and rural non-farm white population of the county,¹⁵ the percentage of CIO members among the estimated total of whites engaged in manufac-

turing,¹⁶ and the percentage of tenants and sharecroppers among all white farm operators.

Thus seven variables are set up in an effort to explain the variation in the percentage vote for Thurmond among the forty-six counties of South Carolina.¹⁷

Table 1 shows the intercorrelations of all seven independent variables with one another and with the dependent variable, the percentage of votes for Thurmond among the South Carolina counties. The correlations with the dependent variable of five of them are quite high, particularly the correlations of .666 between the percentage of Negro population and the Thurmond vote and of .365 between the percentage of the white population of rural-farm residence and the vote for Thurmond. Somewhat contrary to custom, the "friends-and-neighbors" effect is only faintly evident. Nor does member-

¹⁵ This estimate is based on 1940 Census figures of total wage-earners in manufacturing and assumes that the ratio in each county of the probability that a white wage-earner will be in manufacturing to the probability that a Negro wage-earner will be in manufacturing equals unity. In this estimation, bias, if any, was assumed to be on the side of a greater underestimation of the number of white wage-earners in manufacturing in the counties of dense Negro population than in the counties of smaller Negro population. Thus this estimate in the analysis of partial correlation would overestimate the variance of the Thurmond vote attributable to the variation in the percentage of urban and rural non-farm whites employed in manufacturing. Consequently, it would rule out the possibility that the partial correlations between the percentage of Thurmond votes and, respectively, the percentage of Negro population and the percentage of white population of rural-farm residence be higher than they should be. A subsequent comparison of the estimates with the 1950 Census figures, which provide a breakdown by race of the manufacturing labor force of each county, shows that the estimates do indeed understate the number of whites employed in manufacturing to an extent greater in the counties of large Negro population than in the counties of small Negro population.

¹⁶ Data are from figures for the year 1949 supplied by the South Carolina State CIO Organizing Committee.

¹⁷ All census figures used in defining these seven variables are for the year 1940.

vote probably tended to be relatively constant in all South Carolina counties. See Heard, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹⁴ Key, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-35.

TABLE 1
INTERCORRELATION OF VARIABLES AMONG
SOUTH CAROLINA COUNTIES
($N = 46$)

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7
<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
X_1 , percentage of vote cast for Thurmond, 1948...	...						
<i>Independent variables:</i>							
X_2 , percentage of Negro population .....	.666						
X_3 , percentage of white population classified as rural-farm .....	.365	.174					
X_4 , percentage of vote cast for Thurmond, 1946...	.157	-.128	-.027				
X_5 , percentage of vote cast for Johnston, 1944	-.538	-.522	-.202	.010			
X_6 , percentage of urban and rural non-farm white population in manufacturing	-.533	-.662	-.363	.128	.523		
X_7 , percentage of white wage-earners in manufacturing belonging to the CIO	-.198	-.129	-.440	-.101	.048	.019	
X_8 , percentage of tenants among white farm operators	-.519	-.468	.231	-.155	.420	.257	-.191

TABLE 2
COEFFICIENTS OF PARTIAL CORRELATION BETWEEN
EACH INDEPENDENT VARIABLE AND PERCENTAGE
OF THURMOND VOTES IN 1948
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
($N = 46$)

X_2 , percentage of Negro population ..	.387
X_3 , percentage of white population classified as rural-farm .....	.408
X_4 , percentage of votes cast for Thurmond in the 1946 primary .....	.255
X_5 , percentage of votes cast for Johnston in the 1944 primary	-.144
X_6 , percentage of urban and rural non-farm population engaged in manufacturing	-.042
X_7 , percentage of white wage-earners in manufacturing belonging to the CIO	-.071
X_8 , percentage of tenants among white farm operators	-.407

ship in the CIO seem to produce much difference.

Several of the independent variables are highly interrelated, namely, the percentages of Negro population, of votes cast for Johnston in 1944, of urban and rural non-farm white population engaged in manufacturing, and of tenants among white farm operators.

Let us now consider the multiple and partial correlations. The coefficient of multiple correlation between the seven independent variables and the dependent variable is .814. Table 2 shows the various partial correlations of each of the independent variables with the dependent variable.

The partial correlation analysis confirms both hypotheses. The partial correlation coefficient between the percentage of Negro population in the county and the percentage vote for Thurmond is .387. That between the percentage of the white population of

rural-farm residence and the percentage vote for Thurmond is .408.

In addition, the signs of all the other partial coefficients are in the predicted direction. Of these control variables, clearly the most important is the percentage of tenants among white farm operators, and here the partial coefficient is $-.407$. Apparently the Fair Deal program had strong pulling power in areas where the white farm operators were least likely to be farm owners.

The results reflect the behavior only of the voting population, which we may presume to be mainly middle class. Thus it is quite plausible that the phenomena relate to the attitudes only of the politically conscious higher-status segment of the white populace. In the lower strata of the population, support for segregation may vary neither with the percentage of local Negro population nor with type of residence, whether farm or non-farm. Even so, this possibility can only slightly diminish the social significance of the results, since the attitude toward segregation does vary among those whose opinions are expressed at the polls.

That the factors held constant are percentages of the total population rather than of the voting population may introduce error. For example, while keeping constant the greater predilection for Truman which might be expected among tenant farmers and industrial workers, we found it impossible to hold constant the percentage of them in the voting population. It must be assumed that this percentage bore a direct relationship to the percentage in the total white population, for no attempt to test the truth of this could be made.

Finally, the lack of secret ballots may have increased the observed correlations beyond what they might have been otherwise. In the absence of secrecy, deviant voters may have been reluctant to vote according to their real convictions. Truman sympathizers in the Black-Belt counties may have decided that it was expedient to vote for Thurmond rather than to ask openly for the

ballot of the national Democratic party. Thus the counties with dense Negro population may show inflated proportions of the vote for Thurmond, and perhaps in the counties with sparse Negro population the opposite may have occurred.

The empirical results presented here, of course, do not prove the two hypotheses but merely prevent their rejection. Undoubtedly, more light can be shed on the whole question by further studies analyzing not only the ecological correlates of voting statistics but also those of directly expressed attitudes. A most interesting beginning has been made in a study by Pettigrew showing that the mean level of anti-Negro prejudice among a random sample of whites in four southern towns of varying percentages of Negro population is proportional to the density of Negro population.¹⁸

Some modification of the first hypothesis may be necessary in the light of Price's finding that the opposition of white to Negro voting registration in two Florida counties which formerly had, but because of Negro outmigration no longer possess, a high density of Negro population is as intense as in counties currently having a high proportion of Negro population.¹⁹ A further generalization from this may be valid, namely, that a one-time gain to whites resulting from segregation is believed to go on for some time after it no longer exists. The generalization from Price's finding, if validated, would make necessary some modification of the writer's first hypothesis.

Through further research, the various hypotheses of the determinants of the sentiment favoring white supremacy can be tested until we obtain a much clearer picture

¹⁸ Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Desegregation and Its Chance for Success: Northern and Southern Views," *Social Forces*, XXXV (May, 1957), 339-44. For a fuller discussion see Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Regional Differences in Anti-Negro Prejudice" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1956).

¹⁹ H. D. Price, *The Negro and Southern Politics* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), pp. 41-44.

than our present one. However, current research appears to challenge theories which ascribe the sentiment solely to an irrational prejudice of the white population. Any such theories must contend with the fact that in areas of dense Negro population the economic standing of whites relative to Negroes (or at least relative to the total population) is generally higher than in areas of lesser Negro density. Thus the motive of economic gain would appear at least to abet, if not to cause, segregation and the ideology of white supremacy.

The partial correlation coefficients reported here prove, perhaps more rigorously than does any previous study of southern political behavior, that the will to preserve segregation as expressed by the whites at the ballot box varies both with the percentage of Negro population and the degree to which

the white population resides on farms. Events since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on segregation in the public schools are completely congruent with these results of the 1948 election. In the Deep South, where the Negro population is dense, desegregation has not occurred. Furthermore, even in the regions with relatively sparse Negro population, resistance has been far greater in farm areas than in the cities.²⁰

Thus it would behoove policy-makers to take account of these ecological factors in considering the further implementation of the judicial decree on segregation in the schools.

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

²⁰ For a detailed account of the influence of urbanism on the extent of school segregation in the two border states, Kentucky and Missouri, see Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Demographic Correlates of Border-State Desegregation," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (December, 1957), 683-89.

RESIDENCE AND SOCIAL CLASS IN OXFORD

PETER COLLISON AND JOHN MOGEY

ABSTRACT

Oxford, a university and motor-manufacturing town with 100,000 people in 1951, and the first city of England to be tracted, has thirty-five tracts. These are here regrouped into five sectors, and each sector is further divided into three zones based on distance from the city center. In contrast to the usual ecological pattern of American cities, people of the highest social class live closest to the center of the town. They are also heavily concentrated in the north sector. Distribution by zones also reveals that social class 3 is disproportionately represented near the city boundary. University growth and the amenities associated with the university may explain the first phenomena; the second may be due to the housing allocations of the local authority.

The preparation of census tracts for Oxford and its surrounding district¹ is of interest for the light it throws on local community organization and in particular because it makes possible for the first time the type of ecological analysis familiar in the United States. In this paper we employ tracts to determine the pattern of residence of the different social classes in the city and the degree to which these classes are segregated one from another.

The classification of social classes involved is that of the Registrar-General and is based on occupation and confined to males aged fifteen and over.² Five social classes are described by the Registrar-General: class 1, professional, etc., occupations; class 2, intermediate occupations; class 3, skilled occupations; class 4, partly skilled occupations; and class 5, unskilled occupations.³

Our analysis is confined to Oxford. Areas beyond the city boundary for which tracts have also been prepared are not included. A total of 32,658⁴ men have been allocated among the five classes, and the percentage

falling in each class in the city as a whole is shown in Table 2.

Owing to certain peculiarities of geography and history, Oxford's growth has not followed a regular concentric pattern.⁵ Large areas of open space reach in toward the center of the city following the flood plain of the Isis and Cherwell rivers. Housing development, which has spread out from the ancient center, has, broadly speaking, taken place between and beyond these open spaces. The principal line of development has been to the southeast along Cowley and Iffley roads. Other lines of development have been to the east along London Road, to the south along Abingdon Road, to the west along Botley Road, and to the north along Woodstock and Banbury roads (see map, Fig. 1). With this star-shaped plan in mind, we divided the city into five sectors each to include one of these lines of development. It is apparent from the map that the sectors are contiguous triangles with a common apex at Carfax,⁶ and each extending to the city

¹ *Census 1951, Oxford Area: Selected Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts* (Oxford: Oxford Census Tract Committee, 1957). There are thirty-six tracts for the city. Our analysis is based on tracts 1-35, each of which is a small area with a total population of about 3,000. The remaining tract includes persons from all parts of the city who live in non-private households.

² *Census 1951, England and Wales: County Report—Oxfordshire* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1954), p. 47, Table 27.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

⁴ This total and the percentage distribution differ slightly from the corresponding figures (n. 2 above) given by the Registrar-General, since we have excluded tract 36, which relates to 763 people resident in non-private households.

⁵ An account of Oxford's growth and the present distribution of its population may be found in E. W. Gilbert, "The Growth of the City of Oxford," in A. F. Martin and R. W. Steel (eds.), *The Oxford Region* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 165-73.

⁶ The name given to the point at which the four principal roads coming into the city meet.

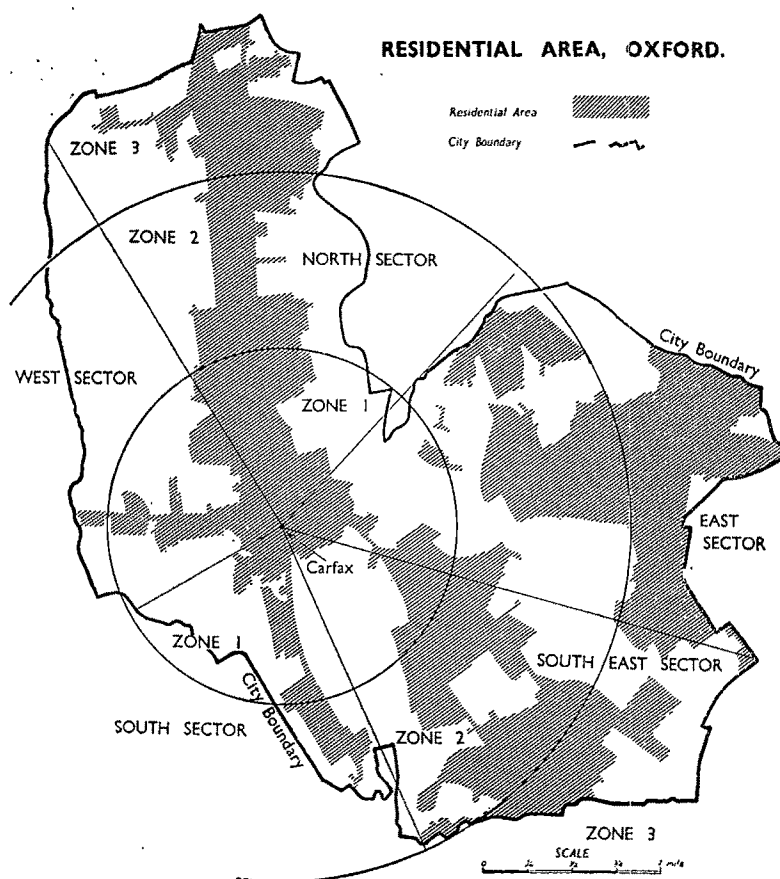


TABLE 1
AREAS AND POPULATIONS OF SECTORS, 1951

SECTOR	AREA INCLUDED	MALES AGED FIFTEEN YEARS AND OVER	
		No.	Per Cent
North.....	328°-043°	4,120	12.6
East.....	043°-105°	8,044	24.6
Southeast.....	105°-155°	12,923	39.6
South.....	155°-240°	4,146	12.7
West.....	240°-328°	3,425	10.5
Total.....		32,658	100.0

boundary. If a line drawn due north from Carfax is taken as zero, our sectors are the areas bounded by lines radiating from Carfax at the angles indicated in Table 1.

The population of each tract has been allotted to the sector in which the tract falls.

In cases where a tract is cut by one or more sector boundaries, the population of the tract has been allotted to sectors according to a judgment of the proportion of the area of the tract falling in each sector. Thus if tract 1 were divided into two equal parts by the line separating the north sector from the east sector, then one-half of each of the five social classes in tract 1 would be allotted to each of the two sectors. This procedure involves, of course, the assumption that the classes are evenly distributed over the tract. The population of each sector and the percentage of the city population it represents are shown in Table 1.

In Table 2 is shown the percentage of each class residing in each sector and in Oxford as a whole. If the percentages for

sectors are compared with those for Oxford, it is apparent that the greatest deviation occurs in the north sector. Those who know Oxford will not be surprised to note that class 1 is heavily overrepresented, as is, although to a smaller extent, class 2. The remaining classes are all underrepresented. Another feature is that the degree to which the classes are represented in this sector falls as the scale of social class is descended. The intervals between the classes are not, however, regular. The greatest interval occurs between classes 2 and 3; there is also a large interval between classes 1 and 2. The intervals between classes 3, 4, and 5 are comparatively small.

class 5 is underrepresented in the north and overrepresented in the south.

In order to determine if there is any tendency for the different classes to locate themselves either toward or away from the city

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES FIFTEEN AND OVER BY SOCIAL CLASS FOR EACH SECTOR

SECTOR	SOCIAL CLASS				
	1	2	3	4	5
North.....	11.7	28.5	41.1	11.1	7.6
East.....	4.3	15.3	53.4	15.3	11.7
Southeast...	2.7	11.9	58.7	15.5	11.2
South.....	2.6	11.3	50.4	18.3	17.4
West.....	3.8	14.2	53.7	17.1	11.2
Oxford.....	4.3	15.0	53.6	15.4	11.7

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES FIFTEEN AND OVER BY SOCIAL CLASS FOR EACH ZONE

ZONE	PERCENTAGE OF CITY'S POPULATION IN ZONE	SOCIAL CLASS				
		1	2	3	4	5
First mile....	25.1	5.3	17.1	47.9	16.6	13.1
Second mile...	37.5	4.1	14.6	54.7	15.4	11.2
Third mile....	37.4	4.0	14.0	56.3	14.5	11.2
Total.....	100.0	...	...	...	...	...

The east sector conforms closely to the pattern of the city as a whole. In the southeast, classes 1 and 2 are underrepresented and class 3 overrepresented. In the south, classes 1, 2, and 3 are underrepresented and classes 4 and 5 overrepresented. In this sector the degree to which the classes are represented increases as the scale of social class is descended. In the west, classes 1 and 2 are underrepresented, while class 4 is overrepresented.

People of class 1, therefore, have shown a marked tendency to locate themselves in the north sector and a tendency to avoid the southeast, the south, and the west. Class 2 follows the same pattern except that its deviation from the pattern for the city as a whole is less marked. Class 3 is overrepresented in the southeast and underrepresented in the north and south. Class 4 is underrepresented in the north and overrepresented in the south and west, while

center, we have divided the city into three zones by drawing two concentric circles. The first has a radius of one mile from Carfax; the second, a radius of two miles. Zone 1 is the area included in the first circle, zone 2 is that between the first and second circles, and zone 3 lies within the city boundary but beyond the second circle. Tracts have been allocated to zones in the way already described for allocating them to sectors. Table 3 shows the distribution of the classes among zones.

It can be seen that classes 1 and 2 are represented most heavily in zone 1 and that the proportion of each to the total falls as one travels farther from the city center. The major division, however, occurs between zones 1 and 2; members of these classes tend to be located toward the center of the city. The representation of class 3, on the other hand, is least in the central zone and increases as one approaches the peripheries,

with again a relatively sharp break between zones 1 and 2. The representation of class 4 is heaviest at the center and falls by regular intervals as one approaches the city boundary. Class 5 is represented most heavily in the central zone and to a lesser extent in the other two.

We may now combine the sectors and zones and distribute the tracts between the resulting sector-zones. The distribution of social classes in each sector-zone is shown in Table 4.

In these three sectors class 2 is also concentrated more heavily in zone 2 than in zone 3. This seems to indicate a preference on the part of this class to live close to the city center and a disinclination to live in areas increasingly distant from the center. On the other hand, it is evident from Table 4 that in both the south and the west sectors class 2 is represented less heavily in zone 1 than in zone 2.

The pattern for class 3 is very different. In every sector the concentration of this

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES FIFTEEN AND OVER BY
SOCIAL CLASS FOR EACH SECTOR-ZONE

SECTOR-ZONE	PERCENTAGE OF SECTOR'S POPULATION IN ZONE	SOCIAL CLASS				
		1	2	3	4	5
North:						
First mile.....	22.2	16.9	33.8	33.6	11.2	4.5
Second mile.....	33.3	11.5	29.6	41.3	11.1	6.5
Third mile.....	44.5	9.2	25.1	44.7	11.0	10.0
East:						
First mile.....	11.1	8.1	31.3	39.7	13.6	7.3
Second mile.....	36.1	4.2	13.9	55.3	15.2	11.4
Third mile.....	52.8	3.5	12.9	55.0	15.7	12.9
Southeast:						
First mile.....	10.0	3.7	15.5	53.0	16.5	11.3
Second mile.....	42.7	2.6	11.7	57.7	15.9	12.1
Third mile.....	47.3	2.7	11.4	60.7	14.8	10.4
South:*						
First mile.....	66.7	2.6	11.0	48.5	18.4	19.5
Second mile.....	33.3	2.6	11.6	54.3	18.1	13.4
West:*						
First mile.....	68.7	3.9	13.1	53.1	17.8	12.1
Second mile.....	31.3	3.6	16.6	55.0	15.5	9.3

* Neither the south nor the west sectors extends sufficiently far to provide a third zone.

For all sectors, except the south, class 1 is concentrated most heavily in the zone closest to the city center. In the north, east, and west sectors the degree to which this class is represented falls as one approaches the outskirts. In the southeast, however, there is a slight increase as one proceeds from zone 2 to zone 3. In the south there is no difference between the zones.

Class 2 is represented most heavily in the first zones of the north, east, and southeast sectors. This is strikingly true of the east, where there is a marked difference between the proportion of this class in zones 1 and 2.

class is lowest in zone 1 and highest in the zone most distant from the city center, that is, zone 3 or, in the south and west sectors, zone 2. The people of this class, therefore, tend in all sectors to be located more densely as one proceeds farther from the city center. In the north and particularly the east sectors the representation of class 3 rises sharply between zones 1 and 2.

In all sectors except the east the proportion of class 4 in the population falls as one proceeds from zone 1 to zone 3. In the east sector, however, this is reversed, and the proportion rises from zone 1 to zone 3.

Taken as a whole, the figures for class 4 suggest that this class is spread more evenly over the sector-zones than the others. The proportion of class 5 in the population rises in the north and east sectors as the city boundary is approached. In the south and west, however, the reverse is the case, and the proportion is higher in zone 1 than in zone 2. In the southeast the proportion is highest in zone 2, somewhat lower in zone 1, and lowest of all in zone 3.

In order to bring out some of the features of Table 4, the Index of Centralization⁷ has been calculated for each social class by sectors and by all sectors combined. This index ranges from + 100 to - 100, positive values indicating a tendency for location toward the center and negative values the reverse. The indexes are shown in Table 5.

until about 1914, simply a university town, its one considerable industry being the University Press. The factories which have been built in recent decades have been located toward the outer boundaries of the city, and the center, although somewhat congested by traffic, is still dominated by university institutions whose presence probably explains its attraction to the higher social classes. University teachers, who are all in social class 2, naturally wish to live close to their place of work. Members of social class 1 and other members of social class 2 will be attracted by the architectural beauty of the area, its gardens, and other amenities. It is also the case that the area has, to borrow Walter Firey's term,⁸ a "symbolic" significance which has helped to stay processes of deterioration. Proposed changes of land use in the area

TABLE 5
INDEXES OF CENTRALIZATION

Social Class	North	East	Southeast	South	West	All Sectors Combined
1.....	+15	+14	+2	0	+2	+6
2.....	+ 9	+15	+4	+1	-6	+5
3.....	- 9	- 6	-5	-5	-2	-7
4.....	0	- 2	+3	0	+3	+8
5.....	-17	- 7	+4	+9	+6	+3

In the first place, the tendency in most of the sectors for class 1 and, although to a smaller extent, class 2 to be concentrated toward the city center may be noted. If, as generally seems to be the case, the middle and upper classes have led the flight to the suburbs, leaving houses in the inner areas to "filter down" to people lower in the social scale, we should expect the upper classes to be located in the outskirts of the city and the lower classes to be concentrated toward the center.

That Oxford should deviate from this pattern is not, however, surprising. It was,

rouse storms of protest if they are thought to affect its traditional character. Moreover, much property is owned by university institutions, and, in administering this property, they are governed by their conception of the traditional character of the city. Thus much residential property in north and central Oxford is rented to professional people and maintained in such a way that it will attract them as tenants. It is perhaps also the case that the tendency to preserve the traditional character of at least some areas has been strengthened by town-planning legislation.

This is not to say, of course, that processes of change and even of deterioration are altogether absent. Commercial interests have on occasions succeeded in their attempts to expand in the central area. More-

⁷ Full details of the Index of Centralization and of the indexes of dissimilarity and segregation (see below) may be found in Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (1955), 493-506. See also P.E.P., *Report on the Location of Industry* (London: P.E.P., 1939), pp. 292-93.

⁸ Walter Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947).

over, the St. Ebbe's district,⁹ which falls in our south sector and is adjacent to the city center, is an old slum area probably much like those which occur in the central areas of commercial and industrial cities. On the whole, however, the presence of the university, together, perhaps, with the fact that Oxford is still not a very large city, has been sufficient to prevent changes that one would expect from Burgess' Zonal Hypothesis.

In order to provide a general measure of the extent to which the social classes are segregated one from another, we have calculated the Index of Dissimilarity and the Index of Segregation¹⁰ for each social class. The calculation has been based on the tracts and not on the sector-zones.

TABLE 6
INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY AND
OF SEGREGATION

SOCIAL CLASS	1	2	3	4	5	SEGREGATION
1.....	..	15	39	40	46	35
2.....	25	27	33	25
3.....	8	15	13
4.....	11	8
5.....	18

The Index of Dissimilarity provides a measure of the degree to which a social class is segregated from another social class. The Index of Segregation is the same, except that it is calculated not for a class against one other class but against all other classes combined. The indexes are shown in Table 6.

It is apparent from the indexes of dissimilarity that the degree to which the classes are segregated increases as the "social distance" between them increases. This is, of course, what one would expect. It can also be seen, however, that the degree of segregation does not increase by regular intervals. The break between classes 2 and 3 is particularly large and that between classes 1 and 2 is also considerable, while the dif-

ferences between the three remaining classes are smaller.

Differences in the degree to which each class is segregated from all other classes are evident from the indexes of segregation. One would expect class 3 to have the smallest index partly because this is by far the largest and most heterogeneous group and also because of possible cross-pressures¹¹ bearing on people at this part of the social hierarchy. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to see that class 4 has a smaller index than class 3. Our indexes of segregation do not, therefore, form the usual U-shaped curve both because the index for class 4 is particularly small and because the indexes for classes 1 and 2 are particularly large.

These deviations may be explained to some extent at least as an effect of municipal housing policy. In recent decades Oxford, like other local authorities, has built many houses. They are usually grouped together in estates which, for the most part, are located toward the outskirts. The municipal housing program is designed to accommodate some, at least, of the people who are unable to compete effectively in the free market for the sort of accommodation they want. We should, therefore, expect the residents to be drawn from the lower social classes. The extent to which this is the case may be illustrated by the findings of a sample survey completed recently on one of Oxford's municipal estates. The percentage of people in each social class was as follows (the figures in parentheses are the corresponding percentages for the city as a whole): class 1, 0 (4.4); class 2, 4.3 (14.9); class 3, 60.0 (53.5); class 4, 23.8 (15.5); and class 5, 11.9 (11.7).

If this estate can be taken as typical, it is evident that the effect of the municipal housing program is to segregate classes 1 and 2 from the remainder while reducing the degree of segregation among classes 3, 4, and 5. It may further be noted that the order of the classes in the matter of segregation (Table 6, col. 6) is the inverse of the

⁹ For a recent study of this area see J. M. Moge, *Family and Neighborhood* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956).

¹⁰ See Duncan and Duncan, *op. cit.*, pp. 494-95, and P.E.P., *op. cit.*

¹¹ See Duncan and Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

order in which they are represented on the estate. Thus, class 1, which is not represented at all on the estate, has the largest Index of Segregation. At the other extreme, class 4 is represented more fully on the estate in comparison with its representation in the city than any of the other classes, and it has the smallest Index of Segregation.

The tendency for classes 1 and 2 to be highly segregated is, perhaps, also reinforced by the way municipal estates have been located. Municipal housing is a comparatively recent phenomenon, and most of the city and certainly its central areas were built long before the local authority entered the field. Of necessity, therefore, the estates have been located on the outskirts of the city, and the social character of areas toward the center have been largely unaffected by municipal housing. There is, for example, no municipal housing at all in the first two zones of the north sector. The absence of municipal housing probably makes this area even more attractive to people high in the social scale,

thus further confirming the character of the area and maintaining the degree of segregation of the higher classes.

The material we have now presented and discussed relates, of course, to one city only. Comparisons with other areas in England will have to await the preparation of the necessary census-tract material. We may note, however, that it would be of interest to determine if patterns comparable to those of Oxford are reproduced elsewhere. Is there any tendency, for example, for the higher classes to reside toward the center in cities of a certain size? Or in cities which have certain amenities? Or, perhaps, in cities which have dominant institutions located at the center? One might also investigate further the relation between municipal housing programs and the degree and character of local segregation. It is hoped to explore these problems as the census-tract material becomes available.

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AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY IN JAPAN

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ABSTRACT

Sociology was first introduced into Japan through American publications but was dominated by the German emphasis upon abstract theory until the end of the last war, when contacts with American scholars brought about a new emphasis on empirical research. This radical change from interest in philosophical speculations to concrete studies of Japanese institutions is proceeding rapidly, but there is no wholesale acceptance of American sociology. While American influence has greatly broadened the scope of Japanese sociology and has introduced modern techniques in empirical studies, the necessity of building a sociological system adapted to the needs of Japanese society is gaining recognition.

The dominance of German sociology in Japan during the two decades prior to World War II has obscured the fact that Japanese scholars had their first introduction to sociological thought through American influences. Ernest F. Fenollosa, who taught sociology in Tokyo University in 1876, had come from Massachusetts; and Shoichi Toyama, who was the first Japanese professor of sociology, had studied in America. It is remarkable that Lester F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* (1883) was already on sale in the Maruzen Book Store in Tokyo the year following its publication. During the years that followed, the American pioneers in sociology became widely known among interested Japanese scholars. American sociological publications translated into Japanese included such representative works as A. W. Small's *General Sociology*, F. H. Giddings' *Principles of Sociology*, C. H. Cooley's *Human Nature and the Social Order*, E. A. Ross's *Social Control*, C. A. Ellwood's *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, J. M. Gillette's *Rural Sociology*, and E. S. Bogardus' *The History of Social Thought*.

Before the first World War a small number of Japanese students found their way to American universities, but toward the end of the Taisho period (1912-26) the more brilliant students of sociology turned their attention to the publications of German sociologists. As a result, American sociology was looked upon with less enthusiasm and began to occupy a position of

secondary importance. Junichiro Matsumoto, who was for many years one of the directors of the Japan Sociological Society, wrote in an article published in 1927 that "American sociology is more or less weak in its scientific grounding compared with German sociology, but has the advantage of handling problems of social research without losing sight of their inseparable relationship with actual life."¹

During the 1920's and 1930's American publications did not play such an important role in the development of Japanese sociology as did the writings of Georg Simmel, Leopold von Wiese, and Max Weber, which fostered the speculative and philosophical trend that had become dominant in Japan. This, however, did not mean that empirical research was totally absent. For example, Dr. Teizo Toda, for many years the chairman of the Department of Sociology at Tokyo University, set up a sociological laboratory following a year of study at the University of Chicago (1919-20) and made extensive studies of the Japanese family, using the statistical materials of the first Japanese census of 1920. Other well-known sociologists, such as Eitaro Suzuki, Seiichi Kitano, Eiichi Isomura, and Tomyo Yonebayashi, profited by their contact with American publications and introduced methods of research in urban and rural sociology,

¹ Junichiro Matsumoto, "Doitsu ni okeru Beikoku Shakaigaku no Kyomi" ("German Interests in American Sociology"), *Shakaigaku-zasshi*, Vol. XLII (October, 1927).

and some of them laid emphasis upon social-psychological studies of social problems.

But, in spite of tendencies in this direction, the German emphasis upon theory prevailed over the American interest in empirical research. There was a growing contempt for American sociology, and this tendency was accelerated by the fact that Japan during the late 1930's regarded the United States as a military enemy and entered into a political alliance with Germany. The gulf between the sociologists of the two countries was, of course, widened by the outbreak of hostilities in 1941 and remained impassable until the end of the war.

Under the auspices of the United States Occupation Forces, libraries were set up in the principal cities of Japan and filled with recent books and journals from abroad. Among these, the publications on American sociology were eagerly read by Japanese scholars hungry for new knowledge from foreign countries. Because of animosity against the military occupation, prejudice against American sociology might have again appeared and even become more deeply rooted. But, on the contrary, American publications gained in popularity. An explanation of this changed attitude is found in an article by Tadashi Fukutake, of Tokyo University, entitled "For the Reconstruction of Sociology in This Country: Reflections upon the Past and Prospect for the Future," and published in the first postwar issue of *Shakaigaku Kenkyu* ("Journal of Sociology"). His point of view may be summarized as follows.

So far as sociological theories are concerned, sociology in Japan has reached the world standard. But empirical research, which took root in actual Japanese society, has made little progress. Therefore, Japan's sociological theories were unable to go beyond abstract studies. This was proved by the fact that Japanese sociology could not give any scientific advice to help in the reconstruction of Japan after the war. Moreover, up to this time the Japanese sociologists have devoted themselves to the intro-

duction of new theories developed in foreign countries. But, interest having been directed only toward German sociology, the analysis of the actual conditions of human life has been sidetracked, and unavoidably the discussion of principles has become dominant. If American sociology, which in spite of some of its faults in theory has obtained great results in empirical studies, had been introduced in Japan more extensively, the tendency might have been corrected. Consequently, the objective must be, first of all, concrete, actual analysis of Japanese institutions. To accomplish this, earnest attention must be given to positive and empirical research; in other words, the tradition of German sociology must be abandoned, and the views and methods of American sociology must be generously borrowed.

This was a widely accepted opinion during the first postwar years, and it gained increasing support. In December, 1949, Kunio Odaka, now chairman of the Department of Sociology of Tokyo University, carried to the United States a message from the Japan Sociological Society to the American Sociological Society, which officially reopened communication between the scholars of the two countries. In Odaka's message occurred these words: "If we, the sociologists of Japan, are to fulfil these responsibilities and make our science serve the needs of our new democratic state, we must study American experiences and achievements." And this was not at all so-called diplomatic language. In a letter written at that time to his colleagues in Japan, he pointed out that the Japanese should modify their opinion of American sociology:

So far we have been apt to recognize the merit of American sociology only in its success in empirical studies and progress in its research techniques, and in these points we have admitted that Japanese sociology must be improved, since we have gone too far in the philosophical speculations of German sociology. But at present such a view as we have held seems to be no longer valid. As Edward Shils has pointed out, American sociology is no longer in the stage of non-theory or anti-theory as it used to be and has not only entered the stage of new theoretic-

cal construction but may be said to have arrived at the stage of interpenetration or unification of theory and research.²

This point of view was widely accepted by Japanese sociologists, who turned to American publications for guidance in their professional studies. Students of American sociology who had remained relatively obscure were suddenly brought into the limelight, and textbooks as well as scholarly monographs gained wide popularity. Very probably, this remarkable change in attitude was an aspect of the extensive Americanization which went on for several years in the wake of the war.

But this does not mean that Japanese sociologists were entirely swayed by the new currents of thought and made an unconditional surrender to American sociology. Very soon voices were raised against the new trend, and the limitations of American sociology were pointed out. Takeyoshi Kawashima, a well-known scholar in the sociology of law, stated his criticism in these words:

From now on, sociology in Japan will be greatly influenced by the quantitative method of American sociology. In America, where the entire constitution of civil society is stabilized and unshakeable, the historical development of social and economic phenomena can be understood simply in terms of quantitative relationships. Consequently, it was both possible and inevitable for American sociology to have a remarkable inclination toward the quantitative method and to continue such a method without feeling the need of modification. In Japan, on the contrary, there are many difficult problems to be solved before the quantitative method can obtain a fruitful result on account of the unique nature of its social structure. Moreover, the historical duty of democratizing Japanese society being imposed upon us, we cannot afford to lean too much toward the quantitative method.³

Closely related to this point of view is the following statement by Toshio Hayase, To-

² Kunio Odaka, "Amerika Shakaigaku-kai Tsumashin" ("A Letter from America"), *Shakaigaku Hyoron*, Vol. I (July, 1950).

³ T. Kawashima, "Shakaigaku in okeru Keiryoteki Hoho no Igi to Sono Genkai" ("Statistical Methods in Sociology: Their Importance and Limitations"), *Shakaigaku Kenkyu*, Vol. I, No. 2 (December, 1947).

shio Kaba, Akio Baba, and others in a symposium concerning the methodology of sociology: "We cannot be fully satisfied with the American theory of social change when we try to apply it to the analysis of present-day Japan because the 'change' does not mean 'reform' in American sociology."⁴ To this should be added Tadashi Fukutake's comment that the American emphasis upon field work and lack of systematic theory had come about because American society had been relatively stabilized without coming to a serious deadlock or crisis. His criticism of American sociologists was that they had not experienced the agony of social reform.⁵

Of interest also is the sharply critical comment of Yasujiro Daido, of Kansai Gakuin University:

A characteristic of American sociology in a negative sense is that it tends to take up only such trivial problems as are directly connected with daily life, ignoring the deeper problems that are basically important to society. For instance, it does not give adequate attention to such problems as revolution or class conflict. This seems to be due to the fact that the American nation faces neither social revolution nor social crisis; and it may also be a reflection of the unique character of its social structure which is relatively open and classless.⁶

Japanese sociologists are also critical of the American lack of emphasis upon historical sociology. Ryoza Takeda, who is widely known as an authority on American sociological theory, wrote as follows:

Parsons' theory of social action lacks in its historical perspective. Parsons is not the only one that has this fault, for failure to study social problems in the light of history is the common characteristic of American sociologists.⁷

⁴ "Shakaigaku Hohoron no Kenkyu Zadankai" ("Discussion of Methods of Sociology"), *Shakaigaku*, Vol. I (November, 1948).

⁵ T. Fukutake, "Shakaigaku wo meguru Amerika to Soren" ("U.S.A. versus U.S.S.R. in Sociology"), *Shakaigaku Hyoron*, Vol. I, No. 1 (July, 1950).

⁶ Y. Daido, "Amerika Shakaigaku no Tokushitsu" ("Characteristics of American Sociology"), in *Gendai Amerika Shakaigaku*, ed. T. Hayase and A. Baba (Tokyo: Baifukan, 1954).

⁷ R. Takeda, "Riron Shakaigaku" ("Sociological Theories"), in *Gendai Amerika Shakaigaku*, ed. T. Hayase and A. Baba (Tokyo: Kyobundo, 1954).

A similar point of view appears in Eiichi Isomura's comments concerning one aspect of urban sociology:

We have found that the theories of the "Chicago school" cannot satisfactorily explain the actual conditions of Japanese cities. The first thing we must bear in mind is that, so far as Japanese cities are concerned, the historical process constitutes the most important factor that determines the structure and function of urban society. This is the essential difference between the cities that have a history of a hundred years or less and those which are several hundred years old.⁸

While no complete evaluation of American sociology has yet appeared, fragmentary criticisms such as those listed above are being published from time to time. No doubt, some are an outgrowth of misunderstanding due to inadequate knowledge. But, to repeat, since American sociology is an outgrowth of American society, it is natural that Japanese sociologists should be more or less disappointed when they turn to American sociology for guidance in solving their current problems.

Nonetheless, a rapidly increasing number of Japanese students have studied the achievements of American sociology during recent years. The field has been broadened to include social psychology, industrial sociology, criminology, human ecology, sociology of the family, class and group structure, methods of social research, as well as sociological theories and rural and urban sociology. In the field of sociological theory, Talcott Parsons, M. Levy, and Robert Merton are widely studied. Dr. Parsons is especially popular.

The trend is seen in the attention given to the translation of important books into Japanese. Scholarly monographs have been selected for this purpose, although their number is not so large as might be expected in view of the extent of American influence. Professional sociologists in Japan need no

translation of books written in the English language, and university students of sociology are too few in number to make publication in their own language profitable. The elaborate introductory textbooks designed for American undergraduates have not been translated; publishers look more favorably upon books of a sociological nature in a border-line field of greater interest to a wider public. A notable exception is George A. Lundberg's *Social Research*, which was translated in 1952 by members of the Department of Sociology of Tokyo University. This volume has been popular with the expanding group of young students interested in using American research techniques.

Without doubt, the most profound effect of American sociology is to stimulate research on Japanese institutions and the increasing use of techniques such as statistics, participant observation, and personal documents. American influence is also conspicuous in the wider attention given to the analysis of social action, small groups, and social stratification. Then, too, the postwar introductory textbooks have widened their scope by giving more space to a discussion of personality and culture.

But it is already evident that the Japanese will not be guided completely by American patterns. Instead of their earlier postwar tendency to seek in American sociology a key to the solution of their problems, they are recognizing more and more the necessity of building a sociological system adapted to their own peculiar needs. Their former preoccupation with abstract theory is being replaced by intensive study of their own institutions. Studies with such an end in view had, as a matter of fact, begun to appear before the war, but now they are being undertaken with new vigor and insight by the younger generation of sociologists.⁹

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⁸ E. Isomura, "Toshi-Shakai Kenkyu no Hansei" ("Reflections on Urban Sociological Studies"), in *Nihon Shakaigaku no Kadai* (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1956).

⁹ Yuzuru Okada, "Nihon Shakaigaku no Hansei" ("Reflections on Japanese Sociology"), in *Nihon Shakaigaku no Kadai*.

SOME ALTERNATIVES TO ECOLOGICAL CORRELATION¹

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ABSTRACT

Under certain specified conditions, ecological data, e.g., the percentage of non-whites and the percentage in domestic service for different community areas, can be used to estimate the "individual correlation" between two dichotomous classifications, e.g., the non-white-white classification and the domestic service-other than domestic service classification. Quite accurate estimates are obtained for some data on the relation between color and occupation, somewhat less accurate estimates on the relation between color and literacy. For some situations where the specific conditions here described are not met, other conditions are presented that lead to different methods for estimating the individual correlation from the ecological data. These methods are developed for the study of the individual correlation between two dichotomous variables, between two qualitative variables where one of them is dichotomous, and between two quantitative variables.

The present article discusses some of the results reported in Robinson's paper on ecological correlation² and explores further the suggestions in earlier notes by the present author³ and by Duncan and Davis.⁴ The terminology used in these earlier papers will, for the sake of convenience, be used here, although it does have some disadvantages. "In an *ecological correlation* . . . the variables are . . . descriptive properties of groups. . . . An *individual correlation* is a correlation in which the . . . variables are descriptive properties of individuals. . . ."⁵ The phrase "behavior of individuals" re-

ferred to the variables describing properties of individuals, while "ecological data" referred to the ecological variables describing properties of groups. An "ecological regression" study is a standard regression analysis for ecological variables. The problems of "aggregation," as discussed in some of the economics literature,⁶ are related somewhat to the mathematical problems that have appeared in the discussion of ecological and individual correlations, although the terminology of this literature is quite different from that of the papers referred to earlier.

The variables in an ecological correlation are usually quantitative (e.g., percentages or means for each of the 48 states), while the variables in an individual correlation may be qualitative (e.g., race of each individual) or quantitative (e.g., height of each individual). The ecological correlation coefficient used in the earlier papers was the Pearsonian correlation coefficient for the joint distribution of two quantitative ecological variables. These papers dealt mainly, though not exclusively, with the situation in which both variables in the individual correlation study were qualitative and dichotomous and the individual correlation coefficient used was the fourfold-point (ϕ) correlation coefficient for the cross-classification table describing the joint distribution of the two dichoto-

¹ The research was carried out at the Statistical Research Center, University of Chicago, under the sponsorship of the Statistics Branch, Office of Naval Research, and of the Social Science Research Committee, University of Chicago. Reproduction in whole or in part is permitted for any purpose of the United States government. I am indebted to R. Blough, who assisted with the numerical computations; and to O. D. Duncan, P. F. Lazarsfeld, J. S. Coleman, Z. Griliches, Y. Grunfeld, P. M. Hauser, P. H. Rossi, and H. Zeisel for helpful comments.

² W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 351-57.

³ Leo A. Goodman, "Ecological Regression and Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (1953), 663-64.

⁴ Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Davis, "An Alternative to Ecological Correlation," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (1953), 665-66.

⁵ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁶ For example, H. Theil, *Linear Aggregations of Economic Relations* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1954).

mous variables.⁷ The present article will also study this situation, as well as situations in which both variables considered in the individual correlation study are quantitative, or where both are qualitative and one is dichotomous. Situations in which one variable is quantitative and the other qualitative, or where both are qualitative but neither dichotomous, will not be considered here.⁸

It has been shown that ecological correlations cannot be used as substitutes for individual correlations.⁹ However, ecological correlations may be of interest in themselves; the kinds of questions that can be answered by a study of ecological correlations are sometimes of direct concern to social scientists.¹⁰ In some problems, both the ecological and the individual correlations and the relations between them may be of interest. Even if the investigator is concerned only with individual correlations, ecological data may be of service, though ecological correlations are not recommended.¹¹

The author's earlier note¹² showed that, under very special circumstances, the analysis of the regression between ecological variables may be used to make inferences about "individual behavior," i.e., about the unknown data, for a population of individuals, describing the cross-classification of two dichotomous attributes. In the present article, the general approach presented in the note will be developed further, and the in-

ferences about "individual behavior" will be used to estimate individual correlations. (Since the individual correlation coefficient, ϕ , may not be an appropriate measure of association in many situations,¹³ the author's note did not discuss individual correlations explicitly but rather inferences about "individual behavior." However, since the individual correlation coefficient may sometimes be an appropriate measure, it will be investigated here. The general method developed here can also be applied to situations in which some other measure of association is of interest.) This article will also explore in some detail the method presented in the note by Duncan and Davis¹⁴ and will suggest a few techniques that lead to further insight into it.¹⁵

If individual correlations are of interest, it is best to obtain the directly relevant data on individual behavior rather than ecological data. For example, if the individual correlation between color (Negro-white) and illiteracy (illiterate-literate) is of interest, the appropriate data would be a fourfold table describing the cross-classification of individuals according to Negro-white and illiterate-literate categories.¹⁶ However, in some situations this table may not be available; thus the fourfold-point correlation coefficient cannot be computed from it. However, the marginal totals (i.e., the number of Negroes, whites, illiterates, and literates) for the total Negro-white population and also for the Negro-white populations of various subdivisions of the country may be known. Using these ecological data, methods will be presented for estimating the data, which would have appeared in the table, and the fourfold-point correlation coefficient for it. These methods can also be used to estimate

⁷ See, e.g., Helen M. Walker and Joseph Lev, *Statistical Inference* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953), p. 272, and Leo A. Goodman and William H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLIX (1954), 732-64, esp. 739.

⁸ See Goodman and Kruskal, *op. cit.*, pp. 735-38, for a description of some distinctions between these situations.

⁹ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 357; Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 663.

¹⁰ Herbert Menzel's "Comment" on Robinson's paper, in *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 674; Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 663.

¹¹ Duncan and Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 665; Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 664.

¹² *Op. cit.*

¹³ See Goodman and Kruskal, *op. cit.*, for further discussion of this point.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*

¹⁵ Cf., Håkan C. Selvin, "Durkheim's 'Suicide' and Problems of Empirical Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (1958), 615-18. Selvin refers to the results presented in an unpublished version of the present article.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 353, Table 1.

the non-available data and the corresponding correlation coefficient for each subdivision of the country. These methods are simple, but they cannot be expected to lead to as accurate estimates as those obtained from relevant data on individual behavior. On the other hand, if the ecological data are easily available, then the amount of computation involved in using the methods suggested here costs very little in comparison with the cost of obtaining the directly relevant data from a special study.

Ecological regression.—The proportion, y , of individuals in the Negro-white population who are illiterate may be written as $y = xp + (1 - x)r$, where x is the proportion in the population who are Negro, p is the proportion of Negroes who are illiterate, $(1 - x)$ is the proportion in the population who are white, and r is the proportion of whites who are illiterate. Thus $y = r + (p - r)x = a + bx$, where $a = r$ and $b = p - r$. Hence, if different populations or areas are considered where the proportion p is the same for each of these populations and also the proportion r is the same for these populations, then there will be an exact linear relationship, $y = a + bx$, between the values of y and x for the different populations (assuming that not all the values of x are equal), where the slope will be $b = p - r$, and the y -intercept will be $a = r$. This straight line could be used to determine $r = a$ and $p = b + a$.

In practice, the actual values of p and r will not be constant, but it may be the case that the average $E(p|x)$ of the values of p , for populations with the same proportion x of Negroes, is constant [i.e., $E(p|x)$ is the same for different values of x] and the average $E(r|x)$ of the values of r , for populations with the same x value, is also constant. In this situation, the main assumption of linear regression analysis, $E(y|x) = A + Bx$, holds true, where $A = E(r|x)$ and $B = E(p|x) - E(r|x)$. Thus standard methods of linear regression¹⁷ can be used to estimate

A and B . The variance $\sigma^2(y|x)$ of the observed y values from the straight line will depend on the variance $\sigma^2(p|x)$ computed for the probability distribution of the proportion p illiterate among Negroes for populations with the same proportion x of Negroes; the variance $\sigma^2(r|x)$ of the r for populations with a given x value; the covariance $\text{Cov}(p, r|x)$ of these two proportions; and the distribution of the x values. If $\sigma^2(y|x)$ is not approximately constant for the different x values, it will sometimes be worthwhile to modify the standard regression methods by the use of a "weighted regression."¹⁸ (Another kind of modification, which will sometimes be appropriate, can be based on methods developed for the situation of "linear regression where both variates are subject to error"¹⁹ rather than for the standard linear regression.) For a given x , $\sigma^2(y|x) = \sigma^2(p|x)x^2 + \sigma^2(r|x)(1 - x)^2 + 2\text{Cov}(p, r|x)x(1 - x)$. Thus, under the present assumptions, $\sigma^2(y|x) = 0$ only when all the p and r values equal $B + A$ and A , respectively, or when there is a specific negative linear relationship between p and r , for each x ; viz., $px + r(1 - x) = A + Bx$, or $p = A + B - (r - A)(1 - x)/x$. [In the final section herein, different assumptions are made, which lead to quite different kinds of situations in which it is possible that $\sigma^2(y|x) = 0$.]

The expected values will be constant, and the variances will be small, when the probability of illiteracy, say, is much more a function of color (i.e., it depends on whether a person is white or Negro) rather than a function of the ecological area being considered. Where the phenomenon under investigation is more a function of the area (i.e., the

¹⁸ See, e.g., R. L. Anderson and T. A. Bancroft, *Statistical Theory in Research* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952), pp. 182-86.

¹⁹ See, e.g., M. G. Kendall, "Regression, Structure, and Functional Relationship," Parts I and II, *Biometrika*, XXXVIII (1951), 11-25, and XXXIX (1952), 96-108; D. V. Lindley, "Regression Lines and Linear Functional Relationship," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Suppl., IX (1947), 219-44; J. W. Tukey, "Components in Regression," *Biometrics*, VII (1951), 33-70.

¹⁷ See, e.g., Wilfrid J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr., *Introduction to Statistical Analysis* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951), chap. xi.

p and r values differ widely in the different areas) than a function of color, the methods presented here are not recommended; however, in some situations the variance of p and r may be sufficiently small for them to be applicable, while in others the variance of p and r for a particular subset of ecological areas (e.g., for the states in a given geographic division of the United States) or for a set of combined ecological areas (e.g., for the nine geographic divisions of the United States) may be sufficiently small for the present method to be applied to the subset of ecological areas or to the set of combined areas. If the variance of p and r for the states in each division of the United States is small, then the methods may be applied to obtain separate estimates for each division, thus obtaining estimates where, in a certain sense, geographic divisions have been held constant.

If the scatter diagram of y and x does not suggest a linear relation between y and x , then the present strategy is not recommended (unless the scatter diagram of y and x for a subset of the areas or for a set of combined areas suggests linearity). If the scatter diagram does suggest a linear relation, then it may be applicable, but it is still possible that the variances of p and r are large. In this case, the present method leads to estimates of $E(p|x)$ and $E(r|x)$ when these average (expected) values are constant, but the estimate of the individual correlation for the total population based on these estimates of expected values may be quite poor if the variance of p and/or r is large.

From the scatter diagram of the per cent Negro and per cent illiterate in different areas, the slope B and the y -intercept A can be estimated by the usual methods of linear regression, obtaining the estimates \hat{b} and \hat{a} , respectively. Then $E(r|x)$ and $E(p|x)$ can be estimated by $\hat{r} = \hat{a}$ and $\hat{p} = \hat{a} + \hat{r} = \hat{a} + \hat{a}$, respectively. The numbers of illiterate Negroes, illiterate whites, literate Negroes, and literate whites (i.e., the four entries in the fourfold "individual behavior" table) are estimated by $\hat{p}NX$, $\hat{r}N(1 - X)$, $(1 - \hat{p})NX$, and $(1 - \hat{r})N(1 - X)$, respec-

tively, where NX is the total number of Negroes.

Since p and r lie between 0 and 1, it is desirable that the estimates \hat{p} and \hat{r} also lie between 0 and 1. When this is not the case, the underlying assumptions should be re-examined, although it is possible to obtain such estimates even if these assumptions are satisfied. A method for dealing with this situation was suggested in the author's earlier note.

The estimated proportion $\hat{Y} = \hat{a} + \hat{b}X = \hat{p}X + \hat{r}(1 - X)$ of illiterates in the Negro-white population should be close to the known proportion, Y , of illiterates. If this is not the case for a given set of data, this method is not recommended. In the special case where Y is, in fact, equal to the average, \bar{y} , of the illiteracy proportions in the various ecological areas and X is equal to the average, \bar{x} , of the proportions Negro in the ecological areas, then this check on the underlying assumptions of the method does not apply, since in this case $\hat{Y} = \hat{a} + \hat{b}\bar{x} = \bar{y} = Y$, even if the assumptions are not met. A method for determining roughly whether or not \hat{Y} is sufficiently close to Y will be mentioned later in this section.

Rather than compute the correlation coefficient c directly for the estimated fourfold table by the usual formula, a simplified formula is $\hat{c} = \hat{b}\sqrt{X(1 - X)/\hat{Y}(1 - \hat{Y})}$. Since \hat{Y} will be close to Y when this general approach is applicable, it will not matter much whether or not \hat{Y} is replaced by the known proportion Y . Thus an estimate of the fourfold-point correlation is

$$\hat{c} = \hat{b}\sqrt{X(1 - X)/Y(1 - Y)}.$$

Following standard correlation theory, the ecological correlation can be computed by multiplying b by the ratio of the standard deviation of the proportions of Negroes in the ecological areas and the standard deviation of the proportions of illiterates there. Since this ratio will usually be very different from $\sqrt{X(1 - X)/Y(1 - Y)}$ when ecological data are used, the ecological and individual correlations will usually be very differ-

ent. However, the ecological correlation might also serve as a rough measure of whether the underlying assumptions are not satisfied for a particular set of data;²⁰ the present method is not to be recommended if it is rather small in absolute value.

The estimates \hat{b} and \hat{a} will be unbiased estimates of B and A , respectively, if $E(y|x) = A + Bx$. If $\sigma^2(y|x)$ does not depend on x (i.e., the special case of "homoscedasticity"), then the estimates \hat{b} and \hat{a} are the "best" unbiased estimates. When $\sigma^2(y|x)$ is not constant, which will usually be the case, the estimates will still be unbiased, but they may not be "best." When homoscedasticity can be assumed and each y value, given x , is a statistically independent observation, the variances of the estimates of \hat{b} and \hat{a} are $\sigma^2(\hat{b}) = \sigma^2(y|x)/n\sigma^2(x)$ and

$$\sigma^2(\hat{a}) = \sigma^2(y|x) \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{x_i^2}{n^2 \sigma^2(x)},$$

where $\sigma^2(x)$ is the variance of the observed x values and n is the number of observations.²¹ The variances of \hat{p} , \hat{r} , \hat{r} , and \hat{c} can be written as follows: $\sigma^2(\hat{p}) = \sigma^2(\bar{y}) + (1 - \bar{x})^2 \sigma^2(\hat{b})$, $\sigma^2(\hat{r}) = \sigma^2(\hat{a}) = \sigma^2(\bar{y}) + \bar{x}^2 \sigma^2(\hat{b})$, $\sigma^2(\hat{Y}) = \sigma^2(\bar{y}) + (X - \bar{x})^2 \sigma^2(\hat{b})$, $\sigma^2(\hat{c}) = \sigma^2(\hat{b})X(1 - X)/Y(1 - Y)$, where $\sigma^2(\bar{y}) = \sigma^2(y|x)/n$. These variances are all proportional to $\sigma^2(y|x)$, which depends on $\sigma^2(p|x)$, $\sigma^2(r|x)$, $\text{Cov}(r, p|x)$, and the distribution of x . When homoscedasticity can be assumed, the variances, $\sigma^2(\hat{p})$, $\sigma^2(\hat{r})$, $\sigma^2(\hat{Y})$, $\sigma^2(\hat{c})$, can be estimated, in an unbiased manner, by replacing $\sigma^2(y|x)$ in the formulas given above by the mean-square deviation of the observed y values from the least-squares regression line, $y = \hat{a} + \hat{b}x$.²² The estimated variance of \hat{Y} can be used along with the observed differ-

ence between \hat{Y} and Y to determine roughly whether or not \hat{Y} is sufficiently close to Y , which is another partial check on the underlying assumptions.

The formulas presented above must be interpreted with caution, since they compute only the variance of the estimate from its expected value, whereas the difference between the estimate and the actual (rather than the expected) population value would be of greater interest. Furthermore, if homoscedasticity cannot be assumed, the numerical values obtained by the formulas may be in error. In developing the formulas, it was not necessary to make any assumptions about the distribution of y for given x except that of homoscedasticity and linearity of regression. If, in addition, the distribution of y for given x is a normal distribution, then it is also possible to obtain confidence intervals based on \hat{b} , \hat{p} , \hat{r} , \hat{Y} , and \hat{c} , using the variance formulas that are given above.

Our approach must begin, in each case, with a careful examination of the underlying assumptions;²³ however, the only necessary assumption for the justification of the use of the point estimates \hat{b} , \hat{p} , \hat{r} , \hat{Y} , and \hat{c} is that p and r must be more or less constant for the different ecological areas in such a way that the standard linear regression model can be applied.

If the proportion z of Negroes among the illiterates is approximately constant and if the proportion v of Negroes among the literates is also approximately constant, then an analogous approach to the one presented here could be used with the same ecological data to obtain estimates of the proportions z and v and the individual correlation c . Thus this approach may lead to two quite different estimates of c ; the choice between them should depend upon whether p and r are more constant than z and v (see comments in the final section herein).

²⁰ A statistical test for linearity of regression for certain kinds of data is described in Walker and Lev, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-46.

²¹ A somewhat different, but equivalent, set of formulas is given, for example, in Alexander McFarland Mood, *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1950), p. 294.

²² See, e.g., the discussion of regression analysis in Dixon and Massey, *op. c*

²³ Relevant are two earlier papers: Frederick F. Stephan, "Sampling Errors and the Interpretation of Social Data Ordered in Time and Space," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXIX (March 1934 Suppl.), 165-66, and Frank Alexander Ross, "Ecology and the Statistical Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (1933), 507-22.

Two numerical examples.—Let us first consider the example discussed by Robinson,²⁴ where, for the Census Bureau's nine geographic divisions of the United States in 1930, the ecological correlation between the per cent illiterate and the per cent Negro for the divisional Negro-white populations, ten years old and over, was .95, while the individual fourfold-point correlation for the 2×2 table giving the cross-classified color-illiteracy data for the corresponding total Negro-white population was .20.²⁵ Using the present approach, we see that the graph (Robinson's Fig. 1) for the nine geographic divisions looks more or less linear and that the slope $b = .25$ and the y -intercept $a = .02$. Also, the estimated proportion, \hat{Y} , of illiterates in the total population is .04, which is, in fact, equal to the known proportion $Y = .04$. This does not serve as a second partial check on the underlying assumptions, since, in this example, Y does not differ very much from the average, \bar{y} , of the proportions illiterate in the nine divisional populations and X does not differ from the average, $\bar{x} = .10$, of the proportions Negro in the nine divisional populations. (We shall see, in our second illustration, how the comparison of \hat{Y} and Y can serve as a partial check on the assumptions. Differences between Y and \bar{y} , X and \bar{x} , are due to the fact that the percentages appearing in the graph are weighted by the relative population size of the corresponding area in the computation of Y and X , but not so in the computation of \bar{y} and \bar{x} .) The fourfold-point correlation for the estimated table, based on the ecological data for the nine geographic divisions, is $\hat{c} = .38$. The bounds for the individ-

ual correlation, obtained by the method suggested by Duncan and Davis, are $-.07$ and $+.60$.²⁶ Thus the estimate $\hat{c} = .38$, while not very close, is closer to the known value of the individual correlation than are the ecological correlation (.95) and the bounds.

We shall now consider the numerical example on the relation between color (non-white-white) and occupation (domestic service-other than domestic service) for employed females in Chicago in 1940, which is discussed in the note by Duncan and Davis. The individual correlation was .29, while their method, when applied to the available ecological data for community areas, led to the bounds .126 and .355. The scatter diagram for the proportion in domestic service and the proportion non-white among the employed females, computed from the available ecological data for each of fifteen community areas and the "balance of city"²⁷ indicates that the relation is more or less linear, the ecological correlation is .93, $\hat{b} = .27$, and $\hat{a} = .07$. Also, the estimated proportion, \hat{Y} , of persons in domestic service in the total employed female population in Chicago is .08, which is, in fact, equal to the known proportion $Y = .08$. (Since $Y = .08$ differed from the average, $\bar{y} = .13$, of the proportions of employed females in domestic service in the various ecological areas, and $X = .07$, the proportion non-white among the total employed female population in Chicago, differed from the average, $\bar{x} = .24$, of the proportions non-white among the employed females in the ecological areas, the fact that \hat{Y} was very close to Y gives us some further confidence in the application of this method to the present data.) The fourfold-point correlation for the estimated table is $\hat{c} = .25$. Thus the ecological data show that the individual correlation

²⁴ *Op. cit.*

²⁵ Further discussion and application of some of the methods developed here will be presented in Otis Dudley Duncan, Ray P. Cuzzort, and Beverly Duncan, *Statistical Geography: Problems in Analyzing Areal Data* (to be published by the Free Press, Glencoe, Ill.); see also Donald J. Bogue and Margaret J. Hagood, *Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40*, Vol. II: *Differential Migration in the Corn and Cotton Belts* (Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, 1953), Appendix A, for a somewhat different approach to the problem of ecological correlation.

²⁶ See Duncan and Davis, *op. cit.*; comments on this method will be presented in the following section.

²⁷ *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population and Housing Statistics for Census Tracts and Community Areas, Chicago, Illinois* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), Tables A-3 and A-3a, pp. 25-39, and Tables 3 and 3a, pp. 176-341.

must lie in the interval between .13 and .35, and the estimate $\hat{c} = .25$ is quite close to the known value of .29. The computation of the bounds may be used as a third partial check on the estimate \hat{c} , as well as for determining the possible range of the individual correlations; we would not have recommended that \hat{c} be used if it had not been within the interval determined by the bounds.

Duncan and Davis also determine that the possible range of the percentage of non-whites in domestic service, based on the community area data, is between 21.1 and 44.5 per cent. It can be seen that the ecological regression method leads to the quite accurate estimate $\hat{p} = .34$ in this particular case; the known value of this proportion is .38.

TABLE 1

Parameters	True Values	Estimates	Estimated Standard Deviations
B	.32	.27	.03
$E(\hat{p}|x)$	.38	.34	.02
$E(\hat{r}|x)$	.06	.07	.01
Y	.08	.08	.01
c	.29	.25	.03

In this particular illustration, since Y and X differed from \bar{y} and \bar{x} , respectively, there were three partial checks on the underlying assumptions, while in the preceding example, there were, in effect, only two. For the present illustration, the results may be summarized in Table 1, where the estimates are shown to compare favorably with their respective known true values and where the estimated standard deviations, computed from the formulas given earlier, are also presented. Since the true value of Y is known from the ecological data, a rough comparison between \hat{Y} and Y can be made by using the information about the estimate of $\sigma(\hat{Y})$, another partial check on the assumptions underlying the present method.

The method of obtaining bounds.—Robinson and also Duncan and Davis point out that different systems of areal subdivision give different results. Duncan and Davis mention that, for their illustrative material, substantially closer bounds to the individual

correlation can be derived from the marginal frequencies for the census tracts than from the marginals for the community areas (which are combinations of tracts) and that the criterion for choice between the results of different systems of areal subdivisions is clear: "The individual correlation is approximated most closely by the least maximum and the greatest minimum among the results for several systems of areal subdivisions." Where one areal subdivision (e.g., community areas) represents a combination of another areal subdivision (census tracts), the least maximum and greatest minimum are obtained from the finer areal subdivision.²⁸ Thus, if the best bounds are desired, it is necessary only to compute the bounds for the finer subdivision. However, it is possible to combine the areas of the finer subdivision into not more than four combined areas, where all the areas in a given combined area are similar (in a sense to be defined in the following paragraph), so that the bounds computed by using only the data for the less fine subdivision will be equal to the best bounds determined by the finer subdivision.

Duncan and Davis indicate that substantially closer bounds are obtained for their data when the finer areal subdivision is used. It may sometimes happen that there is little or no difference between the bounds for the finer subdivision and the less fine subdivision. All tracts in which the number of non-white employed females was not more than the number of females in domestic service and the number of females in domestic service was not more than the number of white employed females can be combined into a single area without affecting the bounds (except for rounding errors); tracts in which the number of non-whites was not less than the number in domestic service and the number in domestic service was not more than the number of whites can be combined without affecting the bounds; etc. Tracts that can be combined in this way will be called "similar" (this definition of "similarity" is com-

²⁸ See reference to this finding in Selvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 616-18.

venient in this particular problem but not necessarily so in other quite different problems). Thus the fact that substantially closer bounds were obtained when census tracts rather than community areas were used indicates that some of the tracts that form a given community area were not "similar."

The color-illiteracy data for the forty-eight states and Washington, D.C., indicate that the nine geographic divisions were combinations of areas that were, in fact, quite "similar." More specifically, the number of Negroes was not more than the number of illiterates, and the number of illiterates was not more than the number of whites (or the number of Negroes was not less than the number of illiterates, and the number of illiterates was not more than the number of whites) in almost all the areas that were combined to form a given division. Only seven states had been combined with areas that differed in this respect. Thus the bounds ($-.07$ and $+.60$) for the individual color-illiteracy correlation based on the data for the nine geographic divisions differ only slightly from the bounds ($-.07$ and $+.58$) based on the data for the forty-eight states and Washington, D.C. The method of combining areas so that the same bounds are obtained for the combined areas as for the finer subdivision is as follows: Draw two lines $y = x$ and $y = 1 - x$ on the graph of the scatter diagram of the observed ecological variables y and x . This divides the graph into four parts: A, B, C, D , where A contains all those points representing areas where the number of non-white employed females was not more than the number of females in domestic service and the number of females in domestic service was not more than the number of white employed females ($x \leq y \leq 1 - x$); B contains those points where $x \geq y \leq 1 - x$; C contains those points where $x \geq y \geq 1 - x$; and D contains those points where $x \leq y \geq 1 - x$. (If a point falls exactly on a diagonal line dividing the parts of the graph, it may be put in either one of the adjacent parts, but, of course, cannot be put in both parts.) All

the points, or the ecological areas that they represent, that appear in the same part of the graph can be combined to form a single combined area, thus obtaining four areas: A, B, C, D . Bounds for the individual correlation computed by using the ecological data for the combined areas will yield the same result as the bounds computed by using the data for each of the points on the graph; i.e., the bounds computed by using each of the points on the graph could actually be computed from, at most, four points, A, B, C, D , placed on the graph, where point A is a weighted average (weighted by relative population size) of the points in part A of the graph, etc.

The bounds for the individual correlation are determined by first calculating the minimum number of non-white females that are in domestic service; based on the available ecological data, this can be seen to be 0 for area A (or for any ecological area represented by a point in part A of the graph) and also for area B (i.e., the areas where $y \leq 1 - x$); it is equal to the difference between the number of females in domestic service and the number of white employed females for area C and also for area D (i.e., the areas where $y \geq 1 - x$). The maximum number of non-white employed females in domestic service can be seen to be equal to the number of non-white employed females for area A and also for area D (i.e., the areas where $y \geq x$); it is equal to the number of females in domestic service for area B and also for C (i.e., the areas where $y \leq x$). Thus, at a minimum, the number of non-white females in domestic service for the total population under consideration (i.e., the combination of areas A, B, C , and D) will be equal to the difference between the number of females in domestic service and the number of white employed females for the combined population in areas C and D . At a maximum, the total number of non-white females in domestic service will be equal to the sum of the number of non-white employed females for the combined population in areas A and D and the number of females in domestic service for the combined population in areas B

and *C*. From the available ecological data for community areas in Chicago, we find that these minimum and maximum numbers are 5,826 and 12,271, respectively. Accordingly, the fourfold-point correlation coefficient is between .13 and .35. The difference, *T*, between the maximum and minimum numbers, $12,271 - 5,826 = 6,445$, can be shown to be equal to the sum, *S*, of the number of non-white employed females who reside in area *A*, the number white in area *C*, the number in domestic service in *B*, and the number not in domestic service who reside in area *D*. By obtaining *S* separately and comparing it with *T*, we have a partial check on our computations of the minimum and maximum numbers.

It can be seen that *T* multiplied by the total population is equal to the product of the possible range, *R*, of the fourfold-point correlation ($.35 - .13 = .22$) and the square root of the product of the four marginal totals in the fourfold cross-classification table for the population. Thus $T = S$ is directly proportional to *R* (the constant of proportionality depends on the population marginal totals). Hence the "accuracy" *R* of the bounds, for a given set of population marginal totals, depends on the magnitude of *S*, which can be determined very quickly in a rough fashion by an examination of the data described by the graph. These bounds will be quite accurate if all the points in part *A* of the graph are very close to the vertical line determined by $x = 0$, the points in part *B* are close to the horizontal line $y = 0$, the points in part *C* are close to the vertical line $x = 1$, and the points in part *D* are close to the horizontal line $y = 1$. The exact value of the individual correlation can be determined ($R = 0$) from the ecological data if $S = 0$; i.e., if all the ecological areas can be represented by points on some of the lines that form the sides (boundaries) of the graph. In other words, if in each ecological area employed females were either all white, all non-white, all in domestic service, or all not in domestic service, we should, of course, be able to determine the exact value of the individual correlation from the ecological

data alone. However, if each of the areas in, say, part *B* of the graph becomes more completely white (i.e., the percentage non-white decreases) or more completely non-white, but the areas still remain in part *B* (i.e., the percentage in domestic service still remains less than the percentage non-white and the percentage white), then the accuracy of the bounds need not be improved unless the percentage in domestic service in these areas also decreased. Using this general approach, an examination of the respective graphs describing the ecological data and a glance at the respective marginal proportions for the total populations would reveal that the bounds for the color-occupation data for the community areas or census tracts would be more accurate than the bounds for the color-illiteracy data obtained on either a divisional or a state basis.

Since it is possible, in computing bounds, to reduce the original ecological data to, at most, four areas (this simplifies somewhat the amount of computation; in any case, very little computation is required), the bounds are based essentially only on the information available for these four combined areas or their respective four points on the graph. The actual distribution of points on the graph is not used except insofar as it supplies data for the combined areas; the accuracy of the bounds depends on how closely these four points "hug" the four sides of the graph.

Further comments on ecological regression.—The regression approach made use of the graph of the ecological data, and the results depended on these data. If some other areal subdivision of the population is of interest, quite different estimates of the slope and *y*-intercept may be obtained, unless the underlying assumptions of this approach also hold true for this second areal subdivision and the values of $E(p|x)$ and $E(r|x)$ remain unchanged. Sometimes it is possible to combine areas or to use some other method of defining areas or classes of individuals in order to obtain a new subdivision of the population for which the underlying assumptions of the regression approach are more reason-

able than for the original area data. It is not necessary that this new subdivision actually divide the population into mutually exclusive classes or that the entire population be included in the subdivision. For the areas in the new subdivision and for the entire population, the underlying assumptions concerning p and r should be more reasonable. With additional information about the population, it may be possible to determine such a subdivision of the population. If this is the case, the regression methods should be applied to this new subdivision rather than to the original data.

None of the methods discussed here makes much use of the information about the spatial distribution of the areas under consideration. This information and the information concerning the relative population sizes of the areas are not contained in the graph. The information may be of interest in itself and also it would probably be worthwhile to make some use of it in dealing with the present problem. For example, the method mentioned herein for "holding constant the geographic divisions" does make some use of the spatial distribution of the states. The spatial distribution, the population sizes, and any other relevant information should enter into the discussion of whether or not, in a particular case, the underlying assumptions are met. The information concerning relative population sizes can also be utilized (to a certain extent) as "weights" in the weighted linear regression analysis referred to earlier in this article.

Relation between two qualitative variables when one of them is dichotomous.—We shall now consider the situation in which the "individual behavior" described by a $2 \times \beta$ cross-classification table for a population is of direct interest but where the only available data are the marginal totals in the table for the population and the marginal totals for some subdivision of the population. Here both variables in the individual correlation study are qualitative; one of them has two categories (e.g., literate-illiterate) and the other has β categories (e.g., Negro-white-"other races"; $\beta = 3$). Using an approach

similar to the regression approach described here for the case where $\beta = 2$, we see that the proportion y of individuals in the Negro-white-"other races" population who are illiterate may be written as $y = x_1p_1 + x_2p_2 + x_3p_3$, where x_1 is the proportion in the population who are Negro, p_1 is the proportion of Negroes who are illiterate, x_2 is the proportion in the population who are white, p_2 is the proportion of whites who are illiterate, x_3 is the proportion in the population who belong to "other races," and p_3 is the proportion of people in "other races" who are illiterate. Since $x_1 + x_2 + x_3 = 1$, we have $y = x_1p_1 + x_2p_2 + (1 - x_1 - x_2)p_3 = p_3 + (p_1 - p_3)x_1 + (p_2 - p_3)x_2 = a + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2$, where $a = p_3$, $b_1 = p_1 - p_3$, and $b_2 = p_2 - p_3$. Hence, if different areas are considered where the proportion p_1 is the same for each area, the proportion p_2 is the same for each area, and the proportion p_3 is the same for each area, then there will be an exact multilinear relationship, $y = a + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2$, between the values of y and x_1, x_2 for the different areas, where the slopes will be $b_1 = p_1 - p_3$ and $b_2 = p_2 - p_3$, and the y -intercept will be $a = p_3$. This multilinear relationship could be used to determine $p_3 = a$, $p_2 = b_2 + a$, and $p_1 = b_1 + a$.

In practice, the actual values of p_1 , p_2 , and p_3 will not be constant, but it may be the case that the average $E(p_1|x_1, x_2)$ of the values of p_1 , the average $E(p_2|x_1, x_2)$ of the values of p_2 , and the average $E(p_3|x_1, x_2)$ of the values of p_3 for populations with the same proportions x_1 and x_2 of Negroes and whites, respectively, are constant. Then the main assumption of multiple linear regression analysis, $E(y|x_1, x_2) = A + B_1x_1 + B_2x_2$, holds true, where $A = E(p_3|x_1, x_2)$, $B_1 = E(p_1|x_1, x_2) - A$, and $B_2 = E(p_2|x_1, x_2) - A$. Thus standard methods of multiple regression can be used to obtain estimates $\hat{a}, \hat{b}_1, \hat{b}_2$, of A, B_1, B_2 , respectively.²⁹ If the variances of p_1, p_2 , and p_3 are not large, then these estimates can be used to obtain the estimates $\hat{p}_3 = \hat{a}, \hat{p}_2 = \hat{b}_2 + \hat{a}$, and $\hat{p}_1 = \hat{b}_1 + \hat{a}$ of the expected values of p_3, p_2 , and

²⁹ See, e.g., Walker and Lev, *op. cit.*, chap. xiii.

p_1 , respectively. The six entries in the 2×3 cross-classification table describing the relation between literacy and color can then be estimated by a method analogous to that described earlier for the case in which $\beta = 2$. The estimates $\hat{p}_1, \hat{p}_2, \hat{p}_3$ should be examined to see whether they all lie between 0 and 1. Also the estimated proportion $\hat{Y} = \hat{a} + \hat{b}_1X_1 + \hat{b}_2X_2$ of illiterates in the total population (where X_1 is the proportion of Negroes in the total population and X_2 is the proportion of whites in this population) should be close to the known proportion Y of illiterates in this population, if the method suggested here is to be applied. Many of the comments discussed earlier for the case $\beta = 2$ can be generalized to the situation described in this section. This is left as an exercise for the interested reader.

Relation between two quantitative variables.

—Many of the ideas presented above can be applied also in the case in which we are dealing with quantitative variables rather than categories—e.g., income rather than race. Let us consider the situation in which the individual Pearsonian correlation between income and size of family is of interest and the relevant cross-classified data for the entire population are not available. That is, for each individual in the population, information about both his income, x , and size of his family, y , cannot be obtained, but it is possible to determine or to estimate the income distribution and the distribution of size of family for the population (i.e., the marginal totals). If the average income and the average size of family for, say, each of the forty-eight states is known and if there is a linear relationship between income x and average size of family $E(y|x)$ when x is given, and it is more or less constant in these states [i.e., $E(y|x) = A + Bx$ is true for the individuals in each state and A and B are constant for all states], then it is possible to use these ecological data for each of the states, to estimate the individual correlation for the population. The appropriate estimate of this Pearsonian correlation is obtained by multiplying \hat{b} , the estimate of the slope of the regression line of y and x obtained from the

average income and average data, by the ratio V of the standard deviation of the population income and the standard deviation of the population family-size distribution. [This ratio corresponds to the earlier multiplicative factor $\frac{\sqrt{X(1-X)}}{\sqrt{Y(1-Y)}}$.] The ecological correlation, which can in general to estimate the individual correlation, is obtained by multiplying the ratio of the observed standard deviation of the distribution of the forty-eight average family sizes for the states and the standard deviation of the distribution of the forty-eight average family sizes for the states; if Washington, D.C., is included, there will be forty-nine average family sizes. Often the case, this latter ratio is less than the ratio V , the usual ecological relation will overestimate the individual correlation.³⁰ The ecological correlation can serve as a rough measure and point to whether the underlying assumption is satisfied—i.e., whether $E(y|x) = A + Bx$ where A and B are constant for all states.

We have seen that it is not necessary to know the entire distribution of the distribution of size of family for the population, but only the standard deviations of the two, in order to use the ecological data to estimate the individual correlation, since only these standard deviations enter into the computation of the ecological correlation and of the individual correlation. These standard deviations can be estimated from the standard deviations (or variances) and the averages of the individual distributions for the states. The variance of the population income distribution is the weighted average $\sum w(i)M(i)$ of the average squares $M(i)$ of the income (family size) \bar{X} for the population, where $w(i)$ is the relative size of the i th state, $M(i) = \sigma^2(i)$

³⁰ See G. Udny Yule and M. G. Kendall, *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* (London: Hafner Publishing Co., 1950), pp. 311-312, and related comments.

$\bar{X}]^2$, $\bar{x}(i)$ is the average income (family size) in the i th state, and $\sigma^2(i)$ is the variance of the income (family-size) distribution in the i th state. These data, together with the estimated slope \hat{b} of the regression line obtained from the data on average income and average family size for the states, lead to the estimate $\hat{b}V$ of the individual correlation coefficient for the entire population, where there is a constant linear relationship between income x and average family size $E(y|x)$ when x is given.

We have seen that the variance $\sigma^2(X)$ of the population income (family size) distribution is $\sum w(i) M(i) = \sum w(i) \sigma^2(i) + \sum w(i) [\bar{x}(i) - \bar{X}]^2$; i.e., the population variance is the sum of two terms: (a) the weighted sum of the variances for the states [the "within states" variance, $WS(X)$] and (b) the weighted sum of the squared deviations of the averages $\bar{x}(i)$ for the states from \bar{X} [the "between states weighted" variance, $BSW(\bar{x})$], where the weights are the relative population sizes. Thus $\sigma^2(X) = WS(X) + BSW(\bar{x})$, and the variance of the family-size distribution is $\sigma^2(Y) = WS(Y) + BSW(\bar{y})$. The usual ecological correlation is

$$\hat{b}\sqrt{BS(\bar{x})/BS(\bar{y})},$$

where $BS(\bar{x})$ and $BS(\bar{y})$ are the observed (unweighted) variances of the average incomes $\bar{x}(i)$ and the average family sizes $\bar{y}(i)$, respectively, for the states. Since the estimate of the individual correlation is $\hat{b}V = \hat{b}\sqrt{\sigma^2(X)/\sigma^2(Y)}$, the ecological correlation will be larger than $\hat{b}V$ whenever $\sigma^2(X)/\sigma^2(Y) < BS(\bar{x})/BS(\bar{y})$, i.e., whenever $WS(X)/WS(Y) < [BS(\bar{x})/BS(\bar{y})] + E$, where $E = [BSW(\bar{y})BS(\bar{x}) - BS(\bar{y})BSW(\bar{x})]/WS(Y)BS(\bar{y})$. If the usual ecological correlation is modified to obtain the "weighted" ecological correlation, $\hat{b}\sqrt{BSW(\bar{x})/BSW(\bar{y})}$, then this "weighted" ecological correlation will be larger than the estimate of the individual correlation whenever $\sigma^2(X)/\sigma^2(Y) < BSW(\bar{x})/BSW(\bar{y})$; thus, whenever the ratio $WS(X)/WS(Y)$ of the "within states" variances is less than the

ratio $BSW(\bar{x})/BSW(\bar{y})$ of the "between states weighted" variances.

The ratio of the usual ecological correlation and the estimate of the individual correlation is $\sqrt{[BS(\bar{x})/BS(\bar{y})]/[\sigma^2(X)/\sigma^2(Y)]}$. If the observed variances $BS(\bar{y})$ and $\sigma^2(Y)$ are replaced in the above ratio by their expected values computed under the usual independence assumptions of the linear regression model, where $E(y|x) = A + Bx$ for each state and $\sigma^2[y|x(i)]$ is the variance around the regression line in the i th state, then the so-called "expected" ratio obtained will be larger than 1 whenever

$$\frac{\sum \{w(i) \sigma^2[y|x(i)]\}}{\sigma^2(X)} > \frac{\sum \{\sigma^2[y|x(i)]/w(i)\}}{TN[BS(\bar{x})]},$$

where there are T states and a total population size of N individuals—i.e., whenever

$$BS(\bar{x}) > \frac{\sigma^2(X) \sum \{\sigma^2[y|x(i)]/w(i)\}}{TN \sum \{w(i) \sigma^2[y|x(i)]\}}.$$

In the special situation where $w(i) = 1/T$, then this "expected" ratio will be larger than 1 whenever $BS(\bar{x}) > \sigma^2(X)T/N$ —i.e., whenever $BS(\bar{x})$ is greater than $\sigma^2(X)$ divided by the average population size N/T of the states, which will often be the case. [If the x values observed in each state were a random sample of size N/T from the same population of x values with variance $\sigma^2(X)$, then the expected value of $BS(\bar{x})$ would be approximately $\sigma^2(X)/(N/T)$.] By a similar approach, the "expected" ratio of the "weighted" ecological correlation and the estimate of the individual correlation will be larger than 1 whenever $BSW(\bar{x}) > \sigma^2(X)[\sum \{\sigma^2[y|x(i)]\}/N - \sum \{w(i) \sigma^2[y|x(i)]\}]$. Where $\sigma^2[y|x(i)]$ is the same for each state [or where $w(i) = 1/T$], this "expected" ratio will be larger than 1 whenever $BSW(\bar{x}) > \sigma^2(X)T/N$, which will usually be the case. Since $\sigma^2(X) = WS(X) + BSW(\bar{x})$, the relationships being presented here can be described in terms of relationships between $WS(X)$, $BSW(\bar{x})$, and $BS(\bar{x})$. These relationships indicate to a certain extent why

the (usual and the "weighted") ecological correlations are generally larger than the estimate of the individual correlation and thus why they cannot be used as estimates of the individual correlation.

The standard deviation of the estimate of the individual correlation and confidence intervals for it can be determined, when certain additional assumptions are made, by using methods similar to those developed earlier herein; this will not be discussed here. The statements and formulas presented here should be understood to hold when the amount of data is sufficiently large to permit sampling fluctuations to be neglected; i.e., we assume that the estimate \hat{b} of the slope B is quite accurate and that \bar{Y} , the average size of family in the population, is close to the numerical value $\hat{a} + \hat{b}\bar{X}$. The comparison between $\hat{a} + \hat{b}\bar{X}$ and \bar{Y} can be used as a partial check on the underlying assumptions made in this section (except if the average $\bar{x}(i)$ of the $\bar{x}(i)$ is close to \bar{X} and the average $\bar{y}(i)$ of the $\bar{y}(i)$ is close to \bar{Y}) in the same way that the comparison of \bar{Y} and \bar{Y} was used to check the assumptions made earlier in this article.

We shall now consider briefly what might happen if the method suggested here is applied where the underlying assumptions did not apply. Suppose that the simple linear relationship was not true but that a multilinear relation, $E(y|x, z) = A + Bx + Dz$, did hold true for the individuals, where A , B , and D were constant for all states and where z was some relevant variable. In this case the averages $\bar{y}(i)$, $\bar{x}(i)$, and $\bar{z}(i)$ for the i th state are related as follows: $E[\bar{y}(i)|\bar{x}(i), \bar{z}(i)] = A + B\bar{x}(i) + D\bar{z}(i)$. Then the standard methods of multiple linear regression can be applied to the ecological data, $\bar{y}(i)$, $\bar{x}(i)$, $\bar{z}(i)$, in order to obtain estimates of the constants A , B , D , in the multilinear equation for the individuals. However, if a simple linear relationship between $\bar{y}(i)$ and $\bar{x}(i)$ is incorrectly assumed and $\bar{z}(i)$ is neglected, then the standard estimates \hat{a} and \hat{b} for the regression line between y and x will have the following biases: $E\{\hat{b}\} - B = D\sigma[\bar{x}(i),$

$\bar{z}(i)]/V[\bar{x}(i)] = D\delta$, $E\{\hat{a}\} - A = D[\bar{x}(i) - \bar{z}(i)\delta]$, where $\sigma[\bar{x}(i), \bar{z}(i)]$ is the covariance between $\bar{x}(i)$ and $\bar{z}(i)$ for the different states; $V[\bar{x}(i)]$ is the variance of $\bar{x}(i)$ for the states; and $\delta = \sigma[\bar{x}(i), \bar{z}(i)]/V[\bar{x}(i)]$. Thus, if $D = 0$, the relation between y and x will be linear, and the standard estimates will be unbiased. However, if $D \neq 0$, the \hat{b} will be biased unless the covariance between $\bar{x}(i)$ and $\bar{z}(i)$ is 0. Even in the situation where \hat{b} is unbiased but $D \neq 0$, it will not be possible, except under special circumstances, to estimate the individual correlation between y and x from the ecological data $\bar{y}(i)$ and $\bar{x}(i)$, since the individual values of z and their relation to y and x will play an important role in determining this correlation if $D \neq 0$.

Let us now consider the special circumstance in which the individual value z measures a characteristic of the state in which the individual lives (e.g., its size), so that z will be the same for all individuals living in it. The value of D may be known, or it can be estimated, along with A and B , by the usual methods of multiple linear regression applied to the ecological data concerning $\bar{y}(i)$, $\bar{x}(i)$, and $\bar{z}(i)$, thus obtaining the estimates \hat{a} , \hat{a} , \hat{b} . In this case, there will be a simple linear relation between y and x , for the individuals in a given state, but the y -intercept of the line may differ for the different states; i.e. $E(y|x) = (A + Dz) + Bx$, where $z = \bar{z}(i)$, may differ from state to state. Thus the regression line for each state can be estimated, and each line will have the same slope, \hat{b} . If the variances of the y and x measurements, for a given state, are known, then it is possible to estimate the individual correlation coefficient for the population in that state. Furthermore, if these variances are known for each state, then they can be used, together with the values $\bar{y}(i)$, $\bar{x}(i)$, \hat{b} and the relative size of each state, to estimate the individual correlation coefficient for the total population. Hence it is possible to obtain an estimate of the individual correlation coefficient for a population from the ecological data, even if there is no constant linear relationship, $E(y|x) = A + Bx$, as long as the

situation is such that the slope B remains the same in the different states, while the y -intercept may differ from state to state in a way that is linearly related to some measured characteristic, z , of the state.

Relation between two dichotomous variables.

—The point of view described at the end of the preceding section can be applied to show that if the average $E(r|x)$ of the values of the proportion r of whites who are illiterate, for states with the same proportion x of Negroes, is a linear function of a measurable characteristic z of each state [i.e., $E(r|x) = C + Fz$] and if the difference between the average $E(p|x)$ of the values of the proportion p of Negroes who are illiterate (for states with the same proportion x of Negroes) and $E(r|x)$ is constant [i.e., $E(p|x) - E(r|x) = B$], then the average of the values of the proportion y of illiterates (for states with the same proportion x of Negroes) is equal to $E(y|x) = C + Fz + Bx$. The special situation where $F = 0$ has been studied earlier in this article. By standard methods of multiple regression applied to the ecological data (i.e., to the proportions y and x and the value of z for each state), estimates \hat{c} , \hat{f} , and \hat{b} of C , F , and B , respectively, can be obtained, which can then be used to obtain the estimates $\hat{r} = \hat{c} + \hat{f}z$ and $\hat{p} = \hat{b} + \hat{c} + \hat{f}z$ of $E(r|x)$ and $E(p|x)$, respectively, for each state. These estimates \hat{r} and \hat{p} can be used along with the values of x and the size of the population of each state to estimate the four entries in the 2×2 cross-classification table describing the relation between the two dichotomous variables, race and illiteracy, for each state. These tables for the separate states can then be combined to estimate the four table entries for the total population; thus an estimate of the individual correlation between race and illiteracy can be obtained for the total population.

The magnitude of the estimate \hat{b} of $B = E(p|x) - E(r|x)$, the average difference between the illiteracy rates for whites and the rates for Negroes for states having the same proportion x of Negroes might be interpreted as the "effect of race on illiteracy," while the magnitude of the estimate \hat{f} of F

might be interpreted as the "effect of z on the illiteracy of whites" (z might measure average income, average social status, per cent unemployed, etc., for each state). It should be noted that z cannot be taken equal to x (neither can z be a linear function of x), unless some additional assumptions are made, because if $z = x$, then $E(y|x) = C + (B + F)x$, in which case $B + F$ and C can be estimated by the methods of linear regression applied to y and x , but it will not be possible to obtain separate estimates of B and F unless additional assumptions are made about their relative magnitudes. For example, if the additional assumptions that $F = 0$ is made (i.e., that the "effect of z on the illiteracy of whites" is zero), then the methods developed earlier can be utilized; but if the assumption that $B = 0$ is made (i.e., that the "effect of race on illiteracy" is zero), then the table entries for each state can be estimated as described in the preceding paragraph and these table entries for the states can then be combined to estimate the individual correlation for the total population. In this particular example in which $z = x$, if $F = 0$, then the effect of the percentage of population which is Negro in a state on the illiteracy rate for the whites there is zero, while if $B = 0$, then the average difference between the illiteracy rate for Negroes and the rate for whites is zero in states having the same proportion x of Negroes. In this situation, where $B = 0$, the estimated individual correlation between race and illiteracy computed for each state will be zero, but the individual correlation estimated for the total population may not be zero unless $F = 0$ as well. Since it is possible to obtain an exact linear relationship between y and x when either $F = 0$ or $B = 0$ (or even when neither F nor B equals zero), it is not possible to decide on the basis of the ecological data concerning y and x whether it should be assumed that $F = 0$, that $B = 0$, or that the ratio B/F is a known constant. The research worker will require additional data to help him choose between these models and the assumptions underlying them. This is an important choice, since they lead to different

methods of analysis of the data and also to different interpretations of the results. It was assumed earlier that $F = 0$, and the methods described in that case led to estimates of the individual correlations which were different from what they would have been if it had been assumed that $B = 0$ or if it had been assumed that the ratio B/F was a known constant.

Let us now consider the situation where $E(r|x) = C + Fz$ and $E(p|x) = G + Hz$. [The preceding comments in this section dealt with the special situation where $H = F$, so that $E(p|x) - E(r|x) = G - C = B$.] In this case, $E(y|x) = C + Fz + [G - C + (H - F)z]x = C + Fz + (G - C)x + (H - F)zx$, and a multiple regression analysis of the ecological variable y on the three variables z , x , and zx will lead to estimates of C , F , $G - C$, and $H - F$. These estimates can be used to obtain estimates of C , F , G , and H , which in turn can be used along with the values of z for each state to estimate $E(r|x)$ and $E(p|x)$ for each state. From these estimates and the values of x and the size of the population of each state, the four entries in the 2×2 cross-classification table describing the relation between race and illiteracy in each state can be estimated, and the table entries for the states can be combined to estimate the table entries for the total population, thus providing an estimate of the individual correlation for the total population. If $z = x$ (or if z is a linear function of x), then the methods described in this paragraph cannot be applied unless some specific additional assumptions about the relationships between the constants are made, similar to those mentioned in the preceding paragraph.³¹

Let us now consider the situation in which $E(p|x)/E(r|x) = J$ is constant for the different values of x and $E(r|x) = C + Fx$. In this case, $E(y|x) = E(r|x) + E(r|x)[J - 1]x = [C + Fx][1 + (J - 1)x] = C + [F + C(J - 1)]x + F(J - 1)x^2$, and a multiple regression analysis of y on the variables x and x^2 will lead to estimates of C , $F + C(J - 1)$,

and $F(J - 1)$.³² These estimates can then be used to estimate C , F , and J . With these estimates and the values of x and the size of the population of each state, it is possible to estimate the entries in the cross-classification table describing the relation between race and illiteracy for each state and then to combine these tables for the separate states to obtain an estimate of the cross-classification table for the total population. It is possible to perform a rough test of whether $F(J - 1) = 0$ by applying the standard test that the regression of y on x is linear rather than quadratic.³³ If $F = 0$, then the methods developed here earlier may be appropriate, while if $J - 1 = 0$ (i.e., the average illiteracy rate for Negroes equals the average rate for whites in states having the same proportion x of Negroes), then the method described in this paragraph can be applied. If $F(J - 1) = 0$, the decision as to whether to assume $F = 0$ or $J - 1 = 0$ should depend on the research worker's available knowledge or on some additional data related, directly or indirectly, to the magnitudes of F and $J - 1$. The magnitude of $J - 1$ may be interpreted, for the model under consideration, as the "effect of race on illiteracy." For this model, the scatter diagram of y on x can suggest whether (1) both F and $J - 1$ are different from zero (if the relationship between y and x is not linear, but it can be fitted by a second-degree polynomial in x); (2) either F or $J - 1$ is different from zero but not both (if the relationship is linear but the slope of the line is not zero); or (3) both F and $J - 1$ are equal to zero (if the relationship is linear with a slope of zero). The extent to which the scatter diagram can be fitted by a first- or second-degree polynomial in x can serve as a partial check on the assumptions underlying the methods described here. This is no more than a partial check, since, as we had seen

³² See, e.g., George W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods* (4th ed., 4th printing; Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1950), Sec. 14.3, pp. 379-82, for a description of curvilinear regression methods for a second-degree polynomial.

³³ See *ibid.*, pp. 381-84.

³¹ See Duncan, Cuzzort, and Duncan, *op. cit.*, for some related comments.

earlier in this article, several different models may lead to a specified relationship between y and x , and the methods applied to the ecological data will depend very much on which model is chosen.

If $E(p|x)/E(r|x) = J$ and the relation between $E(r|x)$ and x is $E(r|x) = C + Fx + Kx^2$ or some more complicated relation, it is still possible to use a method similar to the one given in the preceding paragraph, in order to estimate the constants C, F, K, J and then to use these estimates to estimate the individual correlation between race and illiteracy for each state separately and also for the total population. If $E(p|x)/E(r|x) = J$ and $E(r|x) = C + Fz$, where z is some measurable characteristic of each state, then it is also possible to estimate the constants C, F , and J from the relation $E(y|x) =$

$(C + Fz)[1 + (J - 1)x] = C + Fz + C(J - 1)x + F(J - 1)zx$ —a multilinear relation between y and the variables z, x , and zx . As a partial check on this model, the relations between the four constants in the multilinear relation can be examined to see whether they lead to a consistent set of estimates of the three constants C, F , and J .

The research worker who uses the methods described herein should be aware of the underlying assumptions of each method and should take advantage of all possible partial checks on them. The choice between the various models described here should be made on the basis of the research worker's knowledge or on some additional data pertaining to the underlying assumptions of the models.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

John Lewis Gillin

1871-1958

Dr. Gillin was born in Hudson, Iowa, on October 12, 1871. His undergraduate work was taken at Upper Iowa University (B. Litt., 1894) and Grinnell College (A.B., 1895).

The pioneers in sociology in the United States entered this new field from the older disciplines. Gillin was of the second generation who were trained as sociologists. Like a number of others in the early years of sociology, he came into it from the ministry, having received the B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary in 1904. Already attracted to sociology, perhaps from an earlier contact with Edward A. Ross in Iowa, he received an A.M. in 1903 and a Ph.D. in 1906 from Columbia University. He received an honorary LL.D. degree from Grinnell in 1930.

The year before taking his Doctor's degree he accepted a position as professor of social science at Ashland (Ohio) College and a year later was elevated to the presidency. After serving as assistant professor of political economy and sociology (1907-11) and as professor (1911-12) at Iowa State University, he yielded to the persuasion of Edward A. Ross to join him at the University of Wisconsin, where he was associate professor of sociology (1912-15), professor (1915-42), chairman of the department (1931-41), and professor emeritus (1942-58).

Professor Gillin was active in the American Sociological Society. He joined with Robert E. Park in founding in 1917 the Committee on Research of the Society. He was the representative of the Society on February 24, 1923, at a meeting in Chicago to consider the organization of the Social

Science Research Council and served as one of the two first representatives of the Society on the Council. He was president of the American Sociological Society during 1926.

Dr. Gillin took part in welfare activities in Wisconsin and the nation. He was active in the Wisconsin State Conference of Charities and Correction and served a term as its president. During the first World War he was director of the Department of Civilian Relief of the Central Division of the American Red Cross and national director of educational service of the same organization (1921-22). For one year during the second World War he was public member in Region VI of the National War Labor Board.

The publications of Professor Gillin, like his teaching, were largely but not exclusively in applied sociology. He was co-author with Professor Frank W. Blackmar of the first widely used introductory text, *Outlines of Sociology* (1915). In addition to his other books, he was co-author with his son, John P. Gillin, a distinguished anthropologist, of *Introduction to Sociology* (1942) and *Cultural Sociology* (1948).

In the years before the expansion of the department, sociology at Wisconsin was synonymous with the team of Ross and Gillin. Both men were vigorous personalities, outstanding teachers, and productive scholars. A group of his younger associates have characterized the personal qualities of John L. Gillin as honesty, simplicity, warmth, and firm principle—a combination which made him respected and highly regarded as teacher, colleague, and friend.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

University of Chicago

NEWS AND NOTES

University of Alberta.—As this issue goes to press, the *Journal* has learned with regret of the sudden death of Samuel Strong, professor of sociology, on January 24, in Edmonton. He did graduate work at the University of Chicago, which granted him a Ph.D. in sociology in 1940. His academic career began at the University of Nebraska; from there he went to Carleton College, where he became chairman of the Department of Sociology. He had returned to his native Canada last fall to accept an appointment in sociology and was planning studies of ethnic groups in the western provinces.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences.—Three prizes of \$1,000 each are to be awarded annually to the authors of especially meritorious unpublished monographs, one each in the fields of the humanities, social sciences, and the physical and biological sciences. A monograph is defined for this purpose as a "scholarly contribution to knowledge, too long for an article in a learned journal and too specialized or too short for a general book."

The final date in 1959 for receipt of manuscripts by the committee on awards is October 1.

Full details may be secured from the Committee on Monograph Prizes, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 280 Newton Street, Brookline Station, Boston 46, Massachusetts.

Boston University.—A new research program has been established to relate the arts to current and emerging social and technological conditions. The program is conducted by the Arts Center as part of the School of Fine and Applied Arts and involves an interdisciplinary, bimonthly seminar. The Center plans publications and hopes to obtain grants to establish fellowships for graduate studies on relations of the arts and artists to, among other things, economic trends, new patterns of leisure, the mass media, and the use of art as an international force and as a creative tool for gerontologists. Ongoing studies of the Center are on career patterns and choices in the arts, the arts as leisure, the arts as mental health agents, and the relation of liberal arts to the professional

art curriculum. Correspondence is invited. Address Max Kaplan, Director, or Donald Bloch, Assistant to the Director for Research, The Arts Center, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts.

Bucknell University.—This year the Department of Sociology includes Professors Ralph Spielman, chairman; William F. Byron, visiting lecturer; and Helmut R. Wagner, associate professor.

University of California, Los Angeles.—Donald R. Cressey, chairman of the department, has been elected president of the Pacific Sociological Society for 1959-60.

Wendell Bell, associate professor, is on leave for this spring semester to continue studies on political change, leadership, and social mobility in Jamaica under the final year of his three-year Social Science Research Council Faculty Research Fellowship.

Oscar Grusky, assistant professor, has been awarded a Ford Foundation Faculty Fellowship in Social Science and Business for 1959-60.

Richard Hill, assistant professor, is directing a research project designed to evaluate adult education programs under a grant from the Ford Foundation Fund for Adult Education.

Franz Adler, from the University of Arkansas, is serving as lecturer in sociology in 1958-59, replacing Svend Riemer, who is on sabbatical leave to conduct research on housing in Europe.

University of Chicago.—The Department of Sociology is presenting a series of lectures on "Contemporary Approaches to the Study of Social Organization": May 6, Talcott Parsons, Harvard University, "The Problem of Systematic Analysis of a Large-Scale Society: The American Case"; May 13, John W. M. Whiting, Harvard University, "Child-rearing Practices and Kinship Structure"; May 20, Herbert A. Simon, Carnegie Institute of Technology, "Simulating Complex Human Behavior."

The Thirty-sixth annual Institute of the Society for Social Research will be held on May 22-23. Sectional meetings on medical sociology,

ethnic relations, formal organization, sociology of education, deviant behavior, urban social structure, and other topics are planned. At a plenary meeting the evening of the twenty-second, the speaker will be Professor Alex Inkeles, of Harvard University, whose topic is "Toward a Social Psychology of Industrial Society." The concluding session of the Institute on the afternoon of the twenty-third will be a round-table discussion of "The Future of Sociology: Alternative Strategies," the discussion being led by Professor James S. Coleman, University of Chicago. A number of colleagues from neighboring universities, as well as graduate students and faculty members of the university, will be participating in the meetings. Visitors from other institutions are cordially invited to attend the Institute.

The National Opinion Research Center has just received a \$200,000 grant from the Health Information Foundation for a two-and-one-half-year study of factors, other than the purely medical, affecting the utilization of hospital care by individuals.

Harrison C. White, assistant professor of sociology and industrial administration at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of sociology, beginning in the fall. Dr. White has a Ph.D. in theoretical physics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and an M.A. in sociology from Princeton University, where he is also completing his Ph.D. degree in sociology. He will add to the departmental offerings in research methods and mathematical sociology, as well as in substantive fields, including industrial sociology.

Universidad Nacional de Colombia.—For the first time in its history, the National University of Colombia is to have a department of sociology. Organized temporarily within the Faculty of Economic Sciences, the new department is directed by Orlando Fals Borda, a Colombian sociologist trained in the United States and author of widely known studies of Latin-American peasant societies. The department starts with fundamental courses and contemplates giving degrees after the fourth year. Symptomatic of the growth of sociology in Colombia as a recognized professional discipline is the fact that 56 persons applied for entrance in the department's initial year.

Dr. Fals Borda urgently requests all readers and colleagues to send him sociological materi-

als, reprints, duplicate copies, used books, and the like, to start building up the library. Address: Carrera 20 No. 54-38, Bogotá, Colombia.

In January, 1959, Dr. Fals Borda was appointed director-general of the Ministry of Agriculture of Colombia, a highly strategic position created with the purpose of examining the land problems of the country and implementing a long-overdue agrarian reform. It is the first time that a professional sociologist has occupied the position.

Dickinson College.—*The Social Sciences: The Journal of Student Research*, a new journal designed specifically to broaden the outlet for student research in any of the social sciences, will shortly commence publication. Articles should not exceed 2,000 words in length and should be typed to meet the general standards for publication submission.

Address all communications and submit manuscripts to Edward Rothstein, Department of Sociology, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

University of Florida.—A survey of investigations in progress in the field of Latin-American studies is being sponsored by the department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union, together with the School of Inter-American Studies of the university. Questionnaires have been sent to faculty members and graduate students in all disciplines and to independent scholars and research workers with investigations under way connected with Latin America. Those who do not receive questionnaires through the mail are urged to request them from the School of Inter-American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, in order that the published results may be as complete as possible. Distribution of the survey is scheduled for early fall.

T. Lynn Smith has been appointed graduate research professor of sociology. Graduate research professor is a newly established post at the university, to which four appointments have been made to date.

Harvard University.—The Peabody Museum announces the release for general distribution of *The Hunters*, a 71-minute motion picture of significant anthropological interest. It is the first of a series of films that will give a comprehensive account of the South African Bushmen. The pictures were taken by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University-Smithsonian

Institution Kalahari Expeditions, from 1950 through 1958.

Arrangements can be made for its purchase or rental, in color or black-and-white, by writing to Contemporary Films, Inc., 267 West Twenty-fifth Street, New York 1, New York.

Indiana University.—John H. Mueller's book, *The American Symphony Orchestra: A Social History of Musical Taste*, a British edition of which was published in London in 1958, has also been translated into Portuguese and published in Brazil.

Frank Westie is on sabbatical leave for the spring semester of 1959, during which time he is continuing his research program on race relations.

Dinko A. Tomasic has been granted a leave of absence to serve as chief of the evaluation and research section of Radio Free Europe in Munich, West Germany, during the current academic year.

Sheldon Stryker and George Psathas received a grant from the National Institutes of Health, U.S. Public Health Service, in support of a project entitled "An Experimental Study of Power Coalitions in Triads." William Chambliss is serving as the research assistant.

Donald Horning, Clyde Martin, Thomas McJunkins, and Grafton Trout are teaching associates in the department this year.

University of Kansas.—Everett C. Hughes, of the University of Chicago, gave the Judge Nelson Timothy Stephens Lectures of the School of Law in mid-March. His theme was "Stress and Strain in Teaching and Learning." He also gave the Lindley Memorial Lecture, the subject being "Quality and Equality: American Enterprises and Experiments in Education."

University of Louisville.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Robert Ingersoll Kutak, of the Department of Sociology. Dr. Kutak got his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1933. He began his academic career in Barnard College and went to the University of Louisville soon after, where he was chairman of the Department of Sociology from 1938 until his death. His continuing research interest was the Bohemian-Americans.

The Merrill-Palmer School.—An experimental summer workshop on rearing children in the racially changing neighborhood is to be held July 13–24, 1959. Participants in this non-credit-bearing workshop will be parents and young

children currently living in local neighborhoods, selected so as to form a racially mixed group. Specialists in various aspects of the changing-neighborhood topic will be drawn from the Detroit area to aid in the program.

Information can be obtained from Dr. Kerckhoff, Leader, Program in Community Organization and Development, The Merrill-Palmer School, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

The Winifred Rand Fellowship is open for application to any graduate student qualified for admission to The Merrill-Palmer School and interested in some phase of human development and family life. It carries a stipend of \$1,000 with tuition fees waived.

Early application should be made to the Registrar, The Merrill-Palmer School, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

The University of Michigan.—Amos Hawley is on sabbatical leave during the spring semester. He holds a Fulbright Research Award for urban study in southern Italy. During his absence, Ronald Freedman will serve as acting chairman of the department.

Morris Janowitz is the recipient of a Ford Foundation Master Fellowship for research pertaining to the organization of business enterprise. The grant of \$25,000 is to be spent over 5 years; approximately two-fifths is to be allocated to his own research, and the remainder to doctoral students working under his supervision.

After a year of study of cultural change in Nigeria, Horace Miner will return to his departmental duties.

Harold Wilensky has received a National Institute of Mental Health grant for a 5-year study of labor and leisure. Joel Gerstl, of the University of Minnesota, has been appointed research associate on the study.

Angus Campbell is on leave during the current academic year to work in the Institute for Social Research in Oslo.

Leslie Kish was on leave during the first semester for writing and research at Harvard University.

H. Ashley Weeks, research associate in the program of hospital administration, is directing a study of hospital administration as related to patient care.

Donald C. Riedel, formerly research assistant on the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project, has accepted an appointment as research associate on

the Michigan Study of Hospital and Medical Economics.

Under the auspices of a grant from the National Institutes of Health, the Inter-University Council of the Training Institute in Social Gerontology of the University of Michigan announces 40 faculty fellowships for the second Summer Training Institute in Social Gerontology, to be held August 3-28, at Berkeley, with the University of California serving as host institution. The aim of the Institute is to provide intensive training for social scientists and related professional faculty in order to increase the number trained to teach and carry on research in the new and rapidly expanding discipline of gerontology.

The faculty will include John E. Anderson, Ewald W. Busse, M.D., Ernest W. Burgess, W. Fred Cottrell, Wilma Donahue, Margaret Gordon, Robert J. Havighurst, Hardin Jones, Harold E. Jones, John W. McConnell, Clark Tibbitts, and a number of other scholars and national authorities in gerontology.

Fellowships are open to faculty trained in one of the social sciences or related professional fields (public health, social work, education, nursing) and actively interested in developing courses and teaching programs in gerontology at their institutions. Fellows will receive awards of \$500 each. In addition, the Institute will defray transportation costs and provide living accommodations.

For applications and further information, address Dr. Wilma Donahue, Director, Institute for Social Gerontology, 1510 Rackham Building, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Michigan State University.—John Useem has returned from a sabbatical year in India, during which he and Ruth Useem engaged in a field study of Americans in cross-cultural relations. Their research was sponsored by the Hazen Foundation.

Paul Miller, who received a Ph.D. in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, has been appointed vice-president of the university in charge of off-campus education.

Richard N. Adams and Jack J. Preiss are preparing a volume of papers on field methods in human organization research for the Society for Applied Anthropology. The volume will be published by the Society and will include papers that have already appeared in *Human Organiza-*

tion, papers from other sources, and some new papers prepared especially for the volume.

Jay Artis has been appointed director of the laboratory of the Social Research Service.

William Form and Charles Loomis, under collaborative arrangements with the University of Texas and with support from the Committee on Disaster Studies of the National Research Council and the Carnegie Corporation, are directing a study of the social aspects of the recent Rio Grande flood. Harry Moore represents the University of Texas, and Ellwyn Stoddard and Arturo de Hoyos, of Michigan State University, did the field work in Abram, Texas, and Reynosa, Mexico.

Baron Moots, of the University of Michigan, has accepted a joint appointment in the department and in the Institute for Community Development and Services.

Missouri Sociological Society.—The officers for 1959 are Wayne Wheeler, Park College, president; Robert W. Habenstein, University of Missouri, vice-president; Lowell D. Holmes, Missouri Valley College, secretary-treasurer.

The annual meeting will be held in Jefferson City on Saturday, October 17, 1959. Lincoln University will act as host.

National Council on Family Relations.—The annual meeting will be held August 19-21, 1959, at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. Dr. Aaron Rutledge is the program chairman. The theme will be "Growing Individual Values within the Family."

In addition to general sessions with outstanding speakers, there will be meetings on research; parent education; family life; education in the community, schools, and colleges; religion; co-operative nursery schools; and counseling. Attendance is open to all.

For information write the National Council on Family Relations, 1219 University Avenue S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.

Northern Illinois University.—Waldo W. Burchard, formerly of Hollins College and the University of Kansas, has joined the department as associate professor.

David H. Howard, formerly of Howard University, has been appointed assistant professor.

Marsh B. Ray is teaching part time in the evening college.

The graduate offerings have been extensively revised and expanded, and several new seminars have been added to enrich the M.A. program.

Plans are under way for the establishment locally of an institute for social research.

A limited number of graduate assistantships will be available for 1959-60, with stipends of approximately \$1,400.

Northwestern University.—Sixteen specialists on Africa, who did a major part of their study at the university, are the contributing authors to a recently published book, *Continuity and Change in African Cultures*. The volume consists of essays on various facets of African life and is edited by Melville J. Herskovitz, director of Northwestern University's program of African studies, and William R. Bascom, former chairman of Northwestern's Department of Anthropology and now director of the University of California's museum of anthropology. The publisher is the University of Chicago Press.

Presbyterian-St. Luke's Hospital, Chicago.—The hospital has received a grant from the Commonwealth Fund to study subjective aspects of the care of patients. This study, which is correlated with the experimental program in the School of Nursing, will at first investigate the bases from which patients perceive care as good or bad and their expectations of hospital service and medical treatment. Under the grant, a department of patient-care research is established, and Hans O. Mauksch has been appointed its director, continuing to maintain his position as chairman in the Social Science Department of the School of Nursing.

The Social Science Department in the School of Nursing includes Wolf Heydebrand, Otto Schlesinger, John Sims, and Charles Van Buskirk.

The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.—The fall meeting will be held at Yale University on October 30 and 31. James E. Dittes, of the Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, is program chairman. Those who have empirical research to be presented in papers lasting not more than fifteen minutes should send him three copies of abstracts that are not more than 300 words in length, before June 30.

The Society for the Scientific Study of Sex.—The Society will hold its second annual meeting at the Barbizon Plaza Hotel in New York, Saturday, November 7, 1959. The meeting will include two special symposia on "The Psychologi-

cal Aspects of Infertility," and "What Is Sexually Normal?"

For further details contact Robert V. Sherwin, Executive Secretary, Suite 704, 1 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, New York.

University of Tennessee.—John B. Knox has returned from the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina, where he taught industrial sociology for six months in 1958.

William B. Jones, Jr., has returned to the Department of Sociology after serving two years as director of the Tennessee Civil Defense Survival Projects.

Roy L. Cox is participating in the Appalachian Studies, and William E. Cole, of the department, is directing their public and private welfare phase.

Louis Dotson has returned to the university as assistant professor after receiving his Ph.D. at Vanderbilt University.

During the last six months the following books written by William E. Cole have been published: *Urban Society*, *The Tennessee Citizen*, and *High School Sociology*.

The department is activating the Ph.D. program in sociology.

University of Toledo.—Janina Adamczyk, chairman of the Department of Sociology since 1945, has resigned that position for reasons of health but continues in the department as a professor.

James B. McKee has been appointed chairman of the department.

University of Texas, Medical Branch, Galveston.—Sam Schulman has resigned to become director of the Rural Health Survey in Santa Fe, New Mexico, to investigate conditions and attitudes toward health among the Spanish-speaking peoples of northern New Mexico. In his place, S. Dale McLemore, who is currently completing his doctorate work in medical sociology at Yale University, has been appointed assistant professor of medical sociology, effective September 1.

E. Gartly Jaco will direct a project on the effects of cultural differences and experimentally induced ward structures on therapeutic outcome, at the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute and Hospital in June, when he will hold a visiting appointment in the departments of sociology and psychiatry at Western Reserve University.

Wayne State University.—Edgar A. Schuler has returned from a year spent at Thammasat University in Bangkok on a Fulbright Research Grant and has resumed his duties as departmental chairman.

John Biesanz is on sabbatical leave as Fulbright Lecturer in Sociology at the Pädagogische Hochschule, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany. He is also doing research on the German youth-hostel movement.

James B. Christensen has been granted a Senior Postdoctoral Fellowship by the National Science Foundation for ethnographic research among the Bisa of Northern Rhodesia, beginning in July.

Frank E. Hartung returned from his sabbatical leave in February, 1959.

Gabriel and Bernice Kaplan Lasker have returned from Peru, where they conducted a series of village studies.

Western Reserve University.—A research and field-study-oriented workshop on intergroup relations for social-science majors, social workers, teachers, government workers, ministers, community-organization workers, administrators, nurses, and police and hospital personnel will be offered from June 22 to August 1, 1959, and will be directed by Marvin B. Sussman, John B. Turner, and Eleanor K. Caplan.

Areas covered in lectures and group discussions include the philosophical, social, and psychological aspects of prejudice; the history and present status of religious and ethnic groups in America; the legal approach to intergroup relations; a survey of relevant research studies; interreligious and nationality differences; intergroup relations in community organization; power relations; housing; and politics.

The workshop will be limited to forty students. Some part- and full-tuition scholarships are available, donated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Inquiries and registrations should be directed to Hollace G. Roberts, Director of Admissions, Western Reserve University, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

University of Wichita.—Stuart A. Queen, emeritus professor at Washington University, has joined the staff as visiting professor this year.

John T. Mitchell, assistant professor, has joined the department. He is completing his manuscript on the social structure of a prison.

A study of *The Religious Preferences of Families of Wichita*, by Donald O. Cowgill and LaVerna Wadsworth, has been published by the Wichita Community Planning Council.

Amy Gerling is completing research on comparative attitudes of parents and their children toward marriage and family life.

World Federation for Mental Health.—The twelfth annual meeting will take place in Barcelona, Spain, from August 30 to September 5, 1959. The general theme will be "Planning for Mental Health."

Inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary-General, World Federation for Mental Health, 19 Manchester Street, London, W.1, England.

Yale University.—The Summer School of Alcohol Studies will hold its Seventeenth Annual Session from June 28 to July 23, 1959, for the interdisciplinary study of problems of alcohol and alcoholism in society. There will be lectures and seminars under the direction of specialists drawn from the social sciences, medicine and psychiatry, religion, education and public health, as well as workshops, all addressed to physicians, case workers, psychologists, clergy, nurses, educators, probation, parole and correctional officers, personnel directors and supervisors in industry, community leaders. The enrolment is limited to 275 students. For a prospectus describing the course and information concerning admission and academic credit write to: The Registrar, Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies, 52 Hillhouse Avenue, Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

9 *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals.* By ÉMILE DURKHEIM. Translated by CORNELIA BROOKFIELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. xlv+228.

Near the turn of the century Durkheim gave at Bordeaux a course of lectures which he repeated later at the Sorbonne. First they were published in French under the auspices of the faculty of law of the University of Istanbul and introduced by Georges Davy, and we now have an English version of them. *Beati possidentes*. The concern of these lectures parallels the progression of the famous trilogy.

To pursue his interest in the establishment and operation of the rules of conduct, Durkheim begins with a discussion of sanctions and their different kinds and then goes on to distinguish two classes of rules: those applying universally—whether they concern the relation of each one of us to ourselves or our relations to one another—and those applying to particular groupings within a given society. The highest form of the latter are naturally his cherished professional ethics. They represent one instance of the decentralization of the moral life. As they flourish, society becomes “a kind of moral polymorphism.” Professional ethics are the counterpart of corporate associations. Of these, Durkheim wants to see far more, particularly in the sphere of otherwise unregulated competitive economic activity.

Durkheim argues cogently and eloquently for a corporate structure within industrialized society, comprehensive, national, uniform, and complex enough to combine the earlier cohesions of kindred and guild with modern conditions. He seeks organization to enhance individuality. Otherwise, to him, anarchy, facilitated by rigid secondary groupings, is likely to threaten even more the moral conditions requisite for individual freedom.

The state is the organizing center of the secondary groups. It does not coincide with society; it thinks and decides for it. In contrast to the consciousness diffused throughout society, the state, with its associated complex groups of administration, is a special organ

“whose responsibility it is to work out certain representations which hold good for the collectivity.” The principal function of the state, in this sense, is to think. Besides thinking, it grows. To the degree that it grows in clarity and self-consciousness, so do the correlative rights of individuals, made secure and removed from the sphere of sheer doctrine. Growth in thought provides supremacy for more general over less general moral commitments.

A form of the state democracy is not so much a question of the numbers of persons participating in the political life as of the range of government consciousness and of the degree of communication between consciousness and the individual minds of men. Even the democratic state must play the role of superimposing on the unreflective thought of a majority, a more considered thought. It cannot just reflect opinion. It must adjudicate or else it facilitates day-to-day modifications, which in fact cancel each other out. In that case we have societies stormy on the surface, bound to routine underneath: “For great changes need time and reflection and call for sustained effort. Political society is properly alive to the extent to which it interposes secondary cadres between individuals and the state. The model for such cadres are provided by professional groups.”

Durkheim turns to the facts and fluctuations of general immorality, seeing it as the other side of morality and hence as a direct expression of the nature of social institutions. He shows the decline of passion at large by pointing to the decline of homicide in particular. He sees our immorality and our morality alike becoming increasingly cold, reflective, and rational.

Then, as after *Suicide*, he turns to religion by turning to property. He begins with landed property because for him that is where notions of property began. As an arrangement of exclusion, it is akin to taboo and to the sacred, for they, too, involve boundaries and the demarcation from the profane (or from the non-owner). The sacred is contagious; so is property. The values attributed to it are reflected on its owners. Historically, moreover, the emphasis shifts

from things to persons. In any event private appropriation presupposes collective ownership. Individual ownership, then, is likely to be accompanied by atonement and propitiation: once, first fruits and sacrifices to the gods; later, tithes paid to the priests or taxes to the state. The individuation of property is further brought about both by inequalities in authority, generated by kinship, and the proliferation of movable property, *inter alia* the phenomenon of contract. Durkheim argues that the history of the forms of contract, including real, exchange, ritual, and consensual, is not at an end.

The manuscripts of these lectures were probably not intended to make chapters of a book. They should have been arranged as a much more detailed succession of titles and subtitles. The translation is probably faithful, but it is often unnecessarily awkward. Still, we can be most grateful for having the book in English at all.

KASPAR D. NAEGELE

*Center for Advanced Study
in the Behavioral Sciences*

Social, Economic and Technological Change: A Theoretical Approach. By GEORGES BALANDIER *et al.* Paris: International Social Science Council, 1958. Pp. ix+355.

A truly international and interdisciplinary venture, this volume has contributors from Belgium, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, who identify themselves as anthropologists, economists, and sociologists. It is written partly in French and partly in English; partly with the terminology of economists and partly with that of sociologists and demographers. It is concerned with the reciprocal relationships between technological change and the rest of social change, and the theme gives it its unity as otherwise there is no effort to integrate the diverse contributions. The book consists of essays—which define, classify, and suggest measuring devices—rather than of reports of empirical research.

There is little that is new in the book, yet it cannot be ignored by students of social change since it provides the nearest thing available to systematic theoretical formulation of the relationships between technology and the rest of culture. In the United States we have perhaps overly emphasized one side of the relationship

—the impact of technology on the social structure. But several of the authors of this volume take up the challenge of S. H. Frankel: "We speak freely of the social consequences of technological change, but never of technological evolution as a social consequence. This fact is important. It shows us that we have adopted the habit of considering technological evolution in a mechanical way—as an independent force which, in acting on society, produces certain reactions, some favorable and others unfavorable [my translation]."

A group of Dutch writers continue the series of challenges in the opening chapter: Why have economic theorists in contrast to sociologists ignored technological change, at least up to 1930? Why, since then, has there been an attempt to replace an exogenous theory of innovations by an endogenous theory? They do not automatically assume that inventions are innovations but ask about the conditions under which inventions become innovating forces in social change. They point to the shift in interest of economists from the study of business cycles to the study of economic growth.

The book continues with a detailed examination of concepts relating to the social implications of technical progress by the Belgians Janne and Bernard, followed by an analysis of the problems of measurement of the same subject by the American Kuznets. The latter finds that quantitative measurement is a difficult tool to use in dealing with the economic implications of technological change and that the various measures had best not be combined.

Kingsley Davis' competent essay on the "Demographic Consequences of Changes in Productive Technology" follows. While pointing out that not all demographic behavior is motivated, as in the case of death, it "always occurs in a motivational context that is tied up with the social and cultural conditions affecting the individual." He would thus tie demography to the social psychology of motivation and the analysis of economic and social organization. Wilbert Moore follows a comparable theme in his essay on the "Measurement of Organizational and Institutional Implications of Changes in Productive Technology."

The Englishmen Firth, Fisher, and MacRae succeed in making the topic of patterns and models a very provocative one by placing it in a broad context of history and anthropology. They conclude with perhaps the most useful

pages in the book—a series of hypotheses concerning the sociological implications of technological change. The Frenchmen Balandier and Morazé follow with an essay expressing the same comparative interest in the contributions from anthropology and history. The volume closes with a useful annotated bibliography.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

Sociologie et problèmes actuels ("Sociology and Current Problems"). By ARMAND CUVILLIER. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1958. Pp. 198.

François Simiand's dictum: "Neither facts without ideas, nor ideas without facts" served, some five years ago, as the leitmotif of Professor Cuvillier's assessment of the current status and future course of French sociology: *Où va la sociologie française?* In his view French sociology seemed to be succumbing, on the one hand, to a variety of Germanic philosophies, especially phenomenology, and, on the other hand, to a process of "Americanization" with emphasis on the aimless preoccupation with trivial and meaningless facts.

Apparently little has happened in French sociology in the last five years, for Cuvillier's more recent analysis of trends since 1945 follows very closely his earlier volume. This newer assessment (available also as a chapter in Roucek's *Recent Trends in Sociology*) presents valuable references to the more significant works by contemporary French sociologists. The author's bird's-eye view of developments in social theory, industrial sociology, demography, urban and rural sociology, family sociology, sociology of religion, economic sociology, political sociology, and social psychology attests to the vigor and richness of French sociology, in spite of the dangers to which he directs attention.

This essay is one of six sociological studies gathered into a single volume in celebration of the double centenary of the death of Comte and the birth of Durkheim. All essays are intended to exemplify the spirit, perspectives, and methods of these founders of French sociology. Indeed, Cuvillier succeeds admirably in presenting concisely written and judiciously balanced scholarly essays on a wide range of topics, including the relations of man and society, the

sociology of law, the sociology of knowledge, and the history of social thought and ideas. A consistent sociological perspective inspires each of the discussions. For example, his study of the evolution of the notion of class struggle among nineteenth-century French writers is a clear demonstration of the manner in which application of the techniques of the sociology of knowledge can illuminate the processes of historical development of a social concept.

Today, Durkheim's sociology is perhaps more honored abroad than in France. The Durkheim school suffered severe losses as a result of the two world wars, and the majority of French chairs in sociology are no longer occupied by his followers. Despite this, as these two volumes demonstrate, Durkheim's spirit is still alive and vigorous, even in France.

HARRY ALPERT

University of Oregon

The Rational and Social Foundations of Music. 7

By MAX WEBER. Translated from the German and edited by DON MARTINDALE, JOHANNES RIEDEL, and GERTRUDE NEUWIRTH. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1958. Pp. lii+148. \$5.75.

Wovon lebt die Musik: Die Prinzipien der Musiksoziologie ("The Social Bases of Music: Principles of the Sociology of Music"). By ALPHONS SILBERMANN. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1957. Pp. 234.

Music has been defined sociologically as "socially acceptable organization of sound patterns." Nature provides us only with noises; but man has invented systemized sounds as artifacts to serve his purposes of personal and social delectation and ceremonial reinforcement. But the fine arts, religion, politics, and business have all at some time been invested with magical, mystical, and irrational qualities. In his studies of social institutions Max Weber believed he observed a gradual dissipation of these irrational qualities and their replacement by rational, scientific attitudes.

To test the theory that Western civilization personified the rational approach, and that primitive and oriental cultures are characterized in varying degrees by an irrational mentality, Weber had to pose two questions: What is the degree of differential rationality in Western and oriental cultures? What are the social

factors that determined the appearance of rationality in Western culture? His best-known work on the relation between capitalism and the Protestant Ethic was, in part, motivated by this sociohistoric interest; and, on a smaller scale, he planned a study of the fine arts. If the fine arts, which were considered by the nineteenth-century romanticists as the stronghold of irrationality, should succumb to Weber's thesis, it would greatly strengthen the general historical proposition which the rationalists espoused. But Weber got no further than a very rough draft on the comparative development of Western music. It is this draft which has now been translated and edited and constitutes a welcome addition to the already abundant bibliography, in English, of the erudite German sociologist. Weber's notes, originally set down about 1910, were compiled and edited, with an Introduction, in collaboration with Weber's widow, by the distinguished musicologist Theodor Kroyer in 1921. The essay was republished, without the Introduction, as an appendix in successive editions of his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Unfortunately, in the present translated edition Kroyer's revealing introduction is omitted.

Music may be said to comprise two ingredients: the skeletal, technical substratum, which has been codified into a system (known among musicologists as "theory") and the expressive, inventive, elements usually labeled "creative." In this essay Weber was primarily concerned with the former, since it was there that rationality resided. He asserts that "without the tensions motivated by the irrationality of melody, no modern music could exist. . . . The manner in which such expressiveness is achieved falls outside this discussion" (p. 10). For these and other reasons this reviewer could not concur in the evaluation of the editors that Weber's treatment penetrated the "very creative core of music," and that it cuts below the surface to fundamental issues" (p. xii). This enlightened devotee of music was interested in the typology of culture, not in the sociology of music, as a living form of social behavior.

To the sociologist, this essay is valuable for what it contributes to Weber's general thesis of rationalization, not on its musicological content on which Kroyer himself harbored some reservations.

In view of the versatility of the editing team

and the lapse of almost fifty years since the crude notes were first set down, one would like to have seen a more thoroughgoing critical appraisal, both sociological and musicological. They did perform a prodigious job in translating and summarizing a very compact essay, which originally was totally bare of any documentation, subheads, or sectioning. But the editorial introduction to the present version still remains more reverential than critical in spirit.

A more rounded conception of the sociology of music is found in Silbermann's *Wovon lebt die Musik?*, which is concerned with music as social experience and behavior. According to Silbermann, neither Weber's study of the tone systems, nor any other single piece of research, gets at the heart of the social science of music. A sociology of music—like every other science—comprises innumerable individual increments of specialized contributions: taxonomic collection of data, the sociology of aesthetic norms and folkways, the permissive social order in which music has its being, stratification of taste groups, typology of producers and consumers of music, the occupational interest groups, the interrelation of music with other social institutions, social change, the methodological presuppositions of research procedures, and a score of other research problems. Science is not an individual activity and musical taste is not individualistic, for we know that both are a grand co-operative enterprise. But-tressed by a phenomenal coverage of the research in the field, together with an amazing familiarity with American scholarship, this author, who has been for some time associated with the Social Science Institute in Cologne, presents the results and prospects of a sociology of music of comprehensive scope.

These two works serve as methodological foils to each other. In general, Silbermann follows the pluralism which is making itself felt in American sociology: we are no longer fighting the sham battles of the past between case study and statistics, empirical and ideological procedures. Whether the reader adheres to one school or another, it is still true that the current materials on the sociology of music, so profusely illustrated here, produce a richer yield than we could have imagined.

JOHN H. MUELLER

Indiana University

Das Fischer Lexikon—Soziologie. By RENÉ KÖNIG (ed.). Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Bücherei, 1958. Pp. 364. DM. 3.30.

In 1931 appeared the voluminous *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*, edited by Alfred Vierkant. Since then several editors (Bernsdorf and Bülow Ziegenfuss, and others) have endeavored to summarize scholarship in what they defined as sociology.

Although dictionaries have also appeared in America, we have nothing that resembles the synoptic plan of the volume under review. It is not an annotated dictionary of terms, nor a series of ponderous exhaustive essays as are found in Vierkant and Ziegenfuss. This lexicon comprises a series of forty compact essays on the major concepts of current sociology, thereby supplying an overview of the field. They range from *Anomie* to *Wissenssoziologie* ("sociology of knowledge") and embrace such manifold terms as "division of labor," "methods," "interaction," "group," "authority," "art," "mass communication," "control," each of which actually constitutes a family of concepts which are indexed in detail. In the treatment of the general problematics of the lead concepts, the design of the essays conforms more or less to the following outline: the concept, as used in the presociological literature; shifts in meaning and its gradual crystallization; critical analysis; empirical research; cross-classification with other concepts, emphasizing the integrated rather than the atomized conception of sociology; and assessment and current status. A highly selected bibliography is appended, although text references are very frequent to undocumented sources.

The first significant impression is the enormous dependence upon American sources, the clear grasp of American scholarship, and the amount of empirical research carried on in Germany today. After the intellectual blackout of 1933-45, Germany became an importer of American scholarship of almost every type, which served to fill the void left by the unreplenished native generation of scholars. This was facilitated by the introduction of teams of researchers and consultants during the rehabilitation, by the subsidization of translations, the re-equipment of libraries with American books, and the accelerated diffusion of the English language. It was the avowed objective of the editor of this volume to fill the gap by incor-

porating foreign scholarship into the German heritage.

Previous to the war there had always been considerable opposition to sociology in both academic and political circles. The author asserts that this unfriendliness has not yet entirely disappeared. He attempts to make a clean break with the past. Thus he makes a special effort to dissociate sociology from what he terms *Kulturkritik*, which plagued it in former decades; he rejects the formerly prevalent distinction between culture and civilization and adopts a definition similar to that of the American texts; his conception of sociology excludes the philosophy of history, tendentious theorizing, and system-building, which had loomed so large in much German scholarship; he goes so far as to assert that *Verstehen* is a prescientific concept, suitably employed as a source of hypotheses, but one which must ultimately be tested by empirical methods.

The American student is, of course, already familiar with the systematic analyses of Simmel, Max Weber, and several others which have been abundantly translated. He is not so well acquainted with the empirical research of the research institutes such as are found in Frankfurt, Dortmund, Cologne (UNESCO Institute), Hamburg, and various smaller establishments. The actual results of these studies will have to be sought in other volumes; but the enrichment of the concepts of social science, through the agency of such research, is one of the important themes of this very informative and inexpensive lexicon.

JOHN H. MUELLER

Indiana University

The Sociology of Knowledge: An Essay in Aid of a Deeper Understanding of the History of Ideas. By WERNER STARK. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. xi+356. \$7.50.

Werner Stark is a Reader in the history of economic thought at the University of Manchester who conceives of himself as a historian of ideas and a sociologist in the Neo-Kantian tradition of Heinrich Rickert and Max Weber. He has delimited the domain and methods of the sociology of knowledge so that this primarily Continental discipline is more understandable to empirically oriented British and American sociologists. His exhaustive survey includes

particularly lucid and discerning analyses of relevant portions of the works of Durkheim, Geiger, Grünwald, Landsberg, Mannheim, Marx, Merton, Pareto, Scheler, Sorokin, Warynski, Alfred and Max Weber, and Znaniecki.

The author defines the sociology of knowledge as the study of the emergence of superstructural idea-systems—not from antecedent ideas but as responses to social, substructural conditions and changes. Its epistemological assumptions extend beyond the Kantian notion of categories for the perception of material objects. Stark regards social perception as depending upon man's acquired value system in terms of which the individual notices and attributes meaning to selected aspects of his environment. Value systems differ from one society to another: "Societies are unlike each other precisely in . . . [possessing] different preconceptions concerning what is good and bad, right and wrong, what is worthy to be pursued or better eschewed" (p. 17). Thus the sociology of knowledge has the twin task of demonstrating connections between social substructures and intellectual superstructures by the study of value facts and of rendering such relationships understandable.

Stark achieves a more explicit delimitation of the field by subdividing it into the micro-sociology and the macrosociology of knowledge. He restricts the former to those problems and principles pertaining to the creative and innovating mind of the man of scholarship or art, e.g., how are such innovators motivated; how do their unique life histories affect their creativity; and how do they pursue their work, alone or in teams? The macrosociology of knowledge, which is his major concern, investigates the genesis of particular crystallizations of ideas, such as the spirit of the age, style, total world view, cultural ethos, etc., and their expression in art, music, and thought.

Two types of analyses are available for the study of the social determinants of these constellations of ideas. Intrinsic analysis requires the comprehension and evaluation of ideas through knowledge of their antecedents and intellectual consequences. The primary method, extrinsic analysis, relates ideas to their environment and explicates and articulates their broader trends and realities.

Successful development of the sociology of knowledge has long been obstructed by the intrusion of ideological polemics and issues.

Stark, therefore, requires the elimination of ideologies through accurate and careful identification. Since ideologies always succeed and never precede the genesis of a world view, they never create but only deform relatively true pictures of reality to fit selfish, sectional, or other egotistical interests; they introduce error and bias; and they seek to destroy that which is true. The student of value systems can distinguish them easily, for they contain strivings for values that ought to be, whereas socially determined thought, which is properly the subject matter of the sociology of knowledge, is predicated on value facts or values about reality as it is and exists (p. 72).

Throughout the volume the author returns repeatedly to the consideration of two major philosophical dilemmas: the attainability of absolute truth, despite the relativity of particular value systems, and belief in the freedom of the individual, despite the social determination of thought. He seeks to resolve these perplexities by an accommodation of empirical fact to the theoretical legacy of his intellectual mentors. He accepts the possibility of absolute truth but only as the eventual synthesis of innumerable, partially true views of social reality. Insistently, he asserts individual freedom of thought and supports his conviction by contending that the sociology of knowledge does not actually demonstrate causal-mechanistic connections between societal substructures and intellectual superstructures. Consequently, the field does not provide prediction and control but only an understanding of the relationship in terms of functionalism modified by the "elective affinity" of substructures for appropriate ideas (chap. vi). Although the genesis of ideas may appear to be determined in retrospect, it actually depends on freely choosing, acting, and thinking individuals. With their multiplicity of value systems, civilizations offer greater scope and possibility for individual freedom and creativity.

Stark's conception of the sociology of knowledge, though it makes empirical inquiry significant, does not include or facilitate research proposals of the type familiar and congenial to contemporary American sociologists. Furthermore, its hermeneutic goal is insufficient for social scientists who accept prediction and control as their paramount objectives.

GISELA J. HINKLE

Ohio State University

Social Mechanisms: Studies in Sociological Theory. By GEORG KARLSSON. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. \$5.00.

Although it is a little too wide to put in one's pocket before a stroll through the jungle of modern social science research, this little book (145 pp.) amounts to a field guide to the formal models now blossoming there. Beginning with a survey of the highly mathematized diffusion models, genus Rashevsky and Rapoport; pausing to point out the econometric mobility models with their characteristic foliage of transition probabilities; and then plunging into the lush thicket of small group formulations most of whose roots can be traced to Kurt Lewin; Karlsson, with brevity and clarity, describes dozens of recent attempts at formalizing sociology and social psychology. As in most field guides, the number of species is so great that little can be told of each except the name of its discoverer and its most conspicuous features. The author has contributed an admittedly tentative Linnaean scheme to organize his collection. Although the professional model maker will find little that is unfamiliar, the book is highly recommended to the amateur collector.

JAMES A. DAVIS

University of Chicago

Motives in Fantasy, Action and Society: A Method of Assessment and Study. Edited by JOHN W. ATKINSON. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1958. Pp. xv+873. \$9.75.

This collection of studies is a product of the interest that Dave McClelland stimulated in the assessment of projective stories of the need for achievement. Atkinson, a former student and long-term collaborator of McClelland, has worked with comparable industry on a measure of need for affiliation. Their attack on Murray's original battery of needs is continued in the work of Joseph Veroff on a measure of a need for power. Sociologists will appreciate the editor's good sense in providing about two hundred pages of training materials for those interested in obtaining the pictures and using the measures.

The principal portion of the book describes some twenty-five recent investigations of the relation between fantasy and action. To implicate society and justify the title of the book, McClelland, again the innovator, relates the

decline of Greece, "doodles," and child-rearing in a delightfully creative essay. Unlike McClelland, you may never have noted that your colleagues who make angular doodles with non-repetitive patterns are the greatest achievers. And readers of this *Journal* may not be acquainted with the *Corpus vasorum antiquorum* and the designs characteristic of Greek vases. But if one arranges the fragments of vases to correspond to the periods of Greek growth, climax, and decline, one finds that the designs most reliably correlated with doodles of high n achievers come just before the climax and are notably absent during the decline. The text associates the decline of training in self-reliance with slavery and the achievement both in individuals and in cultures with early socialization.

In short, fallible though the systems of content analysis may be, they produce surprising correspondences. The n achievement measure is both the base for initial validation of Aronson's method of graphic analysis used in the Greek study and Knapp's demonstration of the diagnostic importance of a preference for subdued blue-green in contrast with red-yellow tartan plaids. Persons with high n achievement, work harder at laboratory tasks, learn faster, are more resistant to social pressures, choose experts over friends as work partners, lead more active lives, perform better under longer odds, and choose moderate risks over either safe or speculative ones. There are powerful reasons for believing that such results could *not* have been achieved by use of self-ratings (see p. 22). But the difficulties need not be minimized. After giving achievement responses, a subject needs a refractory period for the motivation again to become mobilized. Hence the first four pictures in a series are more diagnostic of performance in arithmetic test than the last four. The measure is less discriminative for women than men in our culture, but in Brazil this may be reversed. These and other comparable complexities result in correlations of the 0.2 magnitude in the hands of the present team and conceivably of lower magnitude when the techniques are employed by those with lesser skill.

The newer information on affiliation and n power is less well developed, but in both cases subject reports and observer reports do not correlate highly with measures of fantasy obtained when affiliative and power needs are experimentally mobilized. If this group continues its sequential motivational assessments in spe-

cific contexts, students of social organization will certainly profit. The effect of structure upon motivation in microtime units is an important and underdeveloped field of sociology.

FRED L. STRODTBECK

University of Chicago

Aggression. By JOHN PAUL SCOTT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. xi+149. \$3.75.

This small volume is one in the series "The Scientist's Library," and its author, senior staff scientist at the Roscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory, addresses it primarily to "beginning specialists" in the biological and social sciences and to thoughtful citizens desiring to keep abreast with the progress of scientific research on the important and timely topic of aggression. The highly readable style, the judicious selection of research, and the careful analysis of evidence are admirable for this purpose.

The problem is clarified in the first pages by defining aggression as "the act of initiating an attack," and the scope is delineated by limiting treatment chiefly to the "organismic level," i.e., to "individual behavior and all of the physiological and hereditary factors that operate within an individual." The first chapters treat associative learning of aggressive and non-aggressive behavior, aggression as maladaptive behavior, physiological correlates and possible causes, and heredity and aggression. Societal and ecological factors are recognized in separate chapters, particularly as the significant level of causation for group aggression and human warfare and as the level of control.

For the investigator of problems in human relations the valuable contribution is Scott's analysis of research on "primary stimuli" arousing aggressive behavior in various species (interspecies differences in releasers and in amount of fighting are indicated), on situational variations in aggressive behavior, and on the training and modification of aggression. The experimental studies of animal behavior by Scott and his associates are a distinctive feature of the book. We learn, for example, that the most effective procedure for securing highly aggressive behavior is to give the animal success in fighting. In contrast, frustration, which

plays a central causative role, in, for example, Freudian theories, may result in a variety of responses other than aggressive. Scott suggests the hypotheses, supported by findings on animal behavior, that "*frustration leads to aggression only in a situation where the individual has a habit of being aggressive*" (p. 35, italics in original) and that the motivation for fighting increases with its continued success, not necessarily continued frustration. It is hoped that this line of research and the pertinent findings, coming from a leading biological laboratory, find their way into psychology and social science texts.

Little evidence is found for a general trait of aggressiveness, and it is noted that physiological factors "eventually trace back to external stimulation." Scott is led to the conclusion that nearly all important external causes tend to be social in origin (p. 132). In discussing human aggression, he includes research findings on child development, experiments on harmony and conflict in intergroup relations, and anthropological evidence of varied cultural norms and means of social control. While the investigator of human relations might wish for expansion and greater articulation of these findings, particularly as they converge in the behavior of individuals in group settings, he can applaud their recognition by one well versed in physiology and animal behavior. He will surely be roused by Scott's closing challenge: ". . . the race between creative knowledge and destruction is closer than ever before. . . . Those of us who have scientific training and ability should do everything in our power to speed up creation and slow down destruction" (p. 134).

MUZAHER SHERIF

University of Oklahoma

Dimensions of Congressional Voting: A Statistical Study of the House of Representatives in the Eighty-first Congress. By DUNCAN MACRAE, JR., with the collaboration of FRED H. GOLDNER. ("University of California Publications in Sociology and Social Institutions," Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 203-390.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. Pp. v+188. \$3.50.

This is not the first use of cumulative (Guttman) scaling in the study of legislative roll-

call data, but it is the first monographic report. It is important, methodologically, for its empirical criteria for combination of items, for its treatment of attitudes as cultural phenomena, and for the embedding of scale values in a substantive framework as dependent variables.

MacRae and Goldner apologize (Appendix A) for their "empirical" definition of universes of content. Items that fall together, according to empirical standards of internal consistency, are combined into a scale. Anyone interested in the controversy over the meaning of random sampling from a universe of items should read this report from this point of view, disregarding the apology.

Unidimensionality in roll-call data suggests to these authors that the congressmen are using "common standards of judgment" (p. 316)—a cultural definition of attitude which is important because it reminds us that attitudes are learned and transmitted (pp. 209–10); and it permits the standard theory of culture to be applied in studies of attitude. It is interesting that Republicans and Democrats—in Congress—belong to different subcultures: their votes do not scale together.

There is always danger in measuring attitudes after action and then using the attitudes to explain the act. MacRae avoids all risks by treating the attitudes expressed in roll-call votes as dependent variables, to be explained by reference to such characteristics of a constituency as socioeconomic status, regional culture, political "safety," and rurality. He is in danger, if not in trouble, when he compares the votes of congressmen who stay in the House long enough to become committee chairmen with those who leave and win state-wide offices.

Minor technical flaws appear, as when MacRae, in a mathematical model of the representational process, identifies candidate A with a value of the variable "popularity of A," as a Thurstone-type item that is located on an attitude variable. In general, however, the quality of the monograph is high. The monograph may serve as a model for the longitudinal studies of legislatures that he urges. Meantime, it will be appreciated at least by teachers of courses on method who seek varied material for advanced students.

DAVID G. HAYS

The RAND Corporation

The Flow of Information: An Experiment in Mass Communication. By MELVIN L. DEFLEUR and OTTO N. LARSEN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. Pp. xvii + 302. \$4.50.

This is the first book-length account of a phase of "Project Revere," the message diffusion studies led by Stuart C. Dodd at the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory. Three days after airplanes had dropped a given ratio of leaflets per inhabitant over eight matched Washington towns, interviews determined how many people in each knew some of the leaflet's text and had seen the leaflets, picked one up, received one from another person, or had merely heard of them. The relationship between most of these incidence rates and the per capita ratio of leaflets dropped is found to be excellently fitted by a logarithmic function analogous to the Weber-Fechner law. Leaflet knowledge and manner of receipt are then related to the respondent's age, sex, and size of family. Leaflets passed on are distinguished from leaflets merely told about, and the transmitter's age and his relationship to the recipient (family member, neighbor, acquaintance, or stranger) are examined. Finally, accuracy of message recall and self-reported compliance with instructions are related to each other and to the previous variables.

The highest standards of workmanship and scientific responsibility were observed in the work itself as well as in the reporting. An elaborate pre-test was virtually a study in its own right. The careful advance design and every step of the experimental treatment, data gathering, and multivariate analysis are conscientiously described. Relevant communication theory and research are succinctly reviewed, and the elements of modern "information theory" are presented clearly and briefly. The dialectic of such mundane, yet vital, issues as pure and applied research, sponsor's pressures and theoretical directives, budget limitations and beckoning new research angles is lucidly outlined in a preface and exposed to the reader's view in the body of the book.

The use of even partially controlled experimental procedures on a genuinely sociological problem is to be welcomed. The attempt to say just *how much* difference a manipulable independent variable will make is a great advance over the more usual goal. However, like all work, this, too, has its shortcomings. The con-

scientiousness with which findings are reported sometimes makes it difficult for the reader, if not for the authors, to see the forest for the trees, in spite of numerous summaries and tie-backs. The very fidelity with which the careful design is followed makes the authors occasionally overlook an interesting observation or possible interpretation.

The mathematical model proves to be spectacularly successful as a predictor, but an extended journey into the history and derivation of the Weber-Fechner law seems to the reviewer farfetched and singularly unrewarding. It suggests no explanatory mechanisms, either "real" or "as if," and it may be questioned whether this excursion was necessary in order to make the transition from the suggestion that "larger leaflet ratios will produce greater communication than smaller ones in some kind of diminishing-returns relationship" (p. 69) to the more specific hypothesis that "the increase in response . . . will be directly proportional to the change in stimulus intensity, and inversely to the previous stimulus intensity" (p. 109). This hypothesis provides no clues to the manner in which additional factors might be plugged into the model. Had the notion of "diffusion" been taken seriously in the construction of the model, the results of Part III could have been fed back into the model in the form of assumptions about opportunities for exposure, communication's rates and routes, individual responsiveness, or the like. As it is, the mathematical and survey analyses stand side by side without real integration.

Errors occur in some places but do not mar the general picture. A table intended to describe adults only actually records the combined figures for children and adults (p. 156). The information-theory concept of "amount of information received," defined as a function of the proportional reduction in the number of possible alternative interpretations which result from receipt of a message, is not paralleled by proposed measures which make no reference whatever to the number of alternative interpretations possible before the message was received (pp. 262-63).

As is customary in social research, tests of statistical significance are presented religiously and are made to do jobs for which they are not suited. Time after time, a failure to find a significant difference is interpreted as a significant finding of "no difference." This leads to particularly odd results when coupled with the

authors' habit of following a statement of the relationship in a 2×2 table with an additional statement regarding the distribution in each column of the table, e.g.: "Table 15 shows there were no significant differences in the ways in which adults and children first contacted the leaflet message. . . . Thus we may accept the null hypothesis and conclude that age is not a significant variable . . . adults were about equally apt to learn the message from the physical as from the social channel, whereas children were engaged in significantly more physical than social diffusion" (pp. 160-61).

In measuring goodness of fit (chap. vi), the confusion between a non-significant difference and a significant non-difference is quite systematic. A *low* chi-square value ($P > .05$) is used as evidence of high correspondence between a predicted and observed set of values; a significantly *high* chi-square value is regarded as a sign that the prediction formula was unsuccessful. The former inference is unwarranted, while the latter is too stringent: it implies that the only admissible prediction formula is one which would duplicate observations *with complete precision*, except for errors of sampling and measurement. (That this stringent demand is met most of the time is a remarkable degree of success, even though the curves have to fit only eight observation points and do, of course, contain two *ex post facto* parameters—not one, as claimed.)

The improvement in predictive power of the equation used over other possible equations is not shown. This could have been measured by the relative reduction in variance which was achieved. The Pearsonian r printed on each graph (but symbolized by Γ) is probably an adequate substitute for the reduction in variance, but the authors make no use of it. When their chi-square interpretation conflicts with what the r 's show, they pause momentarily to remark on chi-square's "inadequacies as a curve evaluation statistic," but nevertheless adhere to their chi-square interpretation (pp. 133-36, 142).

The shortcomings of this book are by no means unique to it and are largely the vices of its virtues. Few of us are prepared to determine just where and how a proper balance can be attained. If the report does, perhaps, concentrate too much on the trees at the expense of the forest, we should nevertheless be grateful for a sound piece of work. This is rare enough. All told, the book is a fine example of

an all-too-rare, conscientious and down-to-earth report of sound research which yet contains enough vision to leave the reader a better-educated man.

HERBERT MENZEL

Bureau of Applied Social Research
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The Politics of Despair. By HADLEY CANTRIL.
New York: Basic Books, 1958. Pp. xv + 269.
\$5.00.

Hadley Cantril's book is a major effort to study political behavior in an ample framework. Cantril seeks to bridge the gap from limited empirical data to large analytical categories—from a survey of Communist voters to "the politics of despair." He does so in a foreign setting—among lower-class protest voters of France and Italy—remote from the American conditions in which our current understanding of survey methods and political choices has been parochialized. Moreover, his context and cases face the great issues arising out of the contemporary crisis in Western society.

To study the protest voter where he is strongest, as in France and Italy, is to study Western society where it is weakest. Cantril writes: "The Communist protest voter was chosen as a concrete situation . . . because protest voting springs from a state of mind that seems most appropriately described as a crisis in faith. The protest voter, like the Communist Party member in non-Communist countries, has lost faith in the 'system.' But while the militant Communist has found a new faith in the Party, the protest voter has not."

From a sequence of interviews between 1955 and 1957 Cantril seeks to understand how the protest voter finds significance in the circumstances and events of his world. The psychosocial syndrome of the protest voter, as it emerges from his studies, is the sense of *relative deprivation*. This concept gains richness in the post-war setting of France and Italy, where relative deprivation is the clue to a historic reshaping of the European psyche. The Italian and especially French economies have made notable strides in accelerating gross national product during recent years, but the reshaping of social institutions (particularly for redistributing per capita income) has not balanced the accelerating demands of the lower social orders for larger

shares of the national wealth and welfare. And it is a process of major interest to students of international communication that the lower orders elsewhere nowadays tend to assess their lot in American terms. The interviews show that the deprivation of the workers is relative—stimulated by comparison of one's own lot with the paid vacations of *fonctionnaires*, the autos and TV sets of foremen, the clothes and education of the children of the *patrons*. The personnel director of a large French industrial plant summarized concisely: "This poverty is relative; it is a psychological poverty" (p. 48).

Cantril interprets the great issue of social policy raised for Western society by the protest voter as an absence of "faith," and concludes: "Only when the protest voter begins to experience in his own life the psychological consequences of new value-symbols . . . which are congenial to his whole being, will the abstractions he now blames for his troubles . . . really lose their reality. And only when their reality disappears will the protest voter also disappear" (p. 211).

Knowing that "faith" as an analytic category is suspect in social science, Cantril takes a chapter to specify and illustrate the six main ingredients of faith, which he conceives as a state of being that, like confidence or contentment, can be lost. It is doubtful, however, whether his exposition, which adapts William James's familiar ratio $\text{Self-Esteem} = \text{Success/Pretensions}$ so that one can write $\text{Faith} = \text{Gratification/Expectations}$, adds much to our understanding of "faith" or of the protest voter. Thus Cantril tells us that "a large segment of the French and Italian populations have lost faith in the social, economic, and political institutions and practices that together make up what people so frequently refer to as the present 'system' . . ." (p. 65). On Cantril's view of faith as the supreme state of political being, this should be a situation virtually irreparable within the present framework of European society. But then he summarizes his interview data as follows: "Yet, while the protest voter is against the 'system' . . . many things about his personal world . . . give him satisfaction and happiness: his family, some aspects of his job, his freedom to join his friends at the bistro and express his gripes, his privacy, his social security benefits, his personal responsibilities, and his sense of importance in his neighborhood" (p. 207).

One might do well to consider the hypothesis that the protest voter would prefer a milder

dosage of faith in return for larger shares of comfort and fun. Cantril has not, unlike so many who are troubled by the "spiritual crisis" of Western society, set his face against the hypothesis that our crisis may reflect the inadequate scale of our "materialism." Neither has he looked at it squarely. But in his impressive effort to analyze the data of an international survey within a large conceptual context, given the present state of the art, he has succeeded far better than one would expect.

DANIEL LERNER

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Late Ancient and Medieval Population. By J. C. RUSSELL. ("Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," N.S., Vol. XLVIII, Part 3.) Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1958. Pp. 152. \$4.00.

As methodology vies with population problems for central position in the field of demography, it is refreshing indeed to turn to Europe and the Mediterranean area in the time between the late Roman Empire and A.D. 1550. Professor Russell moves with the skill and sureness of the historian from century to century among classical peoples and barbarians, merging historical data in topical arrangement or topical data in regional groupings for successive periods. The extension of horizons is substantial; infanticide and the peculiar sex ratios of early European populations take their places along with similar phenomena in more recent Asian populations, while birth and death rates change in differing directions in relation to each other and in different periods to confront current monistic theories and projections.

The empiricist feels at home with Russell's materials, for there are all the problems of spotty data that may or may not be significant for wider areas and wider time periods, of by-product data that may perhaps be transformed to measure something other than that for which they were intended, of prevalent patterns or interrelations that may be products of systematic biases in collection or reporting. Their substantive contribution is a major one, but in the long run it may be dwarfed by the addition of our own historical record to the demographic materials analyzed directly or in comparative focus.

The introduction to this study of late ancient

and medieval populations is an evaluative review of earlier studies. There follow topical chapters on the family, the expectation of life, disease, age and habitation groups, and the demographic relationships of the city. The next group of chapters organizes the materials chronologically: imperial decline to A.D. 543; the nadir of population from 543 to 950; medieval increase from 950 to 1348; and Renaissance Europe from 1348 to 1550. Interpretation and evaluation are concentrated in two final chapters. The first presents the demographic theories in Roman imperial policy, lay theories, ecclesiastical theories, and the role of technology and invention. The second considers population changes and characteristics as interrelated factors in the social and economic developments and the intellectual and ethical orientation of historic eras.

IRENE B. TAEUBER

Princeton University

West African City: A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown. By MICHAEL BANTON. London and New York: Oxford University Press, for the International African Institute, 1957. Pp. xvii+228. 35s. \$5.60.

This study of Freetown, the port and capital of Sierra Leone, is a significant contribution to the literature of urbanization and its problems. Banton considers the causes and character of migration to it, the administration's difficulties in the regulating of immigrant life in a town of mixed population, and the adaptation of immigrant social institutions to the local life.

The volume is divided into three parts: the first relates the history of Freetown and indicates how the administrative problems arose; the second deals with the rural background of the Protectorate and the factors leading to either semipermanent or seasonal migration; and the third and most significant section is devoted to an analysis of the composition of Freetown's population and the urban social structure.

Few in the way of general population statistics exist, and these are unreliable; hence much of the author's data are drawn from his own sample survey which covered 1,042 persons (1.3 per cent of the municipal population) drawn from five of sixteen sanitary districts. Freetown is ethnically complex, and Banton deals basically with the non-European population of about 17,000 educationally advanced

and Westernized "Creoles" and roughly 75,000 tribal Africans.

The outstanding chapters are those dealing with the position and functions of tribal headmen and the young men's companies (*compins*) and other voluntary associations, institutions which help maintain integration within the tribal community and ease the rural-urban transition for the migrant. Banton himself indicates the major limitation of his work when he suggests that more detailed information on the social structure, value orientations, etc., of the rural ethnographic "baseline" is imperative before further research in urban adaptation is undertaken. The book is to be recommended.

VERNON R. DORJAHN

University of Oregon

People of Coal Town. By HERMAN R. LANTZ, with the assistance of J. S. McCrory. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. Pp. xv+310. \$5.75.

Millways of Kent. By JOHN KENNETH MORLAND. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958. Pp. xxiii+291. \$5.00.

Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community. By ARTHUR J. VIDICH and JOSEPH BENSMAN. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xvi+329. \$6.00.

The publication of three new community studies within a few months of each other documents the continuing interest in a type of research which was very popular prior to World War II. Although all three offer something of value, it seems unlikely that any will attract the attention given to *Middletown*, or even *Deep South*. However, one of them merits the attention of all students of the community, and especially of those concerned with the impact of modern social trends on its structure and functioning: Vidich and Bensman's study, *Small Town in Mass Society*.

Small Town in Mass Society is an unusually attractive and rewarding study. In the first place, it is not an attempt to describe all the many and varied facts of daily life in a particular community but rather to test hypotheses of general sociological significance. Moreover, it constantly treats the community as a unit of social organization and not merely as a stage on which the action of a certain number of

individuals happens to occur; and in this respect, *Small Town* is almost unique, for most so-called community studies are actually studies of subsystems, such as social class, or of the lives of the residents. In *Small Town*, by contrast, a community is viewed as a social unit functioning within American society; and the goal of the authors is to discover how changes in the larger social system affect it and how, in turn, these changes in the community affect its subunits, the local institutions and individuals.

The community analyzed by Vidich and Bensman is a small agricultural center in upstate New York. The authors assert that the central fact of local life has been its growing dependence on forces originating in the larger society, and especially its more urbanized segments. These forces make their influence felt through prices, state and national political systems, the mass media, local organizations whose key roles are filled by imported professionals, and the invasion of industrial workers who commute to neighboring cities. Because of these developments, the power of local decision-makers over the course of events has steadily declined. However, within limits, a small minority of the citizens carry on a lively struggle for power and influence which the authors vividly describe. A further consequence of the increasing impingement of the larger society, explored at some length, is the development of conflicts between myth and reality. No longer does the community even remotely resemble the idealized image of the self-sufficient community of self-reliant, good neighbors, where success is the unfailing reward of ability and determination. Because the local residents cling to the myth, social and psychological stresses result, which the authors skilfully analyze.

Millways of Kent is a description of a southern mill village in the Piedmont region, not unlike those described earlier by Liston Pope in *Millhands and Preachers*. *Millways* provides much more detail on the subculture, but those familiar with Pope will find little that surprises them. This study is the third in a series on the subcultures of the modern South, directed by John Gillen. Unlike *Small Town*, *Millways* has no focus but relies instead on the "dragnet" technique of traditional ethnology. No theoretical problem apparently motivated the author; rather, his chief concern seems to have been to record a vanishing subculture before it is too late. While such studies add to the breadth of our knowledge, they do not, as a rule, add appreciably to its depth.

People of Coal Town describes a community, evidently in southern Illinois, whose very existence for several decades has been threatened by the curtailment of the mining operations which provided its economic base. The community described seems very similar to one of those described previously in the WPA monograph, *Seven Stranded Coal Towns*, though no reference is made to the earlier study. In method and presentation it resembles *Millways of Kent*, except for the extensive incorporation of interview material of high quality. Among the more unusual features of life in the community are the high incidence of physical violence, pervasive suspicion, and the mother-centered family (the latter apparently a response to the physical hazards to the survival of males).

Each of the studies has something of value to offer. However, the Vidich and Bensman study offers most because, unlike the others, it is focused on a theoretically interesting and important problem—i.e., the nature of the impact of change in the total society on the local community viewed as a social unit in its own right.

GERHARD E. LENSKE

University of Michigan

China's Cultural Traditions: What and Whither? By DERK BODDE. New York: Rinehart & Co. Inc., 1957. Pp. vi+90. \$1.25.

"Neither from the Chinese nor from any other people can we expect or demand that they will adopt certain values—even those whose superiority seems self-evident—unless within their own cultural past or present-day needs there is compelling reason for so doing. What seems desirable or inevitable to one civilization may seem quite the reverse to another" (p. 85). With these words Bodde concludes this illuminating little book. Its scientific objectivity and its cultural relativity make *China's Cultural Traditions* stand out as a brilliant work, valuable not only to a novice in Far Eastern civilizations but to the student of society in general.

In limited space the author covers a wide range of subjects, from religion and philosophy to social structure and mobility. On the whole the observation is keen, the presentation thoughtful, and the interpretation sound. In taking up a topic, Bodde generally first gives the views and comments of others and then lets his own conclusion rest on their consensus,

or, if no consensus can be arrived at, raises some pertinent questions. For instance, in the discussion of the civil service examination system, a unique feature of Chinese civilization which served as an important channel of social mobility to sons of peasantry, the author, after presenting the available data and the views pro and con, carefully points out the necessary limitations of the statistics and the one-sided nature of some of the statements and asks the more basic question: What constitutes an "open" or a "closed" society? Unless an answer is found, the arguments in which the nature of traditional Chinese society is characterized by the number of licentiates who passed these examinations are meaningless.

In regard to social change, the view expressed here is also well grounded and worth quoting. Bodde notes: "The West has been changing for centuries in order to become what it is today, and has done so in good part through forces springing from within itself; China, on the contrary, has, until the past century, changed much less, and then largely in response to forces thrust upon it from the outside. No wonder, then, that the accelerated change to which it has since been subjected should often erupt into revolutionary violence" (p. 77).

One shortcoming of this otherwise outstanding work is its failure to provide a proper historical perspective. In the introductory note (pp. 4-10), instead of going back to the early classical and imperial ages, it might have been more illustrative and meaningful to present a brief summary of the contemporary development which directly led to present-day China. Confucianism, unlike a religion, provides no emotional outlet in times of distress. Individually, a Chinese man or woman of the peasant stock could, when in adversity, take refuge in the spiritual world of Buddhism or Taoism; but nationally or culturally, when China as a whole was suffering, there was no way for its thinking population to escape unpleasant reality. Thus in the late seventeenth century when China was first subjugated by the Manchus, Chinese scholars, in an agonizing appraisal, attributed the debacle to the "adulterated" elements of Buddhism (or Taoism) in the Confucian tradition (known as Neo-Confucianism) and strongly advocated the return to the genuine Chinese learning of the Han dynasty (the *Han-hsiieh*) as a remedy. Later, after the middle of the nineteenth century when China suffered repeated humiliation and defeat at the

hand of Western powers, they again could find no ready scapegoats but blamed the Confucian tradition itself. This rejection, it may be recalled, was responsible for the so-called Chinese Renaissance movement, and it brought about a political vacuum, to be filled only by a force effective enough to change the present-day state of affairs.

SHU-CHING LEE

Southeast Missouri State College

Hawthorne Revisited: Management and the Worker, Its Critics, and Developments in Human Relations in Industry. By HENRY A. LANDSBERGER. ("Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations," Vol. IX.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1958. Pp. x+119. \$3.50.

Many students of human relations acknowledge that the book most frequently cited as the first in their field is Roethlisberger and Dickson's *Management and the Worker*. Professor Landsberger, aware of its importance and of the criticisms heaped upon it and the "human realitors" whom it inspired, decided to revisit the scene of the famous Hawthorne experiments and to assess the validity of the criticisms made of the book and a number of others that followed in its footsteps. His account is fascinating and extremely well written. He carefully and systematically evaluates the strength and weaknesses of *Management and the Worker* and of some other major research efforts.

Landsberger, through careful documentation, shows that many of the criticisms leveled against Mayo do not apply to *Management and the Worker*: among other things, that the work was not "management biased," was not anti-labor, and did not suggest that conflict was bad and that all employees should love the management and submit to its manipulation. Many of the critics of the human relations approach will, or ought to be, red-faced when they read how they either did not read the book carefully, did not understand it, or, in some cases, actually misrepresented it!

Compared with the critics of *Management and the Worker*, Landsberger makes a much broader and more constructive contribution. First, he provides the finest summary available of the *total* research to be found in the work. A systematic discussion of the critics' viewpoints is then presented. This is followed by

excellent documentary evidence to show that the book made many fine contributions, not least of which were to show that empirical research within industry and organizations was possible; to broaden and profoundly influence a well-established, almost rigid, field of industrial psychology; and to foresee many of the fields in which the study of human relations is developing today.

The account of his visit makes a fascinating, extremely well-written book that not only accomplishes its objectives but may well serve as a model for other authors who evaluate critically an emerging academic field.

CHRIS ARGYRIS

Yale University

Social Class in American Sociology. By MILTON M. GORDON. Durham: Duke University Press, 1958. Pp. xiii+281. \$6.00.

Gordon's work is an effort at stock-taking, and as such it contributes positively to our understanding of social stratification and social class in American society. He begins his evaluation of research on social class with a discussion of the ecological studies of the "Chicago School" and their relation to social stratification, after which he considers Sorokin's *Social Mobility*. He goes on to analyze the Lynd's *Middletown* studies, the research of Warner and his associates, and a number of other community studies, including those by Dollard, Hollingshead, and West. Gordon examines each definition of class, the methods used by the authors to determine who belongs to a class (Gordon's "ascertainment"), and the patterns of social mobility and ethnic stratification set forth in each study. Finally, Gordon treats special problem areas in theory and research, examines the logic of stratification scales, and seeks through his evaluation of other research to refine a theory of social class based upon that developed by Max Weber.

Gordon's book is well worth reading. His discussion of the ecological school's contributions in the light of present-day knowledge provides a valuable perspective. And many of his observations on the works he surveys are novel.

For a book-length study, however, Gordon should have drawn upon research in other cultures to justify his generalizations: establishing well-defined propositions about class neces-

sarily demands a cross-cultural orientation. If he had acknowledged the research in at least a few other societies (either industrial or pre-industrial), he would have been in a better position to abstract the "more important" from the "less important" in his analysis of the variables molding the American class system. Moreover, Gordon gives all too little attention to the great social forces of our time—wars, a great depression, industrial-urbanization, and even the extension of the democratic process—and fails to adequately deal with the problem of studying class in process. We cannot understand economic and political power in American society except in the context of these changes.

In Gordon's conception of class, the key variables are economic power, status, and political power; to these he adds a category of "associated variables," embracing "group life" and "cultural attributes." The concept "status," the social-psychological component of class, is accorded equal billing with economic and political power and is theoretically separated from them. And Gordon gives status priority over cultural attributes such as kinship, religion, and personal attributes. But is "status" so independent, even theoretically? Gordon could profitably have dealt more fully with the difficulties inherent in his own position.

But Gordon is not to be blamed for all the confusion in the field. He has written a good book and deserves a fair hearing.

GIDEON SJOBERG

University of Texas

The Criminal Area: A Study in Social Ecology.

By TERENCE MORRIS. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958. Pp. xiii+202. 25s.

Although this short book is subtitled, *A Study in Social Ecology*, the reader will hunt in vain for any substantial contribution to either the theoretical or empirical tradition of social ecology.

Beginning with a brief presentation of the basic concepts of the "Chicago" ecologists—Park, Burgess, and Mackenzie—the book proceeds through a discussion of the work of Shaw and McKay on delinquency areas, a review of some English studies generally in the ecological tradition, and, finally, to a study of delinquency in Croydon by the author himself. It ends with chapters on the implications of British public housing policy for delinquency and the relation-

ship of working-class culture to delinquency. Probably the most valuable parts are the reviews of nineteenth-century "cartographic" work in England and France, and English studies since 1930, and the final chapters on housing policy and working-class culture. It seems that many of the dilemmas of public housing in the United States have analogies in Britain; also that much of the American emphasis on class-based subcultures is applicable to Britain.

Morris, despite a clear acquaintance with the "area approach" to delinquency, shows the too common tendency to deal with the ecologists as though they were children whose own statements of intent and interpretation were not to be trusted. How can people read Shaw's work and still engage in the game of erecting the straw men of "sheer physical location" or "sheer physical deterioration" and attributing such thinking to Shaw? The last act in the drama is, of course, a blistering refutation. Morris describes Shaw's (1929) point of view as follows: "He rejects the notion that such factors as bad housing, overcrowding and low living and educational standards have any causal significance *in themselves*; it is likely that they merely reflect a type of community life . . ." (p. 78). On page 130, however, Morris makes the following statement, "The suggestion implicit in so much of the work of Clifford Shaw and his collaborators is that the physical deterioration of a neighborhood is somehow vitally related to the problem of delinquency and crime."

What ensues is a quite sensible discussion of the implications of locational process when the forces of the market are replaced by the Welfare State's current housing policies in Britain. It is not made more sensible by the swipe at Shaw. The final chapter indicates that even within the housing developments in Croydon, however, segregation by class takes place, partially at least, as a consequence of competitive ability to pay.

The fact that "social" as contrasted with "psychiatric" delinquency is concentrated in these enclaves of the lower working class leads the author to emphasize the delinquency-producing features of lower-class culture. The social structural features of these enclaves singled out by Morris are not very different from those singled out by Shaw and his collaborators.

DAVID J. BORDUA

University of Michigan

Patterns in Criminal Homicide. By MARVIN E. WOLFGANG. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958. Pp. xiv+413. \$8.00.

Dr. Wolfgang has undertaken an exhaustive analysis of 588 criminal homicides recorded by the Philadelphia police from 1948 to 1952. The body of the book is divided into three major sections: on characteristics of offenders and victims; on victim-offender relationship; and on consequences of the offender after the homicide. These with statistical appendixes and an introduction comprise the volume.

Such attributes of victim and offender as race, age, sex, weapons, spatial and temporal patterns, and alcoholism are discussed. The relationship of victim and offender is treated in terms of the degree of intimacy, race and sex combinations, and the importance of victim-precipitated homicide. The eventual fate of the offender, his possible suicide, his adjudication, etc., constitutes the third major segment of analysis. Much of the treatment derives from a social interactional approach to homicide which extends even to a suggestion that game theory might have relevance. Coupled with the very detailed analysis of the Philadelphia data is an exhaustive consideration of the literature relevant to each phase of the study. Certainly this is the most thorough single review available and alone constitutes a significant contribution.

In addition to the most detailed statistical material for a single city yet to appear, there are impressive chapters on the interpersonal relationships of victim and offender, on the victim-precipitated homicide, and on the offenders who later commit suicide.

There are some faults. The mass of statistical material—analyzed and reanalyzed—make clear and concise chapter summaries especially crucial. Those given are not as helpful as they might be. The author adopts a too restrictive definition of victim-precipitated homicide, but the problems here are naturally quite severe.

In sum, the book is an interesting analysis of one set of data, an invaluable review of the literature, and the source of many insights deriving from its interactive approach to homicide.

DAVID J. BORDUA

University of Michigan

Recent Trends in Fertility in Industrialized Countries. By UNITED NATIONS. ("Population Studies," No. 27.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. Pp. xi+182. \$2.00. (Paper.)

A servicing agency of the Population Commission, the Population Branch of the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs, has achieved much since its establishment as the Population Division in 1946. Together with the Demographic and Social Statistics Branch of the Statistical Office, it initiated *Demographic Yearbook*, a task requiring the co-operation of many nations. Through its seminars and conferences it has stimulated interest in demography throughout the world. Along with this it has published a long series of population studies of which the present volume is No. 27. This is an impressive record under any circumstance, notable indeed in view of the widely different ideologies regarding broad questions of population among the various member nations.

As explained in the Foreword, "Statistics of twenty countries of Europe, North America and Oceania have been examined for the purpose of analyzing the trends of the birth rate, the demographic factors affecting them and the extent to which the recent increase in the number of births reflects a change in the trend toward smaller families."

The actual trends in birth, fertility, and reproduction rates are presented in the first two chapters. Next, efforts are made to determine how much of the change in the birth rate is due to changes in age and sex composition (chap. 3), changes in marriage rates and patterns (chap. 4), and changes in marital fertility (chaps. 5-6). Finally, the trends in cohort fertility are considered (chap. 7).

Like other recent studies, this finds that the "ultimate family size continued to decline through the latest birth cohorts for which complete information is available, but there is a strong indication [from the high fertility of the younger cohorts] of an impending reversal of this declining trend" (p. 118). Even if they did not portend an increase in size of completed family, the recent changes in age at marriage and in timing of births should be matters of interest not only to demographers but to sociologists, economists, and workers in related fields.

CLYDE V. KISER

Milbank Memorial Fund

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First volume of a comprehensive symposium under the direction of Georges Gurvitch, being the work of sixteen French sociologists. Introduction discusses the subject matter and method of sociology, its relations to psychology, history, and ethnology. Four sections follow: (1) problems of general sociology, (2) social morphology, (3) economic sociology, and (4) industrial sociology. This and the volume to come will present systematically the work of nearly all the currently active French sociologists.

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